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Imperial Federation.

JANUARY 1, 1890.

IS IT OPEN TO THE COLONIES TO SECEDE?

SUCH is the startling question put in the opening page of the *Nineteenth Century* for December by an ex-Premier of New Zealand, Sir Julius Vogel. Twenty years back there would have been little doubt about the answer. When the people of Sir Julius's own Colony ventured to remonstrate with the Home Government for hurrying away the last red-coat from the island while a life and death struggle with the Maoris was actually going on, an English statesman (Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole is responsible for the designation, though he mercifully suppresses the name) said in the Imperial Parliament that "if the Colonists of New Zealand disliked the policy of the Imperial Government, they were so free that they might at once leave the Empire." When this statement reached New Zealand—so the story continues—"one of the Colonial Ministers expressed the general feeling by observing that he supposed it was considered complimentary to the Colonists to tell them they were so free that they might change their allegiance and nationality at pleasure, but it would really have been more complimentary, as well as more constitutional and more patriotic, to tell them that England would spend her last soldier and her last shilling to keep them in the Empire." Writing just about the same date (1869), Mr. Froude makes this statement:—"That separation is, or has been, the drift of the Colonial policy of the present Ministers [Mr. Gladstone, with Lord Granville at the Colonial Office] there is no occasion to argue. The universal impression which they have created throughout the Empire outweighs their own feebly uttered and stammering denials." We would gladly have quoted, had space permitted, the whole passage. It is to be found among the "Short Studies" in an essay entitled "England's War." But we must cite one sentence more. "Busy about their own concerns, the English people are at present indifferent. They take their statesmen at their word, and refuse to believe that they meant mischief. Let the ripe fruit fall, let a single Colony 'cut the painter,' and if I know anything of the temper of my countrymen, a storm will rise from which those who have provoked the catastrophe may well call on the mountains to cover them."

We have turned back this page of ancient history to show how far we have advanced since 1869. No public man nowadays is the least likely to dare to call Canada a *damnosa hereditas*, or to reproach the Colonial Minister with "drawing closer ties which might better be slackened." If the people at large clung passionately to the idea of the Empire in 1869, unquestionably they cling still more passionately to-day. The boldest of Ministers would scarcely wish to face the present House of Commons with the confession that the least of the Lesser Antilles had declared its independence. That being so, the question has naturally been asked whether it is wise to discuss at all the question that Sir Julius Vogel has raised. It is said the bond between the different parts of the Empire is daily becoming closer. Practically no one at present wishes to break it. Why not leave the question in abeyance? Gibbon, in one of his stately sentences, speaking of a branch of the great house of Courtenay which had sunk into obscurity, tells how "the denial of the nobility provoked them to assert the royalty of their blood," and what is more, how they made good their claim. May not, it is argued, something of the same sort happen in this case also? It must be confessed there is something in the objection. On the other hand, Sir Julius has no difficulty in making out a strong case for his own view, that, despite of all that has been said to the contrary—and Mr. Chamberlain, who is assuredly no Little-Englander, told the Canadians only last year that they were free to go to-morrow, if they liked—Great Britain would fight to retain a recalcitrant Colony. "Brought face to face with the demand for secession of any great Colony, the Sovereign and the people would find a

thousand furious reasons for refusing it." And if so, have not the Colonies, who have been told fifty times they are free to go, a right to be told before it is too late that England has changed her mind. When Sir Julius goes on to question the common theory that "if the Colonies set up on their own account, they will part with the Mother Country on friendly terms," we have no hesitation in avowing our entire agreement with him. For our own part we can only conceive the final separation as coming as the result of a long series of disagreements and misunderstandings—of that wrath with one we love which works like madness in the brain. Goethe tells somewhere the story of a whist-party at Weimar, which consisted of a gentleman and his wife and his two ex-wives; but divorces do not as a rule take place on these terms, and to our thinking the marriage bond forms a much closer analogy to the union between Colony and Mother Country than a mere business partnership which naturally "expires by effluxion of time, and is not intended to be renewed."

Assuming Sir Julius Vogel's position that Great Britain would fight to prevent her Colonies from seceding, and that the knowledge of this fact would be sufficient to prevent any Colony from trying the experiment, it must be acknowledged that results of the utmost importance flow directly from it. For one thing, the best minds in the Empire would be directed to the elaboration of a Constitution "built not for an age but for all time." For another, the Colonies, which now feel that, if they have no control over the policy of Great Britain, they in return can wash their hands of its consequences any day they please, would immediately claim to take a share in the direction of the external policy of the Empire. "The anomaly that a Government which exists in virtue of the representation of only a very small part of the whole dominion should be vested with the decision of a question" vitally affecting the whole, would be abruptly terminated. To quote our author once more, "The key to Federation is a declaration of the continued unity of the Empire." We shall look with much interest to see what reception Sir Julius's bold pronouncement will meet with, not so much in his own country—there, we believe, the permanence of the English connection is very generally taken for granted—but in some parts of Australia. This assertion that, "if the option of secession were open, which we believe is not the case, no advantage would arise from it" to the separated Colonies, will, we expect, be passionately contradicted in more than one quarter. And, as this will enable us to gauge with some accuracy the strength of the opposition movement, we see no reason why we should not rejoice at it. But we must conclude, and we can hardly do so better than with the eloquent words in which Sir Julius urges the convention of a new Imperial Conference:—"If the whole subject could be dispassionately considered by the master-minds of the various dominions, the advantages of Federation would be as apparent as the danger of allowing the relations of the component parts of the Empire to drift as at present. Sadly small occurrences, under existing circumstances, might lead to a conflagration which would rend the Empire to its centre, and make a cordial and sympathetic union impossible."

THE LEAGUE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

A SUGGESTION thrown out in the last number of the *Journal* has produced an effect sooner than we could possibly have expected. For the sake of convenience we reprint below what we said in December. "One change," we wrote, "may perhaps some day be forced upon the League. Every one can see the disadvantage caused from time to time by the fact that the Cabinet of Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone is obliged to act in a dual capacity. At one time it is the Government of the United Kingdom, bound to maintain against all comers the interest of its inhabitants; and again it is the Government of the Empire, with the duty laid upon it to regard the interests of the Canadian or the Australian as carefully as though he dwelt in Kent or Cornwall. And such, in our humbler way, has been the function of the parent-body of the Imperial Federation League. The League in Canada, the League

n Victoria, have naturally and rightly regarded the matter primarily from the Canadian or the Australian point of view. In seeking for National Unity, they have desired to subserve Canadian or Australian interests. But the Central Council of the League has had to fulfil a double duty. Representing as it does, and as it must continue to do, the Empire as a whole, it has also not to be unmindful of the special interests of the United Kingdom. Possibly some day, just as we hope that an Imperial Government may be evolved out of the meetings of the Imperial Conferences, so also the League may throw off a shoot in the shape of a branch for the United Kingdom—perhaps even the branch may be the one which has just struck such vigorous root in the City."

Under date, December 17th, the following rejoinder comes, addressed to the Secretary of the League, by Mr. C. Freeman Murray, the Secretary of the City Branch:—

"I am instructed by my Committee to inform you that they have considered the suggestion in the leading article of the December number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION as to the possible development of this Branch, and that they are quite prepared to act, as far as lies in their power upon the lines there laid down—should your Committee feel that the objects of the League would be advanced thereby. To enable the Branch to take up the important position referred to, it appears to my Committee that it would be absolutely essential that this Branch should be in touch with all the other branches throughout the United Kingdom. My Committee is not cognisant of the principle upon which the Leagues in the Colonies work in connection with the Central Council, but they would suggest that, if your Committee considers it advisable that this Branch should act in the manner indicated in the above-mentioned article, the arrangement which holds between the League in Canada and the Central Council, might possibly be followed in respect to this Branch. The decision of the question, of course, lies entirely in the hands of your Committee; but, without some such arrangement, my Committee cannot see how this Branch can speak on behalf of the United Kingdom."

The proposal contained in this letter has now been referred by the Executive to a special sub-committee for consideration and report, so we refrain from expressing any opinion of our own. But it is evident that the question is one of the utmost importance. The City Branch, for one thing, can obviously have no title to speak on behalf of the United Kingdom as a whole. If it is to remain a branch it must remain on a level in status, though naturally not in influence, with the branch at Yarmouth, or the branch at Hampstead. On the other hand, if the City Branch is to develop into the League in the United Kingdom, it will leave a local gap in the City which will have to be filled once more by the re-establishment of a local branch. No doubt there are difficulties in the way. Some of them, such as the readjustment of the relations between the Central Council and the Provincial branches, the lack of the energy and the money necessary to work larger and more elaborate machinery, the objection to upsetting that which has only had five years of trial—all this is obvious enough to the first comer. On the other hand, Canada has already perfected its organisation in this direction, and possesses, affiliated to the Central Council in the capital of the Empire, a League in Canada which, though it meets now in Ottawa, now in Kingston, and again in Toronto, is distinct from any one of the branches in these respective cities. What Canada can do should not be beyond the resources of the United Kingdom. Further, it is equally obvious that the closer and more intimate the intercourse between the United Kingdom and the Colonies becomes, the more anomalous and inconvenient the present dual position of the Central Council will appear. Our constitution has round it no such halo of antiquity as should protect it from the hand of the innovator, who seeks to modify its form and amend its design.

The subject of Imperial Federation has been for some years prominently before the public in all parts of the vast Empire under the benignant sway of our Empress-Queen; and all sound politicians and patriotic men are agreed as to the desirability of the various parts of the British Empire being knit more closely together.—*Aberdeen Journal*.

RIP VAN WINKLE SECUNDUS.

THERE is a somewhat remarkable article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, entitled "The Whigs and Imperial Federation." Why the author, who signs himself "B. M.," wrote it, we must confess ourselves at a loss to imagine. Possibly it was in order to prove that the party, which (in the words of our distinguished contributor of August last) lives "on the ancient cud of Whiggism, which it has chewed and chewed till it affords nourishment neither to man nor beast," is twice as numerous as we had fancied it. Possibly, on the other hand, "B. M." and the *Edinburgh Reviewer* are one and the same, in which case the party remains singular—in the grammatical as well as the ordinary sense—and "B. M.'s" motive may be only to show that he possesses the royal virtue of the Bourbons, and that in the interval he has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Certainly, after twice perusing his article from end to end, we have failed to discover any other justification for its existence. It professes to be called forth by a letter of Sir George Bowen to the *Times* on the 19th of last November, containing the following extract from Lord Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," which were published in 1875:—

I am disposed to believe that if a congress or assembly representing Great Britain and her dependencies could be convoked from time to time, to sit for some months in the autumn, arrangements reciprocally beneficial might be made.

This scheme may seem impracticable to many. But so did the Reform Act of 1832; so did the total repeal of the Corn Laws; so did the abolition of the Irish Church. Great changes have been made; great changes are impending; amid these changes, there is no greater benefit to mankind than that a statesman can propose to himself than the consolidation of the British Empire.

In my eyes it would be a sad spectacle, it would be a spectacle for gods and men to weep at, to see this brilliant Empire, the guiding star of freedom, broken up—to behold New Zealand and other Colonies try each its little spasm of independence, while France, United States, and Russia would be looking on, each and all willing to annex one or more of the fragments to the nearest portion of their own dominions.

Sir George Bowen's letter continued as follows:—

I had the honour of the personal acquaintance of Lord Russell; and when I was on temporary leave in England, in the summer of 1875, from the Government of the Colony of Victoria, I had an interview with him at Pembroke Lodge. He then spoke with much animation to the same effect with the above extracts from his last book, expressed his deep concern that many English politicians at that period had become hostile or indifferent to the Colonies, and authorised me to tell the Australians, on my return to Melbourne, that so long as he lived his voice would always be raised in support of the integrity and consolidation of the British Empire. I regret that, so far as I can find, Mr. Spencer Walpole, in the recently published and very interesting "Life of Lord John Russell," seems to have overlooked the fact that he was a vigorous supporter of what is now called (for want of a better name) Imperial Federation.

"B. M.'s" comment on this subject, which he considers of such "considerable importance" that it must be dealt with "in spite of the tedium of Colonial questions, and still more of Colonial history," is as follows:—

Political controversy has no more favourite, if somewhat unscrupulous, device than that of extracting an approval of a course which it is desired to recommend from the words of some dead statesman, spoken in circumstances totally different from those to which they are made to apply. We have not yet seen Sir Robert Peel quoted as a socialist, or the Duke of Wellington as an advocate of female suffrage, but Lord Russell has already been claimed as a Home Ruler, and Sir George Bowen's letter at first suggested a similar attempt to make use of a great name. It is, however, perhaps susceptible of a more interesting explanation. Taken in conjunction with Lord Rosebery's speech at the Mansion House in last November, it suggests that Imperial Federationists may have recognised the impossibility of their object as it has been generally understood; that they now exist merely as a protest against the idea of separation; and that their aims are now such that the consent of any English statesman may be assumed for them, without indiscretion. Failing some such explanation as this, Sir George Bowen's statement must considerably surprise any one who, even in the most superficial manner, has studied the history of the self-governing Colonies for the past half century. For to Lord Russell, more than to any other single statesman, are due those relations between England and her colonies now considered by the Imperial Federationists to be so unsatisfactory. He was the author on two different occasions of utterances which may, with little exaggeration, be said to have decided the fate of the Empire, namely, the famous despatch, defining the nature of local responsible government, which he wrote as Colonial Secretary to Mr. Poulett Thomson, Governor-General of Canada, during the debates on the union of the Canadas in 1840, and the speech (quoted by Mr. Spencer Walpole) upon the introduction of the Australasian Colonies Bill in 1850. With Lord Grey and the Whig party generally, he laid down the lines upon which our Colonial policy has proceeded, and if in later years its authors became dissatisfied with the result, it must be assumed either that they changed their opinions as to the object to be desired, or that they proceeded in the beginning without foreseeing the natural consequences of their acts.

Apart from the description of our work as "political controversy," and the accusation of unscrupulous conduct against Sir George Bowen, the above passage appears to contain two leading ideas—the one that Lord John Russell was a member of the Little-England School; the other that the Imperial Federation League has abandoned some portion of its formerly adopted programme. Let us deal with this latter point first. Our author recurs to it at the end of his article in language which leads us to hope that even he, though it is too late for him to "tak thoct an' mend," at least perceives the error of his ways. Here is his conclusion of the whole matter:—

It is possible, as we have seen, that a policy other than one of mere indifference might have made the British Colonial Empire a reality. It is certain that, speaking from a constitutional point of view, it is now the shadow of an Empire. A North American Federation is already in existence; an Australasian Federation is probably growing; and both are or will be in every essential self-sufficing, separate nationalities. Imperial Federation would mean a contradiction of the past which we may well believe to be an impossibility. A sentimental aspiration confined to what used to be called the governing classes of this country cannot reverse the history of forty years. We should be wise to accept what is open to us, and to strive after what is a sufficiently inspiring ideal—that of a perpetual alliance between free and equal States. This is the only form of "Federation" which we can now realise. Treaty obligations may well be durable when based on a community of language, laws, and blood. They will be more elastic than a constitutional instrument, and therefore more likely to stand the strain of diverse or conflicting interests.

If, as Lord Rosebery's most recent speech would seem to imply, this is all that is contemplated by the Imperial Federation League, this country need not look suspiciously on its labours. But we may still be allowed to question the expediency and deplore the methods of an advocacy which, in Australia at any rate, appears only to have resulted in calling into being a national party, and bringing into prominence a previously non-existent idea—the idea of an independent Australia.

To this we reply that the very fact that the Empire has hitherto held together, in spite of the efforts of "B. M." and his friends to disintegrate it—efforts which they no longer dare to make openly—is the best answer to his assertion that its permanent coherence is an impossibility. That, in fact, Canada and New Zealand—to take absolutely indisputable instances—are far more closely united to us than they were twenty years ago. That to credit the League with the Hibernian feat of "bringing into prominence the previously non-existent idea of an independent Australia," is as absurd as to charge a regiment which advances against a masked battery with bringing into prominence previously non-existent guns. And lastly that, if the League has changed its policy we have not heard of it. As far as we are aware—and we think we have had equal opportunities with "B. M." of arriving at a correct knowledge in the matter—all it has done is to superadd to its previous creed, which bound it to endeavour to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire, and combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and the adequate defence of common rights, a new clause which declares that the method of securing that unity, of maintaining those interests, and defending those rights, is to be worked out through the instrumentality of a series of Imperial Conferences constantly and periodically renewed.

Now to turn to the question of Lord John Russell's personal position. "He laid down," says "B. M.," "the lines upon which our Colonial policy proceeded." Let us at once admit that he was largely responsible for the concession of self-government to Canada and Australia. "B. M." apparently still thinks, as unquestionably many, if not most, of his party thought twenty or thirty years back, that self-government must inevitably lead to separation. Of course we absolutely deny this initial assumption, and with its denial—for "B. M." is certainly not in a position as yet to prove its correctness experimentally—the whole of the superstructure which he endeavours to erect upon it falls to the ground. But let us see what evidence "B. M." can produce that Lord Russell ever held the belief with which he implicitly credits him. The evidence is as follows. Our author shall give it in his own words.

(1.) Lord John Russell said (in the debates of 1839 on Lord Durham's famous Canadian Report) that he could listen to no proposition having for its object to lead to a separation between the two countries, believing it to be for the best interests of both that the connexion should subsist. He considered our Colonies to form an inherent part of the strength of this Empire.

(2.) At the passing of the British North America Act in 1867 (passed, be it remembered, by Lord Carnarvon), Lord Russell sup-

ported the Bill *distinctly contemplating* the possibility of ultimate emancipation. [The italics are ours. As Hansard for 1867 is still available it is remarkable that this distinct contemplation is given not in Lord Russell's own words, but in the shape of an extract from a speech of Mr. Cardwell.]

(3.) Lord John Russell's speech, on the introduction of the Australasian Colonies Government Bill, is remarkable as containing the first hint from a leading statesman that the end might be independence. The peroration of this eloquent speech is as follows:—"I anticipate indeed with others that some of the Colonies may so grow in population and wealth that they may say: 'Our strength is sufficient to enable us to be independent of England. The link is now become onerous to us; the time is come when we think we can, in amity and allegiance with England, maintain our independence.' I do not think that that time is yet approaching. But let us make them so far as possible fit to govern themselves. Let us give them, so far as we can, the capacity of ruling their own affairs. Let them increase in wealth and population; and, whatever may happen, we of this great Empire shall have the consolation of saying that we have contributed to the happiness of the world."

It is on the strength of these passages, and these alone, as far as appears from his own article, that "B. M." not only asserts that "Lord John Russell looked forward to ultimate emancipation," and that "there is distinct evidence in his speeches of his having contemplated emancipation as a probable end," but actually charges Sir George Bowen with unscrupulousness in claiming the great name of Lord Russell on our side. Our readers will now, we think, agree with us that "B. M." would have done better to have confined himself to a golden silence. To him we have no more to say, but to the editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* we would address just one final word. He has sought diligently through three continents, and has succeeded in unearthing three opponents of our cause—Professor Goldwin Smith, Mr. Wise, and now the hemi-onymous "B. M." We would put it to him, not merely as a matter of fairness to us, but for the sake of interesting his readers, whether the next time he wishes to have the subject of Imperial Federation discussed in his pages, it would not be well to invite a contribution from our side.

FRENCH-CANADIAN LOYALTY.

OUR readers will remember the meagre telegram which was received here at the end of last month, purporting to give an important utterance of Archbishop Fabre on the position of the French-Canadians in reference to annexation to the States. Now that fuller reports have come to hand, they will be glad to hear further details on the subject. Mr. Mercier, the Premier of Quebec, and our very good friend—for he has really done as much to promote the success of our cause as the most ardent and convinced member of the Imperial Federation League—went to Baltimore last November to attend a Catholic conference. While there he made two remarkable utterances. In public session he told the delegates, the great bulk of whom were, of course; citizens of the United States, that "the recently repaired despoilment of the Jesuits" was perpetrated by "the same George III. who had despoiled the American revolutionary fathers of their liberties and rights," and he had the satisfaction of finding this sentiment received with tumultuous applause. He also was interviewed by the inevitable reporter, and on that occasion expressed views that are described as "highly interesting to the people of the United States."

When asked whether the feeling in Canada was inclined to annexation to the United States, he answered, "It looks that way. There is a great deal of sentiment in favour of annexation, especially among the French-Canadians. This idea prevails also to a certain extent among the British-Canadians, but it is not nearly so widespread."

The interviewer continued: "Is there any truth in the talk that it is the dream of the French-Canadians to establish a French Government on the banks of the St. Lawrence?"

"Oh, that's nonsense," was the reply. "No one ever thought of having the French Government over us."

"Do the French-Canadians desire or wish to set up an independent Government of their own, founded by themselves and governed by themselves?"

"No," said the Prime Minister; "the French-Canadians have no such idea. They do not want to set up any nation for themselves."

When the reports of these utterances reached Quebec, they caused, as might have been expected, not a little commotion. Mr. Tarte, of the *Canadien*, whose valuable support to our cause we have already had occasion to acknowledge on more than one occasion, spoke out very distinctly, saying:—

"He has simply compromised the French-Canadian race as he did in his speech of the 24th June last, which was placarded in London as an anti-British utterance from Canada, and proved most detrimental to Canadian interest in England."

Mr. Tarte went on to declare that French-Canadians were opposed to annexation and were devotedly attached to British institutions. According to the Quebec correspondent of the *Toronto Empire*, Mr. T. Chase Casgrain, Queen's Counsel, professor of law in Laval University, and M.P.P. for Quebec county, said:—

"Mercier stated what he knew to be untrue when he said that Canadian Catholics desired to be independent of England. He could see no other reason for such assertion than Mercier's inordinate vanity and desire for applause. If by Canadian Catholics he meant those in Canada of all origins, he was certainly far from the truth, and if he meant French-Canadian Catholics there is nothing whatever to substantiate his statements. Though some of his supporters find fault with Confederation, none have dared in late years to even hint at a severance from Britain. If any party man made Mercier's statement a plank of his platform, he could not be elected for any constituency in the Province."

Mr. Casgrain added that Mr. Mercier would certainly be called to account in Parliament when it again met for his Baltimore speech. The Montreal *Minerve*, one of the most influential of the French papers, was equally pronounced. After quoting the paragraph on annexation which we have given above, it went on to comment in the following terms:—

"This is the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec who dared to speak thus amongst the people of the United States, and with authority which naturally attaches itself to the official capacity with which he is clothed. His words will not fail to evoke comment from all the American press, and in a manner to stimulate those on the other side of the line who dream of drowning our Canadian nationality in the great overflow of American sentiment. That which Mr. Mercier has said is a falsehood and a calumny. If annexation sentiment exists in any part of Canada, it is certainly not in the Province of Quebec, and the American episcopacy as well as the American press we hope will learn this very quickly, and that from an authorised source, so as to repair the harm which Mr. Mercier has done us."

Nor was the official *démenti* long in coming. A week afterwards the Montreal correspondent of the *Toronto World* telegraphed to his paper a letter which we give below in full. No comment of ours could add to its force and value. If we were to say one word, it would only be to express a hope that Mr. Mercier will continue to seize every opportunity that is offered him of expressing his views in public, though at the same time we are constrained to admit that Professor Casgrain is not far wrong in saying that "Mr. Mercier is nearly always unfortunate in his after-dinner speeches." Here is what the *World* says:—

HOW'S THIS, MR. MERCIER?

"THE FIRST THOUGHT OF CATHOLICS IS LOYALTY TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND."

Montreal, November 22nd.—As there is still considerable feeling here over Premier Mercier's alleged statement that the Catholics and French-Canadians of Quebec were in favour of annexation or independence, Archbishop Fabre was asked to give his official views on the subject. He said his personal views were well known, but his Chancellor, the Rev. Father Edward of the Archiepiscopal Palace, would give an official statement of the standing of the Church on the subject, as he was fully authorised. The Rev. Chancellor then said:—

"There is not an Archbishop, bishop, or priest in all the Province of Quebec in favour of annexing Canada to the United States, and I do not believe the idea is even thought of by my fellow-countrymen—the French-Canadians of Quebec. Our first thought is loyalty to the crown of England, and this, mind you, in the eyes of the Catholic Church of Canada comes before anything else. And then our own interests as churchmen and Canadians call for consideration. Our history is well known, and that teaches the world that from the time that Bishop Carroll, of Baltimore, and others came to Lower Canada for the purpose of soliciting our support in 1775, down to 1812 and 1837, we have been unwavering in our allegiance to England."

"It will be admitted that in times past the Imperial Government has pursued a mistaken policy towards us French-Canadians, just as she did towards Nova Scotia and Upper Canada in the days preceding responsible government, but our Church records and mandements are there to prove that through good and evil report the French-Canadian clergy and people have never taken a second place in their loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign and to the crown of Great Britain, and they remain in the same place to-day."

"Heaven knows this continent is vast enough for two great nations; and with an *entente cordiale* established between Catholics and Protestants in Canada every interest, whether of a personal, political, religious, or commercial nature, must pronounce in favour of the two countries being kept apart. At the late convention in Baltimore we were only guests, consequently not in a position to publicly inform the American prelates as to the real state of public feeling on the question in Canada. But I did so privately, and our language was just as strong in Baltimore as it is here in Montreal."

"The bishops there were Americans, and, as a matter of course, would like to see their country extended to the north, but there is quite as much patriotism on this side of the line as the other; and once more I say every interest, both national and religious, would suffer irrevocably were we to become a part of the American Republic."

This is looked upon here as a final settlement of the question how Catholics stand regarding separation from England.

*** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CREED OF THE RISING GENERATION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—There was a very interesting exhibition given here this fall by the Guelph cadets. There were two kilted companies, besides a large athletic class. They acquitted themselves so admirably that their visit has given a great impetus to school drill here, there being now about 900 boys taking regular military instruction. At the close of the Guelph boys' performance in the Victoria Rink, their chaplain, the Rev. G. R. Turk, made a short but spirited address, evoking great applause from the several thousand spectators as he closed with the following lines:—

"THE OLD FLAG."

'Tis only a bit of bunting?
Only a tattered rag?
But we'll fight to the death, as our fathers fought,
For the dear old British flag.
Who dares to lay a hand on it,
Who dares to touch a fold,
Shall find that Britons' sons to-day
Can fight as they fought of old.
Three crosses in the Union,
Three crosses in the Jack,
And we'll add to it now the Maple-Leaf,
And stand by it, back to back:
For ours is the dear old flag, my boys,
The dear old British flag;
Though we dwell apart
We are one in heart,
And we'll fight for the grand old flag.

If the boys, not only of the picturesque city of Guelph, but of the Dominion, are brought up on such sentiments, there need be no fear of the stand they will be likely to take on Imperial, or, as Mr. Parkin says, National Unity.—Yours, &c.,

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER.

Montreal, November 21st, 1889.

ONE MORE POST OFFICE ANOMALY.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—How is it possible to hope that we can remain a united Empire when the Post Office of the United Kingdom places such obstacles in the way of an interchange of even Christmas civilities between Canada and this country as I have met with to-day?

A copy of the Christmas number of the *Toronto Globe*—a publication which, I may say in passing, is one of the most artistic which the Empire has produced this season—was sent me by a good friend in that city. The publication, which included two large coloured plates, was contained in a brown paper cylinder and reached me safely with 6 cents (3d.) postage upon it.

Thinking that my friend would like to see the best of the Christmas numbers which have been turned out in London, I purchased a copy of *Yule Tide*, packed it in the same cylinder, and sent it to the post-office for transmission. My messenger returns with the information that it cannot be sent by book-post—being too long. So I have to send it by parcel post at a cost of 2s. 1d.

Such is the arrangement made for promoting the unity of the Empire by what the writers of the present day are fond of describing as the Imperial Government.—I am, sir, yours, &c.,

CAMPDEN HILL.

KISMET.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—The enclosed paragraph is given a conspicuous place on the front page of the issue of the *Boston Herald*, November 21, 1889. If such expressions were used publicly by an American citizen about any section of the United States he would be called a "secessionist" and a "rebel." How could Australia rule New Guinea or the Islands of the Pacific if she were separated from Britain and Britain still ruled the seas?

Surely the true policy for Australia is to demand, not separation, by which she would lose much and gain nothing, but equal partnership in the Empire, by which she would gain enormously without any loss.

As one of the United States of Britain she might indeed be mistress of the Pacific, and of much more, while her safety from

attack would rest on a reality instead of on a fallacy.—Faithfully yours,

H. M.

November 23, 1889.

AUSTRALIA'S AMBITION.

TO BE CONSOLIDATED SOON INTO ONE POWERFUL STATE.

The project slowly but surely gaining ground—definite plan to be formulated within two years for the indorsement of the Crown—supreme in the Pacific.

Chicago, Ill., November 21st, 1889. Albert Boulton, of Albury, Australia, is in this city. To a reporter he said: "The project of consolidating the Australian continent into one powerful State is slowly but surely gaining ground. Within two years a definite plan for founding the new nation will be forwarded to the Colonial Office for the indorsement of the Crown. Before long, and without the slightest commotion in England or in Australia, the Mother Country will see this great group of Colonies pass into the new nation of the United States of Australia. Like your country, Australia will be practically free from an invasion. Her people have already shown a desire to be supreme in the Pacific, which cannot be gratified unless her Government possesses means of ruling dependencies not admitted to political equality. New Guinea alone is a kingdom in area, and rightfully belongs to Australia. As an independent republic Australia will be a mighty maritime Power. She is to settle and govern the only valuable possession which Europe has left for the next conquering Power."

[We have no idea who Mr. Albert Boulton, of Albury, may be, and, for all we know, he may already have got "a definite plan for founding a new nation" ready in a pigeon-hole of his writing-desk, docketed and addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But even though Mr. Albert Boulton, of Albury, represents nobody but himself, it will be interesting to our readers to know the class of literature served up by certain American newspapers to their readers as authentic contemporary English history.—ED. IMP. FED.]

A VOICE FROM AUSTRALIA.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—While thanking you for publishing my letter in your issue of August last, I must beg leave to take exception to your line of argument in favour of reporting inflammatory speeches, and justifying same on the score that some demagogic individuals elsewhere had done so. Because a few, perhaps many, vapouring windbags, seeking notoriety in the United States, indulge in spread-eagleism, which does not represent the country cursed by their presence, that is no reason, I can see, why a journal whose main object is to bring about a modified millennium—amongst, at least, English-speaking Peoples—should lend its columns to counter-abuse, even though it be uttered by the loyalist of British subjects. We in Australia might as well believe that Messrs. Dillon, Deasy and Company, who recently harangued here to coteries of ignorant Hibernians and bigoted priests, represent public opinion in Great Britain, as you to believe that Senators Ingalls, Blair and Company represent in their rantings the public opinion of the States. Again, sir, I venture to think—so far, anyhow, as Australians are concerned—that your comparison of Germans as "an allied and kindred people" with our kith and kin in the New World is a very unhappy one. If you are, as you appear to be, in any doubt about the "bombast and usurpation" of the Germans in regard to Samoan affairs permit me to quote the following "notice" posted by the official representative of that country in the island (which, bear in mind, was, and is, neutral ground) only a few months ago:—

"NOTICE.

"A proclamation has been issued by H. De Coetlogon, H. B. Majesty's Consul for Samoa, stating that British subjects are solely and entirely under the jurisdiction of her Majesty the Queen and under the authority of her Majesty's Consul and Deputy-Commissioner, notwithstanding the declaration of martial law in the Samoan Islands by the Imperial German Government. I hereby declare that all British subjects in Samoa are under martial law, and that they will be tried by martial law if they should interfere in any way with the German authorities. (Signed) FRITZE, Commandant H.I.G.M.S. Adler. Apia, 20th January, 1889."

If after reading this insulting notification you still hold to your opinion about "allied and kindred people," I can only say that your power as a federating lever will be materially lessened in this part of the world—a consummation no true Briton desires! I cannot but think that we in Australia are more tenaciously sensitive of the "Old Country's" honour than the dwellers in the land itself—at least a great section of them—to wit, Separatists *et hoc genus omne*.—Yours,

HAMILTON MACKINNON.

Melbourne, Australia, October 20.

THE RACE QUESTION IN FEDERATION.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—Among your literary notices of November 1st appear some kind remarks upon my volume, "Songs of the Great Dominion." The writer, however, does not seem to understand the reference to Imperial Federation in the preface, which is to the effect that the British Empire will permanently hold together if it accepts a clear ideal

which men will suffer and die for—and that such a clear ideal to strive after would be the voluntary federation of *mankind*. Your reviewer objects to this as too wide—"watery" he puts it!—and pretends to base his efforts on a union of British kith and kin throughout the world. I consider that a far broader, grander base for the sentiment of our great Empire should be chosen than this tribal idea. The force of my objection may be best set out by the statement that I am not, paternally, of British blood at all, though my people have had much to do with the building up of the Empire, for my father's family are Colonial Dutch of the old Province of New York, not Englishmen, and they count their history through the Schuylers of Albany, to whom was, to a considerable extent, due the defeat of France in America. What is your tribal federationist to do with individuals so placed? He cannot turn us out of the Empire, for we have our rights in it. Not to speak of the claims of the several races of the British Islands, how is he to recommend tribal federation to the alien races of India, the Dutch of South Africa, the French of Canada, and others? I think few nowadays will attempt to justify an Empire to thoughtful men, on the basis of mere conquest. How much more satisfactory, more reasonable and nobler, to point to the great good to humanity which arises from such a union! That is the true basis both of justification for the present Empire, and of permanent ground for the ideal of its future. The idea of the federation of mankind is quite probably too far off to be attainable in the near outlook; but it is the real idea towards which we are measurably advancing, and which we are in part accomplishing. For good alone will reasonable men sacrifice much. *That the Empire produces good is its only permanent justification.*

W. D. LIGHTHALL.

THE DOCK STRIKE.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—The statement in your issue of October that the Australian contributions to the London Dock Labourers' strike came from Australian working-men is not correct. The money was subscribed by all classes in all parts of the Colony, and working-men's contributions formed but a small part of the total. The cause of this manifestation of sympathy was chiefly the terms of the telegram announcing the strike, which stated that 100,000 dock labourers had struck for 6d. instead of 5d. an hour, the abolition of middle-men or "sweaters," and a minimum daily wage of 2s. These terms seemed so reasonable, and the magnitude of the strike and its consequent effects upon women and children so disastrous, that the whole community was moved to help; and the previous movement called "the bitter cry of outcast London" largely helped to produce the subscriptions sent. Cardinal Manning's name likewise had a powerful effect.—Yours, &c.,
Bacchus Marsh, Victoria, Australia,
November 12th, 1889.

C. CRISP.

IMPORTANT MEETINGS IN THE PROVINCES. SHEFFIELD.

ON November 25th a public meeting was held in the large banqueting room of the Cutlers' Hall, to hear an address from Mr. G. R. Parkin, M.A., in explanation and support of the great principle of Imperial Federation. The Master-Cutler (Mr. S. G. Richardson) presided, supported by the Mayor (Alderman J. B. Jackson), Ven. Archdeacon Blakeney, Sir F. T. Mappin, Bart., M.P., Sir Henry Stephenson, J.P., Colonel Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., Colonel J. E. Bingham, J.P., Mr. G. F. Lockwood (President of the Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Charles Belk, J.P., Mr. S. E. Howell (ex-Master-Cutler), Alderman W. H. Brittain, J.P., Mr. S. Roberts, J.P., Mr. E. M. E. Welby, Mr. J. W. Pye-Smith, Alderman T. R. Gainsford, J.P., Mr. C. H. Bingham, Mr. C. Macro Wilson, Mr. J. Y. Cowlshaw, Mr. W. B. Esam, Commander Hamilton Smith, Mr. W. Chesterman, Mr. J. N. Coombe, Mr. R. E. Leader, Mr. Benjamin Fletcher, Mr. S. H. Ward, Alderman E. S. Foster, Rev. T. Smith, Mr. H. K. Peace, Mr. J. Jackson (Chief Constable), Councillors H. P. Marsh, J. T. Dobb, J. Aizlewood, J. Satton, W. R. Carter, Robert Styling, John Eaton, George Senior, J. R. Lockwood, and Stuart Uttley, Dr. Hunt, Mr. R. Belfitt, Mr. George Eskholme (Rotherham), Mr. Jonathan Barber, Mr. Felix Gross, Mr. G. W. Hawksley, Mr. R. C. Kitching, Mr. R. Drury, Mr. E. Drury, Mr. Joseph Brailsford, Mr. J. W. Lindsey, Mr. J. W. Lowe, Mr. J. Jeffery, Mr. J. J. Saville, Mr. G. Marker, Mr. J. White, Mr. J. Derby, Mr. J. W. Longley, Mr. Frederick Stacey, Mr. Henry Rossell, Mr. J. F. Ibbotson, Mr. W. Dawes, and others. The proceedings were graced by a number of ladies, including the Mayoress (Mrs. J. B. Jackson), the Mistress-Cutler (Mrs. S. G. Richardson), Mrs. E. Howell (ex-Mistress-Cutler), and many others. Several letters of regret for absence were read.

MR. A. J. MUNDELLA, M.P., wrote:—

I regret my inability to attend the meeting of the Imperial Federation League on Monday next, owing to two public engagements elsewhere. I am entirely in sympathy with the objects of the League so far as they can be practically applied, and so long as they receive the cordial assent and hearty support of the free self-governing Colonies of the Empire.

MR. C. B. STUART WORTLEY, M.P., wrote:—

I have to thank you for your kind letter inviting me to the proposed meeting at Sheffield on the 25th in favour of Imperial Federation. I very much regret that, being engaged to be elsewhere on that evening in connection with the Central Conference of the National Union at Nottingham, I cannot manage to be in Sheffield. Kindly convey, however, to the meeting in such way as you may think best my strong sense of the value

of any movement which tends to make permanent and even more close the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies of the British Empire. It may be that Imperial Federation cannot yet be formulated in detail, and it may be that under any scheme of Imperial Federation it will be the Colonies that will have most to undertake in the way of new obligations. None the less, however, does public opinion at home require to be kept in mind of the gigantic possibilities which are suggested by the idea of a Federated British Empire, and the benefits which would thereby be brought to the cause of civilisation and liberty over the whole world.

MR. E. ASHMEAD BARTLETT, M.P., wrote :—

I have to thank you for the invitation you have been so good as to send me to attend a meeting in favour of Imperial Federation, over which you will preside. I much regret that a prior engagement at Nottingham will prevent me from coming. I should especially have liked to hear Mr. Parkin's eloquent address. The question of Imperial Federation is one of the most attractive in the range of our politics; and I hope that a practical scheme may soon be put forward by its advocates. I have always been deeply interested in questions affecting the cohesion of the Colonies to the Parent Country, as well as in those concerning the strength and extension of the Empire. I believe that a closer union with our Colonies and dependencies abroad would be a powerful antidote to centrifugal tendencies at home. Similar letters were sent by Prof. Hicks, Mr. S. Osborn, J.P., and many other gentlemen of standing in the neighbourhood.

The CHAIRMAN, who was greeted with loud applause, said that it was his very pleasant duty, on behalf of the Council of the Imperial Federation League, to thank those present for their attendance. He was quite sure, in the first place, that the feeling that was uppermost in their minds was to give a hearty welcome to their fellow-countryman from across the seas who had come to address them. (Cheers.) He trusted, also, that that meeting was an evidence that there was in Sheffield a strong sympathy with the feelings of which he (Mr. Parkin) would be that night the exponent. For his (the Chairman's) own part, he was proud to preside over a meeting called for such an object as that, and he was quite sure that the people of Sheffield would feel very warmly the compliment which the Imperial Federation League had paid them in making that the first meeting in a series which would take place in the manufacturing towns of the country, and which Mr. Parkin would address. (Cheers.) He would like, in the first place, to draw their attention particularly to the fact that there were on that platform, as well as represented by the letters which he had read, and some which he had not read, gentlemen who held widely different political opinions. (Cheers.) He emphasised that fact, because the absolutely non-political character of the Imperial Federation League was a thing which it most jealously guarded—(cheers)—and on its council were found

MEN OF ALL PARTIES IN THE STATE.

As public men they were party men; but it had been found possible for them so far to co-operate together in that great cause without being harassed or impeded by their own individual convictions, and he ventured to believe that this was a thing which would commend itself to all. (Cheers.) He wished for a moment to decry party. Under such a Constitution as ours party government and party criticism were absolutely necessary, but he did think and hope that there was a growing opinion and a growing determination amongst the people of this country that, while they would allow the fullest latitude to party criticism in all domestic matters, they would require from those who aspired to serve them a willingness and a readiness to throw aside party feeling, and to co-operate together on all Imperial and national questions. (Cheers.) As regarded the objects of the Imperial Federation League Mr. Parkin would speak with regard to them in detail. He (the Chairman) had been asked very frequently, during the last few days, what were the objects which the advocates of Imperial Federation wished to bring before them. It appeared to him, stated briefly, that the object of that League was

TO CONFUTE THAT PERNICIOUS IDEA,

which used to prevail, but which he hoped had almost died out, that the Colonies of this Empire were, to a great extent, a matter of indifference, and that we should be quite ready to see them become independent of us if the time should ever arrive when that should come about. That was not the opinion of the English people, and it was one of the objects of the Imperial Federation League to make it evident to our Colonies all over the world that our desire was not to separate from them—or rather to allow them to separate from us—but to draw them as closely as possible to us, and unite them all so that whether they were on the freezing plains of Canada, the trackless wilds of Australia, or under the burning sun of India, they could all feel that there was England, there was their home; to feel that wherever the British flag might be hoisted, there was Great Britain. (Cheers.) He was not deterred from enunciating those views by the fact that he would be told that that was sentiment. He knew perfectly well it was sentiment, and they appealed to enlightened sentiment in this matter. He believed that sentiment was one of the greatest forces that guided the world. They recognised that

PATRIOTISM WAS SENTIMENT,

and he appealed to them to say if they took away from the history of our country all the great deeds that had sprung from the sentiment of patriotism, and the advantages which they possessed from it, whether England would now be the country she was to-day? (Cheers.) Nor was he deterred by the great difficulties which surrounded this question. He knew there were difficulties, but it was the business of statesmanship to remove those difficulties, and he believed that difficulties did not daunt the English people, for our history was one long record of difficulties overcome; and when the country was ripe for this question, when the hour had come, so would the men who could deal with it.

(Hear, hear.) He had great pleasure in introducing Mr. Parkin, who had come fresh from doing good work on this question. (Cheers.)

MR. PARKIN, who had a hearty greeting, then addressed the meeting in a long and eloquent speech, covering to some extent the same ground as that which he recently delivered at the Mansion House, but having special reference to the questions affecting the position of Sheffield and its industries in relation to Colonial trade. He was interrupted by frequent bursts of applause, and made a most favourable impression by his cogent arguments and contagious enthusiasm.

The MAYOR (Alderman J. B. Jackson) moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting thanks Mr. George R. Parkin, M.A., for his address, and bearing in mind the complete success which attended the meeting of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire at the invitation of Her Majesty's Government in the year 1887, and the opinion so frequently expressed by those representatives that a series of such gatherings would greatly tend to the consolidation and welfare of the Empire at large, this meeting desires to convey to Her Majesty's Government its opinion that it is undesirable that any long interval should elapse before a second Conference is summoned, and that, subject to public convenience, an invitation should be issued by Her Majesty's Government at an early date." (Cheers.) The question of Imperial Federation, he remarked, had been so ably put before the meeting by Mr. Parkin that it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon it. In a meeting of that kind, in a large manufacturing district where trade and commerce were of such vast importance, the subject of Imperial Federation must be one to recommend itself to their most serious attention. When they saw that foreign nations on all hands were laying restrictive, and in some cases prohibitive, duties upon the importation of British merchandise, they must be aware that without some other outlet, the industries of the nation must gradually get into a smaller compass. To his mind, it was

TO THE COLONIES THAT WE MUST LOOK

for the great expansion of our trade in the future. After a reference to the loyalty shown in Canada on the occasion of the Queen's birthday, when he was in the Dominion, he remarked that it was to increase this good feeling with our Colonies and Possessions all over the world that the Imperial Federation League had been commenced. (Cheers.) He sincerely hoped that an expression of feeling would go forth from that meeting which would induce Her Majesty's Government to take such steps as they might think needful to bring together representatives from the Colonies to form one common Conference, so that the Mother Country and her Dependencies might be united in one great and harmonious whole, for the protection and safety of the Empire, and for the greater development of our commerce in the future. (Loud cheers.)

MR. G. F. LOCKWOOD remarked that he had been honoured that night in having been asked to second the resolution, on account of his connection with the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce. He might say, speaking quite unofficially, that when the Federated Chambers met in Hull some weeks ago, a resolution very similar to that which had been proposed that night was unanimously and enthusiastically received, and the Sheffield delegates were sent with instructions to fight for and support it to the utmost. (Cheers.) It would be well if a meeting were arranged between the delegates from the Colonies, on the one hand, and the Colonial Office on the other, at which the requirements of the Colonies could be made known. In that event

WE COULD PERHAPS FIND STATESMEN,

as we had always done in this great country, able to tackle and to deal with such a difficult task, and to bring about such a great end as the consolidation into one mighty power of the Colonies with the Mother Country. (Cheers.) Mr. Lockwood briefly referred to the visit of delegates from the Colonies in 1887, and their action with regard to the Merchandise Marks Act. He was pleased to say that at this moment nearly the whole of the Colonies had adopted the principles of the measure. (Cheers.) He hoped that the law regarding patents and merchandise marks would be very much simplified, to the extent that if a mark or patent was registered in London it would hold good for the whole of the Colonies, or that if registered in Melbourne or Toronto it would equally hold good in this country. (Cheers.) Reference was made by the speaker to the revolution in Brazil, and to the feeling of uneasiness which prevailed in consequence among capitalists who had invested money in that empire. He contrasted this, amid cheers, with the security which would be felt if one great Imperial system were set up by Great Britain and her Colonies and dependencies.

SIR F. T. MAPPIN, Bart., M.P., who stated that he had come there with an open mind, anxious to hear what could be said about Imperial Federation, thought that the difficulties in the way of reconciling the interests of the various Colonies, some of which were advocates of Free Trade and some of Protection, were very great. His thorough-going advocacy of Free Trade was listened to with some impatience by the audience, and his closing declaration in favour of the resolution was received with ironical laughter.

MR. B. FLETCHER supported the resolution, and as a representative working man he re-echoed all the arguments of the lecturer, and in the name of Sheffield working men gave Mr. Parkin a hearty welcome to the town. The Chairman had in his opening remarks spoken of that being a non-political platform. He (the speaker) felt justified, after the speech of Sir Frederick T. Mappin, a gentleman whom they all esteemed, in departing from the rule laid down. He thought Imperial Federation

A NOBLE AND PRACTICAL IDEA,

and he had not come hastily to that conclusion. He said, "Stick to the Colonies, and do all you can to induce them to stick to you"—(cheers)—because by doing so they extended that great principle in our Empire which alone could make it great and prosperous—unity. And in reference to Free Trade, which was introduced by Sir Frederick Mappin, he would say that after having given the question most careful

consideration, he was sorry that he must differ with him. Sir Frederick said he did not ask for favours. That was true. They asked for favours from no man nor from any country; but they did ask for fair play—(loud cheers)—and that was what they had not at the present. The only way to get it that he could see, except by direct legislation, was to unite all the forces and people of this great Empire into one, and so receive advantage one from the other, and each to act for each other's mutual good, and by doing so, inasmuch as this Empire was able to take all that this country could supply, and they could get from the Colonies all that they wanted in return, they would be able to snap their fingers at those foreigners who brought their manufactures into the English markets free, and refused admission to their markets of English manufactures without putting on a prohibitive tariff. (Cheers.) After some words of personal explanation from Sir F. T. Mappin,

The motion was carried unanimously.

MR. PARKIN, in returning thanks, pointed out that of all the support he had received that of Sir Frederick Mappin was the most curious. He also mentioned the fact that at the Mansion House meeting last week, Lord Rosebery, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Brassey, Sir Robert Fowler, the Lord Mayor of London, and Cardinal Manning, had all been in favour of Federation. He mentioned this that Sir Frederick might revise his judgment, and his audience weigh over the arguments he (the speaker) had put forth.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT, C.B., M.P., said that the Master Cutler had placed in his hands the next resolution. It was to call their earnest attention to the establishment of the Imperial Federation League, and to invite to its standard new adherents of every degree. Despite the telling introduction of Mr. Richardson, despite the eloquent and instructive address of their Canadian brother, Mr. Parkin, despite the motion so well worded by his Worship the Mayor, seconded by the President of the Chamber of Commerce, supported on behalf of working industry by Mr. Benjamin Fletcher, he gladly accepted the duty. He did so, not only because it was his privilege to be one of the first members invited to join the Imperial Federation League by its founder, the late Mr. Forster, not only because it was his privilege to be one of its most active workers, but also because he was certain that the additions the League would that day enrol from Sheffield would do all they could to advance its patriotic mission. (Hear, hear.) The Master-Cutler himself, one of the most recent members, was proof of this. It was proved by the representative gathering assembled in that great Forum of the North—representing, as it did, all parties, classes, professions, and callings in the town. It was proved by the enthusiasm of a Brightside working man he saw there, Mr. Morgan Gregory, who had written an able pamphlet on the subject. It was proved by the large audiences who had attended the lectures delivered upon the question by Mr. James Jeffery, who had written that he would gladly devote his life to the furtherance of so noble a cause. What was the Imperial Federation League? It was a patriotic association composed of men and women drawn from every part of the possessions of the British people, from every condition of life, wholly irrespective of political party either in the United Kingdom or in the Colonies—determined one and all to advance by every possible means the

PERMANENT UNION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

In the four years of its existence the Imperial Federation League had been largely instrumental in bringing about the first Imperial Conference between the Mother Country of the United Kingdom and the great transoceanic daughter-lands planted by her, but now rapidly growing to vast power and importance. Of that historic assemblage called together in the year of the Victorian Jubilee by Her Majesty's Government they had that night expressed with enthusiasm their admiration. An Imperial system of naval defence had been the direct result. The indirect result had been a vast development of inter-Imperial knowledge and of inter-British friendship. They had that night endorsed with their concurrence the motion he had carried through the committee and council of the Imperial Federation League that another Imperial Conference should be authoritatively summoned ere long. The speaker then epitomised the subjects which might be advantageously submitted to such a conference, and, after eloquently urging the claims of the Imperial Federation League upon all who loved their country, quoted the words of the late Lord Russell that it would be a sad spectacle, it would be a spectacle for gods and men to weep at, to see this brilliant Empire, the guiding star of freedom, broken up; to behold the colonies trying each their spasm of independence, while foreign countries were looking on, each and all eager to annex the fragments. It was to stimulate the national determination of every Englishman and Welshman, of every Scotchman and Irishman, of every Australian, Canadian, and South African, to avert so dire a catastrophe to the world at large, to the trade and commerce of Britain, that the League existed, and that he asked them one and all to support it. (Loud cheers.)

MR. J. W. PYE-SMITH remarked that three years ago, on the occasion of the visit of the Colonial delegates to Sheffield, he delivered himself of the sentiment that, although Imperial Federation had not politically advanced very far at that time, in heart and sentiment it was an accomplished fact; and that the chief and best evidence of that was in the heartiness with which our Indian and Colonial visitors were received that year in England, and in the warmth and the gratitude with which they received the hospitality then shown towards them. (Cheers.) It gave him great pleasure to be the instrument of driving home that text into the hearts and minds of the people of Sheffield. (Cheers.) He thought in 1886 that it was a grand idea, and he thought so still. He hoped it had really come within the "range of practical politics," and that, just as the chief statesmen of the present day—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone—put their heads together a few years ago, and brought about one of the greatest advances in democratic government—a redistribution of seats—so he could not help hoping that statesmen a few years hence would be able to carry out that idea still

further, and offer a few seats in the British House of Commons to representatives from our Colonies.

SIR HENRY STEPHENSON—(cheers)—in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, congratulated him on the excellent meeting—(hear, hear)—and expressed the pleasure he had experienced in hearing the distinguished Canadian who had addressed them with so much eloquence that night. (Hear, hear.) The subject was no doubt beset with a great many difficulties, but he (Sir Henry) did not think they were difficulties which would baffle the sagacity of our statesmen—(cheers)—and although he confessed it puzzled him very much indeed to go into the question of details of a plan to carry out the scheme of Federation, he could not believe that a scheme which had met with the support of that distinguished man, Mr. Forster—(loud cheers)—Lord Rosebery, Lord Carnarvon, and other eminent statesmen, could be a mere dream, and he hoped in time to see it realised. (Loud cheers.) In the meantime he was sure they would agree with him in saying that the Master Cutler had rendered them a very valuable service in having the claims of Imperial Federation brought before them in the efficient way he had done. (Loud cheers.)

ARCHDEACON BLAKENEY, who was heartily received, seconded the motion, adding that he had come from another meeting as soon as possible to show his warm sympathy with the object of Imperial Federation. (Loud cheers.)

The MASTER CUTLER, in returning thanks, said it had been both a pride and a pleasure to him to have been instrumental, with others, in getting up that meeting in his capacity as a member of the League, and it had been a greater pleasure still to have had the opportunity of introducing to Sheffield a most eloquent orator, such as Mr. Parkin had proved himself to be. (Cheers.)

A most successful meeting then terminated.

LIVERPOOL.

A special meeting of the Incorporated Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool was held on Dec. 16 to hear an address on Imperial Federation delivered by Mr. G. R. Parkin, a member of the Executive Committee of the Council of the Imperial Federation League. Mr. H. Coke, president of the chamber, occupied the chair, and amongst those present were Mr. W. P. Sinclair, M.P., Mr. S. Smith, M.P., Messrs. R. Gladstone, A. Holt, E. Smith, C. M'Arthur, E. W. Bindloss, F. M. Bussy, A. Armour, S. Breeze, W. Heap, H. Woodward, J. Muir, J. Fawcett, W. Eyre, E. E. Edwards, Ellis Edwards, O. Bley, J. Coventry, D. D. Baker, A. Gorst, W. Nevins, P. Macguffie, C. Lancaster, J. H. Sprigmann, W. J. Dixon, C. S. Watson, G. R. Anderson, R. Montgomery, W. G. Tippet, J. J. Evans, W. Evans, C. M'Gilchrist, G. R. Livingstone, H. Stuart, S. M. Phillips, and T. H. Barker, secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Mr. Parkin, said that that gentleman had travelled throughout Canada and Australasia delivering addresses on this important subject. When England lost her great American Colonies towards the end of last century, physical force and war were the prevailing influences between nations, but now they hoped that the weapons of the present time were reason and conciliation. During the present century England had planted several nations, some of which were saplings, some trees of sturdy growth, and if they looked down the vista of years in the middle or end of the next century it was important to know whether these nations would provide homes for their great overgrown population, or whether they would be acting independently of this country. The idea of Federation was that they might arrive at some plan, at present unknown, by which they might hit the happy means of binding these nations to England.

MR. PARKIN then delivered an able address, which was received with loud applause, and at its close, MR. SAMUEL SMITH, M.P., in moving a resolution calling upon the Government to summon a second Imperial Conference, desired to express the substantial concurrence of the meeting in the arguments adduced by the lecturer, said he did not think that they ever had a subject put before them in a more

COMPACT, CONVINCING, AND REASONABLE

form. This country was a great deal dependent upon the various parts of the British Empire. There were some people who thought that these islands stood by themselves, and that if freed from the burden of the Colonies they would be in some sense more secure, and certainly less liable to anxiety and danger. Many of the people in the Colonies thought the same; but he thought that the lecturer had demonstrated the great difficulty of severing the Colonies from this country. He had shown that to do so would weaken every part and make it more vulnerable. The general feeling of this country was favourable to some scheme of Imperial Federation which would not be drawn too tight, and which would meet the hearty and cordial assent of the Colonists. The ideas which prevailed thirty or forty years ago—which sprang out of the Manchester school of *laissez faire* and peace at any price—had to a large extent passed away. Those ideas, good up to a certain point, were pressed too far and beyond their proper limits. They should always regard with reverence the name of Richard Cobden, but they could not go the length he did in dealing with Colonial and foreign questions. The experience England had of America showed how dangerous it was for the Mother Country to lay down rules and regulations for the Colonies, and how easy it was to excite separatist feeling when anything of that kind was done. If the proposals as to Federation came from the Colonies in the first instance, they would be most warmly received in this country. There were many people who felt that the present arrangement gave more benefit to the Colonies than to the Mother Country. England had given the Colonies absolute security in their infantile stages, while they were building up great dominions, making them free from the risk of being grasped by foreign Powers. The Colonies had not contributed anything to Imperial defence, at least until recently, while England had given them full power of dealing with the tariff,

and many of them had laid down most unfavourable terms for the Mother Country. The least England might have expected from them was Free Trade in return. (Hear, hear.) The leading features of the case had been well put by Mr. Parkin, and he (Mr. Smith) undoubtedly thought it was to the interest of the Mother Country that the Colonies should remain part of the Empire. Referring to the uses of the Colonies for the purposes of emigration, he said many of them were increasingly convinced that the Colonies should be used as an outlet for their surplus population. We were increasing at an enormous rate at home, and he believed the policy of the Colonies should be such as would enable us to carry out a

THOROUGHLY WHOLESOME EMIGRATION.

There had been much dissatisfaction with some of the Australian Colonies with regard to this question, and some of them had put obstacles in the way instead of giving encouragement. It had frequently occurred that a mere handful of Colonists had got hold of a large tract of virgin and unoccupied territory without any restriction whatever; in this way 200,000,000 of acres had been handed over to 50,000 Colonists, leaving them free to speculate with their land, with the result that it had been given to a few squatters. Not more than a twentieth part of the whole property was really left open to emigrants. Vast sheep farms were held by what was called the squatocracy. That land had been given up and it was now beyond the power of the Crown to revoke it; but we had still got Western Australia, which was ten times larger than Great Britain. A claim had been put in for the absolute right of the Colonists to dispose of these 6,000,000 of square miles as they chose. The Government had brought forward a bill on the subject, and he and others had taken part in causing the rejection of the bill, in order to save that vast extent of ground for the surplus toiling masses of this country. They found by a return that single individuals were holding from 1,000,000 to 7,000,000 acres of land. The Colonists asked them to hand these over, and virtually to make vast preserves of them for a few squatters. The action of the House of Commons had resulted in giving great displeasure all over Australasia, and he had seen most abusive expressions against this country in consequence, and threats had been uttered to break the tie which bound them together. While England did not grudge to give self-government, still it should deal with the Colonies with something like reciprocity. (Hear, hear.) An effective understanding could only be arrived at on a principle of real justice to all concerned. (Hear, hear.)

MR. R. GLADSTONE, in seconding the motion, said he was satisfied that very great interests were at stake. They all agreed with Mr. Parkin that something should be done to make their possessions more secure, and to make the loyalty of the Colonists more evident. He hoped that they would be consolidated with England in a real and great British Empire. (Applause.)

MR. W. P. SINCLAIR, M.P., in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin, said that the question of Imperial Federation had a decidedly

PACIFYING INFLUENCE UPON THEIR FOREIGN POLICY.

The Colonial interests and influences which had come to the front of late years had been exerted in that direction. With regard to the question of Home Rule for Ireland, it had assumed a much quieter character than it did in former times. He did not speak of the leaders, but of its rank and file and thinking men of the country. This result, he believed, was due to the fact that they saw it was only part of that greater question—namely, what sort of local government they could give to the various other component parts of the country, England, Scotland, and Wales. This question only opened out a wider one—namely, what local government was best fitted for the other parts of the Empire at large, and which would bring into closer Federation the Mother Country with the Colonies.

MR. ALFRED HOLT, in seconding the motion, said he had listened with great pleasure to Mr. Parkin's remarks. He was strongly in favour of Imperial Federation.

The motion was unanimously carried.

British Trade and English Ports (W. Ridgway) deals with the advantages, both strategical and commercial, offered by the proposed Brean Down Harbour, near Weston-Super-Mare, over all its rivals from Liverpool to Southampton. On the showing of the author, Mr. T. H. de Ricci, there would be a saving of at least twelve hours on each trip between London and New York *via* Brean Down, as compared with the existing route *via* Liverpool, and the same would be the case, in varying degrees, with regard to the other principal western and southern ports of the Kingdom. A number of newspaper extracts form an appendix, all of which are strongly in support of the scheme.

Our Unappreciated Petroleum Empire (Anderson and Co.) is a striking brochure, by Mr. Charles Marvin, of Central Asian celebrity, who holds very decided views on the subject of oil. According to this gentlemen we are doing little or nothing to develop the magnificent petroleum deposits of the British Empire, leaving Russia, Austria, and America, in undisputed possession of the trade in this valuable commodity. In his view, the future rests with the nation which produces the most oil, and he points out that in the petroleum deposits of the Mackenzie Basin in North-West Canada, as well as of Burmah, South Africa, South Australia, and New Zealand, we have a huge imperial asset which has been hitherto wholly ignored. Considering the many uses to which petroleum can be put—not the least important of which are its employment for fuel in steam engines ashore and afloat, and for iron-smelting—there can be little doubt that Mr. Marvin is right in the contentions which he urges with all his old energy and directness. The pamphlet is well illustrated by maps of the various British oil districts.

NATIONAL UNITY.

AN AUSTRALIAN NATIVE'S VIEW.

By D. H. M. (From the "Melbourne Argus.")

I AM an Australian native. That is surely sufficient introduction to the intelligent reader. But I have a higher claim to attention than that: I am a Victorian native. To be born in South Australia or Queensland is something; to be born in New South Wales is much; but to be born in Victoria is everything. I understand that to be born in Geelong is more even than that, but on that point I cannot speak with authority; I was not born there. The recent momentous inquiry as to whether a certain distinguished official of the A.N.A. was born at Kangaroo Flat, as he proudly asserted, or at Kilrush, as his enemies malignantly affirmed, was happily settled by the vindication of the claims of the officer in question to the honour of Australian birth. The fact that such an important issue could be for a moment in doubt opens up very grave possibilities in the future of every Australian. The lesson is one that I hope will not be thrown away. If the result of the warning then given is that every genuine Australian has the proofs of his nativity ready to present in the hour of challenge, then I am sure the learned doctor who championed our cause when fighting his own will feel that he has not suffered and triumphed in vain. Which one of us can foresee the moment when he may be accused of being an Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, and not an Australian native at all? It is the more necessary that I should be ready to prove my claim, as in what follows I may be thought to show such a slight appreciation of the honour unto which I was born that I shall be suspected of being a British fox disparaging the grapes which hang out of my reach. I confess at once that I have never been able to raise nearly as much enthusiasm over the place of my nativity as some of my fellow natives do. Max O'Rell says that a Scotchman is so proud of being a Scotchman that he tells himself about it twenty times a day. Many Australian natives are not content with telling themselves—they want to mention the matter to everybody else. If an Australian rises to address an audience, he commences, "Mr. Chairman," or "Mr. Speaker," as the case may be, "as an Australian native," and then he looks round for applause. Indeed, the name is becoming one to conjure with—especially at election times—and some members have been sent to replace better men for no other apparent reason than that they are natives. My pride in this my great birthright is tempered by an important consideration. I feel that the credit, if any, which attaches to the fact that I was born in Australia, belongs not to myself but to my parents. It is due to the fact that they came to Australia before I arrived here that I am not now a mere Yorkshireman. If, like Ralph Rackstraw, I had exercised a choice, and, in spite of all temptations to be born somewhere else, I had insisted on being an Australian native, then I might feel that the circumstance was greatly to my credit. But alas! it was not so. Nor do I ever feel inclined to hug myself in a frenzy of delight, as I believe some folks do, when I think of our free institutions, for I reflect that our young life commenced upon the very heights of freedom, toward which our forefathers had manfully and stubbornly toiled through many painful centuries. To boast that we are now somewhat ahead of them is—to borrow an illustration—like a child seated on its father's shoulders, crying out, "Look at me, I am taller than papa." "Our glorious climate" is another matter upon which we are wont to felicitate ourselves, and, like other natives, I rejoice in it, though I believe it has some defects. But we did not make the climate. It is a gift of providence, not an article of Australian manufacture. When it rains we have to do exactly as they do in the slow-going countries of the Old World—just let it rain. When it won't rain, we know by painful experience that we can't make it.

On the points above-mentioned, and many others of a similar character, I should be quite content to allow the more self-assertive of my fellow natives to have their say unchecked, but there is a matter of much graver importance upon which I think the opinions of the great majority of Australian natives have been much misrepresented by a noisy and self-confident few. I refer to the question of the present and future relations of Australia with the Motherland and with the other portions of the Empire. The tone which has been adopted on this question by a few who have put themselves forward as representative men has, I believe, led to the formation of a very false estimate of our feelings in many quarters. We have prophets amongst us, some of them sitting in high places, who boldly declare that separation is inevitable. "Far be it from us," they add, "to desire such a thing. But we must look forward to and prepare for it, as it is bound to come. America separated, and we shall do the same. Not yet, of course. We are not strong enough or united enough yet. But Australia must sooner or later cut herself off from old world complications; she cannot consent to be drawn into England's wars. By-and-by a time will come when we are much stronger than we are now, and when a longer continuance in connection with the Empire will involve us in responsibilities from which we should

otherwise be free, that we shall quietly 'cut the painter.' We shall cherish no ill-feeling towards the old land. Indeed, quite the contrary; we shall part from her with a good deal of natural reluctance. We must not, however, allow ourselves to be led away by sentiment to the sacrifice of our own interest. The separation is bound to take place." The above is not an exact quotation from any deliverance, but I think it is a fair specimen of the calmly patronising style of many recent utterances. Let me give an instance of the impression which this kind of talk creates amongst persons who have no opportunity of ascertaining what the real feeling of the Australians is. Amongst the visitors to the Centennial Exhibition was M. Oscar Commetant, a clever and observant Frenchman. He has contributed to a Parisian newspaper his estimate of the character of Victorians, and it is by no means a flattering one. He says that the only reason why Victoria has not broken the umbilical cord which binds her to the Mother Country is that she feels that she could not, in time of war, do without the help of the British squadron, which has its headquarters in Sydney. Egotism or self-interest, pure and simple, is the motive which guides her actions, and he is of opinion that unless unforeseen circumstances occur, Victoria will become a republic as soon as she feels herself strong enough to defend her own interests; whilst a European war in which England is implicated will probably precipitate the separation. M. Commetant speaks of us, as he says, with the freedom of a foreigner who is not afraid to call "une chat une chat." The sentiment which he ascribes to us is, he acknowledges, far from noble, but he believes it is thoroughly characteristic. Either our visitor has been misled regarding us, or we have greatly degenerated. Frenchmen have for a long time been amongst the least sparing critics of their ancient foes, the British. They have mercilessly exposed the many little foibles of John Bull, and have pressed heavily on his faults and failings, but there has remained enough of solid character after all subtractions have been made to keep alive in them that feeling of respect which as a foeman he had compelled. It seems to have been reserved for us to inspire them with contempt.

And surely that is a proper and natural feeling, if our critic's estimate of our character is correct. If it be true that we are, with coldly-cruel eyes, watching for the exact moment when, having obtained all the protection and support that a union with the Empire can give, we may, with perfect safety to ourselves, sever the connection before the balance begins to incline on the other side, and we are called upon to give back something of what we have received, then we cannot wonder if we are regarded as utterly self-seeking and ignoble. Yet this is the estimate which we invite people to make of us. In all the talk about the inevitable separation for which we are asked to prepare, there is no hint of any great principle which is to be asserted, or any great wrong to be resisted. It is a mere question of saving our own skins. The revolt of the American Colonists is held up to us as an indication of what must happen in our own case. But it is forgotten that in that case a great principle was asserted, and asserted boldly and decisively, in the face of what looked like overwhelming odds. The Americans did not calmly wait until they were quite sure they were strong enough to secure both their safety and their interests. There was a courage about their action which we are not invited to imitate. The object which we are asked to set before ourselves is to secure all the benefits of the union and to avoid all its responsibilities. And the people who advocate this course, either openly or by implication, are they who prate most loudly about the coming greatness of the Australian nation. Animated by such a spirit, how shall we know any touch of greatness? How shall we build up a fabric of greatness upon a foundation of littleness? The life of a nation, like that of an individual,

"Is not an idle ore
But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And battered with the shocks of doom
To shape and use."

No enduring national greatness has ever sprung from mere material prosperity. Its foundation is in national character, chastened by suffering and sacrifice, and strengthened by high endeavour and great achievement. We are to obtain the result without going through the process. By a pusillanimous avoidance of difficulties and dangers we shall obtain the mental elevation and moral strength which other peoples possess only as the result of facing danger and overcoming difficulty. The thing is an absurdity. If *l'égoïsme tout pur* is really our only sentiment, then there is no great future before us. Given over to the rule of the demagogue our horizon will contract itself, more and more, and we shall be nothing but a collection of petty states, wasting our puny energies in internecine squabbles.

But I venture to think that those who have taken upon themselves to speak in the name of Australia have done so entirely without warrant, and they have totally misrepresented

and slandered their countrymen in attributing to them views and aims which are utterly repugnant to them. We do not regard separation as inevitable. We don't admit that because an idiot king and a subservient ministry forced America to declare her independence, that therefore we, who have no such provocation, must follow in the same track. We have faith in our countrymen in the old land, in ourselves, in the British Constitution, and in the future. Instead of looking forward to a time of "inevitable separation," and preparing the way for it, we desire to remove every obstacle from the way of a closer and more effective union. We believe that our common origin, instincts, and interests, our love and reverence for the land of our forefathers, and Britain's affectionate pride in us, her offspring, will form a bond pliant enough to include the widest development of local and individual liberty, and yet strong enough to draw us ever closer to each other. The belief that Australia will take advantage of some opportunity when England is engaged in a deadly struggle with a great European power, to sever the connection is both false and foolish. When such an occasion arrives, there will probably be such a manifestation of the loyalty of Australia as will silence these croakers for ever. When that great statesman—recently deceased—the Right. Hon. William Bede Dalley, called for volunteers for the Soudan, there was no belief that England was in any danger, or that the task she had undertaken would seriously tax her powers. And yet what a response that call evoked. The miner threw down his pick, and the bullock-driver his whip; the shepherd forsook his tent on the plain, and the splitter his hut in the lonely gully; from behind the desk, the counter, and the plough they came. Not to protest that Australia must not be drawn into England's wars, but to testify that "blood is thicker than water," and to cry, each one, "Here am I, send me." They must either overlook this incident altogether, or view it through curious spectacles, who believe that the day in which England is hard pressed by her foes will be the one in which her children will desert her. I believe that in such an hour even those who can see no future for Australia as an integral part of the Empire will prove to be better than their words, and that they will then be found earning the forgiveness of their countrymen whom they have slandered by competing with them for the posts of danger.

To those natives who view the question of Imperial unity in this way, the visit of our eloquent fellow-colonist from Canada—Mr. Parkin—is extremely welcome. It is a good thing to have our minds drawn away from our comparatively small local interests to the contemplation of this great subject. It is well that even where no direct action can be taken we should be led to assume the right attitude towards it. Mr. Parkin complains of a certain amount of public apathy on the question of Imperial Federation, but he should not mistake that apathy either for indifference or hostility. If we are not prepared at present to undertake anything like a practical realisation of the idea, it is because we are really permeated by the British spirit. Macaulay, in a fine passage, ascribes the enduring character of British institutions to the fact that reformers have never sought to make the Constitution ideally perfect. They have never endeavoured to remove any anomaly simply because it was an anomaly, if its effect was not found to be hurtful. The reforms have always been of an eminently practical character. In the same spirit we regard this great question. Our present arrangement works well. The union, though apparently slight, is really strong and satisfactory. We do not expect the present condition of things to last for ever, and we are prepared to join in a modification of the existing system when the occasion arises, but not before. It is not with us a question of bearing the ills we have, rather than fly to others that we know not of, but a desire not rashly to abandon positive good for something that may or may not be better. In the meantime our sympathies are with the League, and that is all that at present it really asks of us. When, in the fulness of time, its proposals come within the sphere of the practical, Young Australia will be found loyally accepting and heartily supporting them.

Let us hope the day is not far distant when another and stronger bond than those of sympathy and interest will be recognised, when the Australian Colonies will be represented in the Councils of the Empire, and form with England and the other Colonies that Greater Britain which shall be impregnable to assault, and shall secure for the Anglo-Saxon race a perpetuity of power for good among the nations of the world.—*Manchester Courier*.

This British Empire is not contained within the limits of these small islands; there is a Greater Britain spread over all parts of the world. Year by year, with the growth of that Greater Britain, does the necessity that it should be understood by our statesmen increase. The Empire cannot be governed by men who know nothing of our Colonies—who are perhaps as ignorant of them as that famous personage who spoke of Demerara as an island. The time may not be far distant when it will be made a test of fitness for high office at home that the candidate shall have visited our Colonies, and made himself practically acquainted with them. What better training for a seat in the Imperial Cabinet could there be than that the Minister has served as governor of one of our Colonies?—*Scotsman*.

LORD CARNARVON ON COLONIAL DEFENCE.

ON December the 10th, at the Cannon Street Hotel, the Earl of Carnarvon delivered an address before a special general meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce on "The Mutual Relations of the Imperial and Colonial Governments in Australasia in time of War." Mr. J. Tritton, a vice-president of the Chamber, occupied the chair, and among those present were Sir Walter Phillimore, Sir Charles Clifford, Admiral Sir E. Fanshawe, Sir Henry Barkly, Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Arthur Blyth, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, Sir James Anderson, Sir Vincent Kennett Barrington (Deputy-Chairman of the Council), Admiral Mayne, M.P., Colonel C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P., Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Sandys, M.P., Mr. C. T. Murdoch, M.P., Admiral Jaspas Selwyn, Admiral Boys, Lieutenant-General R. W. Lowry, Rear-Admiral Lindesay Brine, Major-General J. W. Laurie, Major-General Collinson, Colonel Alexander Moncrieff, Colonel P. R. Innes, Mr. W. Grey-Wilson (Governor of St. Helena), Lieutenant G. Mansfield Smith, R.N., Professor Westlake, Q.C., Dr. John Rae, Dr. E. E. Weudt, Mr. S. B. Boulton, Mr. W. H. Willams, Mr. Francis Buxton, and Mr. K. B. Murray (secretary).

The EARL of CARNARVON, in delivering his address, said:—I need not, to such an audience as this, dwell on the importance of our trade with the Australasian Colonies, or its money value, or on the constant growth of the communications by steamer, by post, by telegraph, which every year seem to knit us more closely in sympathy, as well as in interest, with our kinsfolk across the seas. For present purposes it is sufficient to say that the trade flows in three large streams between Great Britain and those Colonies—through the Suez Canal, by the Cape, and round Cape Horn. By the Suez route it represented in 1887 some £12,000,000, by the Cape route £15,000,000, and by the Horn £16,250,000—a vast amount of capital to be aloft between these two branches of the British race, and worthy of every reasonable care and safeguarding on both sides of the globe. Large as the figures are, I believe they may hereafter become much larger; but whether that be so or not, whether, indeed, they remain such as they are depends on the

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of Australia and England. Besides this enormous trade, we cannot forget the immense wealth which is centred in at least the two great cities of Sydney and Melbourne, and, further, how large a part of that wealth is English capital; or, again, how large a part of that wealth and capital is represented by the complicated and delicate element which we call credit, and which is preserved in its integrity by the sense of security from any hostile attack; nor, lastly, need I speak of the intimate conjunction of political, commercial, and personal interests in which England and Australia are bound up. In the forcible words of an Australian statesman, whose acquaintance I have had the pleasure of making, "We cannot imagine any description of circumstances by which the Colonies should be weakened or humiliated or lowered, under which the Empire itself would not be weakened, humiliated, or lowered. And we are unable to conceive any circumstances under which the wealth and status of the Colonies could be increased, which would not increase in the same degree the wealth and status of the Empire." The question, therefore, which I desire to bring before you to-day—though it must necessarily be in rapid outline—is how these vast and widely-ramified interests are to be protected in a time of war, and in what proportions by the two partners, as I may not unfitly call them, in our Imperial firm. What, then, is the relative position of the two parties, and what do they severally contribute to the common object? On the one side this country provides the whole fleet—that which is stationed in Australian waters, that which is in reserve, that which is in support in other parts of the world, because in a question of common defence these three considerations are inseparably united—the men, the guns, the material, the knowledge, and directing head. She provides also the great coaling-stations with their armaments and garrisons, which, rightly understood, enable the Royal Navy to keep the seas and insure so largely the protection of Australian commerce, the Cape, Ceylon, Singapore, Hongkong; and, lastly, she furnishes those swift mail steamers and merchantmen, armed, or unarmed,

"THE GREYHOUNDS OF THE OCEAN,"

as they have been termed, which whether as irregular cruisers or as carriers of merchandise and supplies must play so large a part in any future war. On the other side, Australia contributes under the recent agreement a certain money subsidy. She provides the landworks and armaments, which defend both her own coasts and shipping, as well as the British Navy, when for any reason they may need to retire to refit or repair in Australian ports; they provide in a few cases some ships and gunboats for harbour defence; they furnish a small, well-paid and trained permanent force, together with a considerable body of Volunteers, which, though very satisfactory in character and spirit, yet needs in many important respects further organisation. This, very briefly stated, is, I think, a fair statement of what Great Britain and Australasia are supposed to contribute towards the common object of defence in Australasian waters. Any one who will compare this state of things with that of a few years since will see how considerable has been the advance made. In 1879, just ten years ago, Sir W. Jervois based his plan of defence on the principle that while the Imperial Navy undertakes the protection of British trade afloat, the Australian Colonies should at their own cost provide the local forces, forts, and other appliances for the protection of their principal ports. Again at the Intercolonial Conference, held at Sydney in 1881, a resolution was agreed to that the naval defence of these Colonies should remain in exclusive charge of the Imperial Government, that the squadrons should be strengthened, and that the several Colonies should, at their cost, place the land defence on an effective footing. Lastly, a year after this, in 1882, the Commission for the Defence of British Possessions Abroad, of which I had the honour to be chairman, though acknowledging the expediency of the money contribution which has now

been adopted, hesitated, and wisely hesitated in the then state of Colonial feeling, to press it on the Colonies. It will thus be seen how large a step has been taken since 1879, 1881, and 1882, by the agreement entered into by this country and the Australian Colonies in 1887. But since then another, and in my opinion an important, move has been made along the same road. The Defence Commission, of which I have spoken, strongly recommended the appointment of an experienced officer of rank and distinction to inspect the forces and military establishments of the Australian Colonies, and this recommendation has been at last complied with. General Edwards has inspected the defences of the great Australian Colonies, and is now, I believe, visiting, or about to visit, New Zealand. His report

PROMISES TO BEAR FRUIT.

We do not know what precisely his recommendations are, though I hear that they are now in existence; but I cannot doubt that in any proposals for the general defence of Australia, they would, among many others, contain these—the enactment of measures to enable in time of war or in certain specified circumstances the forces of one Colony to cross the borders of another, and a general discipline Act for the control of joint Colonial forces, and for placing them under a single authority. It is hardly less necessary to establish a manufactory of gunpowder, small ammunition, and the minor kinds of warlike stores, and Victoria is already taking steps in this direction; but until the arrangements for this have been matured, a dépôt of these supplies might easily be formed. It is a matter of importance; for on the outbreak of hostilities the strain upon our resources at home would be such that it would be impossible to send munitions of war abroad to the Colonies in adequate quantities. It is doubtful whether matters are ripe in Australia for the establishment of a school of military instruction such as exists at Kingston in Canada. I look back always with the greatest satisfaction upon the share which I had in the creation of that school, and when I was in Canada some years since, I saw with unfeigned delight the satisfactory condition in which it was; but neither the present circumstances nor the feeling in Australia make such a school necessary—and it must wait. These are some of the changes which are necessary to enable the Australian Colonies to perform their part in the common work and duty to which I have referred. Most, if not all, of them would be best accomplished through the agency of a common Federal Legislature, if such existed; but it is possible that the end might be achieved even now, though less perfectly, by the existing machinery. Whatever may be the means adopted, I think they are all of pressing importance. Having thus stated the position of the two parties, it remains to consider what should be the principles and proportions of the co-operation at which we aim. Taking the British side first, it is clear that in war time the main duties

MUST FALL ON THE NAVY;

though till we are actually engaged in hostilities it is impossible to say precisely what those duties will be. The wisest heads amongst us cannot venture to predict what a maritime war will be, and will involve; we have had many great wars on land during the last thirty-five years, but we have had, with the exception of the action off Heligoland, and some fighting on the western coasts of South America, no precedents or experience of naval warfare within that time. Much at the best is conjecture. But we know this much—that it must rest with this country to find the ships and the crews, to maintain, and, if necessary, to increase the Australian squadron, to keep the lines of communication open both as regards commerce and supplies; to fight any enemies that may show themselves, to silence and clear out any military stations that they may possess or acquire in those seas; to catch any piratical or privateering ships of the *Alabama* class—and I say this without wishing to raise any nice questions of international law—and finally to keep up in full efficiency those fortified coaling stations on which the fighting power of the Navy and the safety of our merchantmen depend. Truly a long and weighty list of duties, but of which not one can be omitted without the risk of entire failure. And here, in passing, I will venture to pay a tribute, even at our own expense, to the good sense of the Australian negotiators who were parties to the agreement of 1887. The Defence Commission, of which I was chairman, had laid it down strongly that, in the event of any subsidy from the Colonies, the Australian squadron should not be tied in its operations to any particular spot, and that the officer in command should be free to handle his ships not only how, but where, he pleased. But at the time of the negotiation of the agreement our authorities, in their desire to conciliate what they supposed to be the objections of the Colonists, were, as may be seen by a reference to the Parliamentary papers, disposed to waive this very important condition; but the Australians, with a good sense and a correct appreciation of the merits of the case, so modified the article in an Imperial direction that, subject to the consent of the Colonial Governments, the limits were enlarged within which the squadron might be employed—a power which, I trust, may never be required, but which it is obviously wise to possess in regard to the manifold contingencies of maritime war.

I REJOICE TO MAKE THIS ACKNOWLEDGMENT

to the Australian public men who negotiated this important agreement, and I draw a favourable augury from it for future conferences and consultations. But having said this, I must also say that, as an impartial judge and a lover of Australia, I think that the more closely that agreement is examined the more clearly it will appear that it is in a material point of view an excellent bargain for the Australian Colonies. I have thus stated at some length the duties which in the event of war would devolve upon the British Navy; let me ask—and the answer can be given in much fewer words—what proportion of this scheme of joint defence ought to rest with the Colonies? First, it is for them to place their great capitals, overflowing with wealth and all the splendour of a rising civilisation, in a position of adequate defence, both for their own sake and to give shelter to the Navy in time of difficulty. I cannot pay too high a tribute to the energy and

patriotism of Victoria in the unstinted liberality with which she has in time of peace prepared for war—the surest way, in my opinion, of averting war. The other Colonies have still more or less to do before they can justly feel a sense of security; but I do not doubt, from what I have seen on the spot, and from what I know, that the public good sense of those great communities will before long insist upon the necessary amount of precaution being taken. It is not really very much that is needed, and when once the defences of the large towns are complete, all that remains, as I have already said, is to give some further organisation and unification to the local forces. With this I believe that Australia may consider herself virtually

SAFE FROM ANY SERIOUS ATTACK.

There remains the question of fortifying King George's Sound in the south, and Thursday Island in the north. It is a work which, sooner or later, in the interests of Australia, must be undertaken, and perhaps the sooner the better; but I now only allude to it that I may not seem to have overlooked it—and though the suggestion may not be quite acceptable to my Australian friends, I think that, all things being fairly considered, the larger part of the expense ought to be placed to their account. Perhaps the arrangement made elsewhere—that we shall provide the guns, and they shall supply the works and the garrisons—may give a fair basis of agreement. Unless, indeed, the British fleet be disabled or strangely out-manœuvred, I hardly see how, with such precautions, a landing in force on Australian soil would be possible. The greater part of the enemy's naval forces would probably be elsewhere, and though it is never safe to repose upon calculations which are optimistic or based upon the number of foreign ships of war that may at the present time happen to be in those seas, and though war, like everything else, is subject to the "unexpected," it is hard to suppose that with land works and land forces in fair order, and the Imperial squadron afloat, a descent of foreign troops would be possible. The landing of 5,000 men means a very considerable fleet to carry the troops and to protect the transports, in which a certain proportion of cavalry and artillery must be conveyed. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that we were at war with Russia or France, there are probably but two quarters from which attack would be possible—Vladivostok and the French Colonies. Of these, Vladivostok, if indeed not too far distant, can hardly be very formidable whilst the railways connecting it with the interior are incomplete; whilst as regards the French Colonies, they would, I think, have quite as much as they could do to hold their own. The danger, indeed, against which we have mainly to guard is not, I believe, as in former times, a loss of territory; it is rather some grave injury to our commerce—that commerce which we have won by such hard sacrifices, and which has made us—our life-blood, our vital breath, that which unites our Colonies to us—which has

CREATED AND KEEPS OUR EMPIRE—

and without which England would become an overcrowded, pauperised, discontented island in the North Sea. In thus speaking, I hope I need not say that I look with feelings of the utmost repugnance upon war with any of our neighbours. We hope that our relations with each member of the European family are as friendly as they can be; we believe that there is no real reason why our interests and theirs should be at variance; we covet nothing; we only desire to retain and develop the possessions which have been granted to us. But in arguing on such a subject as that on which I am speaking, we must, for the sake of that argument, assume that circumstances might arise which might drag us against our will into hostilities with some of those with whom we earnestly desire to be at peace. Nor need I say that not a word which I have spoken is intended to discourage action, or to lessen that patriotic and prudent spirit in Australia which desires to take every reasonable precaution. My meaning is rather this, that when we in England and our kinsfolk on the other side of the Pacific have in our several proportions completed the work of defence, we shall have as strong a position as any country in these uncertain times can expect to possess; and, our house being thus set in order, we may with an easy conscience leave the issue to the great Disposer of human fortunes, without whom neither ships nor armaments nor battalions are of avail. I cannot draw these remarks to a conclusion without calling your attention to a matter which indirectly but largely concerns the questions of which I have spoken. A few weeks ago many of us were discussing Imperial Federation. We discussed it in an assembly composed of all shades of political opinion, and I rejoice that it was so. I will not allow that this great subject, which deals with the vital interests of the Empire, should

BELONG TO ANY ONE PARTY IN THE STATE,

and I should consider it unpatriotic on either side so to treat it. We have ample questions to divide us, and on which there must be factitious or factious difference of opinion, without importing our party variances into this one. But, whilst we are discussing Imperial Federation at home, in Australia a considerable step towards it has been made by the action taken with regard to Intercolonial Federation; and I have always said and believed that this last would greatly facilitate, if it must not precede, the somewhat closer relationship which is involved in the former. Intercolonial Federation affects Australian interests primarily and directly; but even as regards the particular questions of defence to which I have referred, it is easy to see how greatly many of them would be simplified if we were dealing with a single federal Government instead of many Administrations and Parliaments. In so large and complicated an arrangement as the union of the Australian Colonies there are very great difficulties, many of them imperfectly apprehended here in England, but not the less real or formidable on that account. It was my privilege many years since, when I held the seals of the Colonial Office, to preside over the confederation of the disunited Provinces of the Dominion of Canada; and I then learnt this lesson, that in such a work of Imperial magnitude, where there were so many interests to conciliate, so many difficulties to overcome, great delays were inevitable and great patience was necessary. The confederation of Canada was the result of repeated

conferences, consultations, concessions, in short, all the "give and take" which is the essence of English politics. My predecessor at the Colonial Office, Mr. Cardwell, a statesman whose memory is still justly honoured, had with patience and ability paved the way towards the great end in view, and when I succeeded to his post I received from him every assistance. But confederation itself was not possible till all preliminary measures were complete, and above all till public feeling was ripe for the change.

IS PUBLIC FEELING RIPE IN AUSTRALIA?

That is a question for Australians to answer, and one on which any prudent Englishman will speak with diffidence. I will not here attempt to pronounce on it; but I may certainly say this much—that whereas in the times that I perfectly remember there was in Australia little or no feeling in favour of Intercolonial Federation, there are now many who desire it. The appreciation of it has evidently grown. And, further, I will add that the difference in the form of procedure which separates, or I may now more correctly say which separated, the Prime Ministers of New South Wales and Victoria a few weeks ago appears to me, in argument at least, to be narrow. It will be in the recollection of many here present that some years ago a Federal Council, which was intended to provide a means of dealing with matters of common interest to the Colonies, was created. Unfortunately, that Council did not command universal consent; to it Victoria and most of the other Colonies of the continent gave their adhesion; from it New South Wales and New Zealand stood aloof. And a preliminary divergence between the two leading Colonies as regards Intercolonial Federation has now grown out of the question, whether the Federal Council of Australasia provides or can be made to provide efficient machinery for united action as regards military defence; or whether an entirely new departure must be taken in order to constitute an Australian union with full powers of administration and taxation. Holding this latter opinion, Sir H. Parkes proposed that each Colony should elect six members, who should sit in convention to frame a Constitution for the whole, Mr. Gillies, on the other hand, proposing that the representatives of the several Colonies in the Federal Council should meet Sir H. Parkes and his colleagues from New South Wales for the same purpose. The difference between these two proposals was certainly a narrow one; we have heard that it has, in fact, been surmounted by a reasonable compromise, and I cannot resist the expression of an earnest hope that, looking at this question, as I am sure Australian statesmen do, from an

UNSELFISH AND PATRIOTIC POINT OF VIEW,

and merging private and local ambitions in the interests of a common Australia, they may achieve in a closer and a more effective union an object of high policy and value. Australia has been so long "fortune's favourite," and has known so few of the trials and tempestuous struggles through which other nations have passed, that a great constitutional change such as that of which I speak proceeds rather from the desire to grow in greatness and prosperity than to escape from known dangers and anxieties. But whatever the cause, we at home can heartily wish her God-speed in her desires, believing that in the growth of our youngest child we see fresh guarantees for the expansion of the Empire and the extension of the British race. (Cheers.)

METROPOLITAN BRANCH MEETINGS.

KENSINGTON.

A PUBLIC meeting in connection with the Kensington branch was held on Monday, December 9th, at the Kensington Town Hall, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. G. R. Parkin, M.A. Sir Rawson W. Rawson (president of the branch) occupied the chair, and among those on the platform were Sir Algernon Borthwick, M.P., General Sir Peter Lumsden, General Sir W. Gallivay (late Governor of Bermuda), General Sir George Hannan, Lieut.-General Laurie, M.P., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, Mr. George Beetham (New Zealand), Captain W. H. James, Mr. C. F. Murray (hon. secretary), and others. Letters expressing regret at inability to be present were received from Lord Knutsford, Mr. C. Ritchie, M.P., and Sir Charles Tupper.—The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that if there was one important question at the present time it was that of the consolidation of the Empire. They of the League felt that as the Empire increased, the centrifugal forces that tended to its breaking up and its disintegration increased proportionately. They felt that they had a magnificent Empire to maintain, and they wished to interest the people of England in its maintenance, that it should not crumble away through any fault or mismanagement on their side or misconception on the other.—Sir Algernon Borthwick, M.P., in moving the first resolution, referred to the change which the last three decades had brought about in the relations between the Colonies and England, and said that the Imperial Federation League was a body of men in England and the Colonies who were anxious to bring home to the people of England the desirability of such a consolidation of the Empire as they desired. There were many difficulties in the way, but instead of regarding these they should rather take note of the facilities, because he thought the difficulties would vanish as they approached them. They had first to treat the Colonies as in no way inferior to themselves, and one of the first things to be done was to pass through Parliament a Bill for the establishment of an oceanic penny postage. (Cheers.) That would show good earnest on their part. As sure as he stood on that platform they would see ere long a revival of some of these great conflicts which had agitated the world in past years, and when these conflicts came he thought it would be a great advantage to the Colonies to have a strong Mother Country at their back. He moved, "That, bearing in mind the complete success which attended the meeting of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire at the invitation of her Majesty's Government in 1887, and the opinion so frequently expressed by those representatives that a series of such gatherings would greatly tend to the consolidation and welfare of the Empire at large, this meeting desires to

convey to her Majesty's Government its opinion that it is undesirable for any long interval to elapse before a second conference is summoned, and subject to public convenience an invitation should be issued by her Majesty's Government at an early date."—Mr. Parkin, who was received with cheers, said that after travelling over 40,000 miles of the Empire he had nothing but words of encouragement for them. He did not believe it was possible to point to one great movement in this country which had made such great advances as this. It was only twenty years ago since one of the great journals of this country said that Canada must get ready to go, but only last year the same journal said Imperial Federation had become one of the great questions of the day. At the Mansion House from the great City men, and at the Universities from the most eminent scholars, he had found nothing but support, and he claimed that when a subject had reached such a point, and was every day getting a fuller control of the minds of the best men of the country, no apology was necessary for bringing it upon any platform in England. In Canada they had fifty Members of Parliament who belonged to the League, as well as others in every walk of life; and in the same way in Australasia both aged statesmen and young and energetic men were studying the question. All round the Empire there was a rising tide of feeling in favour of a great national idea, which, as Lord Rosebery had recently said, was worth working for and living for, and, if needs be, dying for. In a few days a deputation was going to Lord Salisbury to urge upon him and the Government that another conference should be called, and, furthermore, that this conference should be held at stated intervals. If they get such an embryo body as that, properly managed and properly stimulated by public opinion, it would in time become a sufficiently representative body to secure the unity of this great Empire. In his opinion, the Empire had got to a stage where it had to choose between two great lines—between the line marked out by some journals and some politicians, which involved the cutting off of the Colonies, and that other line which the League had adopted and which they believed to be absolutely essential to the life and prosperity of this country. In continuation, Mr. Parkin pointed out the manner in which the question affected this country in the matter of its finances and its food supplies, and dwelt at some length on the views which Canadians held regarding the future of their country, arguing that Federation was the only possible outcome of the situation. Canada had great interests at stake, and what she wanted was a full representative voice in all that affected the Empire. Having alluded to the immense coal deposits which seemed to have been providentially placed in Nova Scotia, Vancouver, and New South Wales, and which were of immense importance to our fleet, Mr. Parkin concluded a lengthy and spirited address by saying that Providence had given them in these Colonies a great quadrilateral of strength, and they would be regarded as the fools of all the ages if they allowed their statesmen to give it up. (Cheers.) The resolution was carried, and the proceedings closed in the usual manner.

HAMPSTEAD.

Under the auspices of the Hampstead Branch a public meeting was held at the Blind School, Avenue Road, on Friday, December 13th, when there was a good attendance. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P., presided, and he was supported by Sir Spencer Wells, Bart., M.D., Mr. Brodie Hoare, M.P., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Mr. S. Figgis (Liberal candidate for Hampstead), Mr. H. M. Matheson, J.P., Mr. J. T. Taylor, Mr. G. Harris Lea, and Mr. H. W. Marcus (hon. secretary). There were also present Dr. Cooper Rose, Mr. Lennard Lewis, Mr. Septimus Payne, Mr. E. Denman, Mr. A. Bakewell, &c. The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, alluded to the presence of Mr. G. R. Parkin, M.A., who had had great experience in Colonial affairs, and who evinced much enthusiasm for the subject of Imperial Federation, which was exciting a great deal of interest at the present time. We had a great offspring, and it behaved all Englishmen to take an interest in their Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Parkin then addressed the meeting at considerable length, covering much the same ground as he had done at Kensington, and his eloquent speech was interrupted by continual applause. He moved a resolution in favour of the summoning at an early date of a second Colonial Conference, and in conclusion said that the question of Imperial Federation was one of the utmost importance, and well worthy of the consideration of all interested in the affairs of this great Empire. (Loud applause.)—Mr. E. Brodie Hoare, M.P., said after the speech of Mr. Parkin he felt there was little left for him to do but to second the motion and sit down again. (Laughter.) He prayed God that their children might witness such an Empire as Mr. Parkin had pictured (applause)—an Empire which would be the most powerful the world had ever seen, powerful not for bullying but for peace. (Cheers.) It made his blood stir to hear the speech of Mr. Parkin. If all the great statesmen of the Empire were gathered together and attempted to draw up a Constitution for our Empire, as it stood at present, he should say that it would be a long time before it was made. The quicker the growth of such a Constitution the quicker the fall. At present interests which lay in the pocket stood in the way of Federation. He thought that it was our duty to help to bind the various parts of the Empire together, if only by diverting a line of steamships so that they ran through British waters. He hoped that the Conference, when it met, would not rush into constitution-mongering at once, but would confine itself to such things as a telegraph line across the Pacific, and go on step by step. A gentleman in the body of the hall opposed the resolution, amidst roars of laughter, on the ground that Imperial Federation did not promote union between man and man, but only union of the Empire. On being put to the vote only two hands were held up against the motion, which was declared carried.—A resolution in support of the Hampstead branch of the League was moved by the Hon. T. Allnutt Brassey, who apologised for the absence of his father, and said that Imperial Federation meant in the minds of most people, giving the Colonies a voice in the Imperial Government of the Empire.

The present Colonial Office was not adapted for governing our larger Colonies, the chief rule in force there being apparently to oppose the wishes of the Colonists. This was shown in the case of New Guinea, the appointment of Sir Henry Blake as Governor of New South Wales, and in the Behring Sea sealers' case now going on. The Central League badly wanted funds to keep up its staff and newspaper, and to found fresh branches. He had much pleasure in proposing the resolution.—Mr. Figgis seconded the resolution, and gave some interesting statistics of the size and wealth of the Empire, both as compared with the past and with other nations. He thought that it was our duty to hand down our Empire unimpaired to posterity. (Applause.) The resolution was carried with but one dissident.—Mr. G. Harris Lea proposed a resolution thanking the chairman, Mr. Parkin, and the Hon. T. A. Brassey for their presence that evening, and stated that he felt it was their duty to add their small rivulet to the great river of praise that Mr. Parkin was gathering. Mr. J. T. Taylor, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Branch, briefly seconded the resolution, which was duly carried. The Hon. T. A. Brassey and Mr. Parkin having thanked the audience, Sir Richard Temple, in replying, said he had heard many speeches on the subject of Imperial Federation, but never one in which the case had been put so eloquently, sensibly, and splendidly as by Mr. Parkin that night.

POETRY.

IN view of the recent death of Miss Eliza Cook, who although she had long become a name and nothing more to the present generation, was once held in great esteem among English song-writers, we reprint below a set of verses from her pen which fired the blood of our fathers, and are at all events expressive of a genuine patriotism:—

THE ENGLISHMAN.

There's a land that bears a well-known name,
Though it is but a little spot;
I say 'tis first on the scroll of fame,
And who shall say it is not?
Of the deathless ones that shine and live
In arms, in arts, in song,
The brightest the whole world can give
To that little land belong:
'Tis the star of earth, deny it who can;
The island home of an Englishman.

There's a flag that waves o'er every sea,
No matter when or where;
And to treat that flag as aught but the free
Is more than the strongest dare;
For the lion-spirits that tread the deck
Have carried the palm of the brave,
And that flag may sink with a shot-torn wreck,
But never float over a slave;
Its honour is stainless, deny it who can,
And this is the flag of an Englishman.

There's a heart that leaps with burning glow
The wronged and the weak to defend;
And strikes as soon for a trampled foe
As it does for a soul-bound friend.
It nurtures a deep and honest love;
It glows with faith and pride;
And yearns with the fondness of a dove
To the light of its own fireside:
'Tis a rich rough gem, deny it who can,
And this is the heart of an Englishman.

The Briton may traverse the pole or the zone,
And boldly claim his right;
For he calls such a vast domain his own,
That the sun never sets on his might.
Let the haughty stranger seek to know
The place of his home and birth;
And a flush will pour from cheek to brow
While he tells his native earth;
For a glorious charter, deny it who can,
Is breathed in the words, "I'm an Englishman."

There are many Canadians and Australians who do not understand what we mean by federation apart from the ring fence theory—"all the Empire under one hat," as an Antipodean put it the other day, "and a five per cent. duty over the rim."—*Hereford Times*.

We have received for review a small pamphlet written by Mr. D. McLaren Morrison, and reprinted from the *Calcutta Statesman*. It has a frontispiece representing a colossal Britannia, with shield and trident, poised upon a globe of about the size and colour of a Tangerine orange, which is inscribed with the words "Imperial Federation." According to the writer, this subject has, up to the present time, attracted little or no attention in India; and we are bound to say that if this is the first introduction of it to Anglo-Indian and native circles, we could wish that the task had been more thoroughly accomplished. Mr. Morrison has little or nothing that is new to suggest, except that some selected Colonial yeoman should be brought over to England to discourse to our "discontented classes" about the milk and honey of Australia and Canada, and (as regards India) that the Queen should travel in *propria persona* to Calcutta and hold a Durbar of all the great Princes of the land. By so doing, we are somewhat hazily informed, the Empress of India would "found the army of Imperial Federation." Beyond this sterile policy of peregrination, we fail to see much in Mr. Morrison's proposals.

THE HOFMEYR SCHEME.

BY THOMAS MACFARLANE.

IN the November number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* there are to be found some references to, and criticisms upon, the plan for obtaining revenue for Imperial defence brought before the Colonial Conference of 1887 by Mr. Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr, one of the delegates from the Cape of Good Hope. Before noticing the criticisms, it seems necessary to make the following quotations from Mr. Hofmeyr's speech, in order that his position and views may be properly understood:—

"This Conference has devoted a very considerable part of its time to matters of defence, and we have done something; but I take it upon myself to say that, from an Imperial point of view, the proceedings of the Conference in connection with the subject of defence cannot have been perfectly satisfactory. What have we arrived at? Simply this: that the Australian group of Colonies will pay a certain amount annually towards the support of a few ships in their own waters. But what has the rest of the Colonial Empire done towards the maintenance of the Imperial navy? Nothing at all. The Cape has not agreed to do anything; Canada has not agreed to do anything; and none of the other Colonies have agreed to do anything, for reasons which I think are weighty, and which this Conference will not overrule. At the same time it is admitted by some high naval authorities (although perhaps not by the authorities whom we have had before us) that the British fleet is not quite so strong and powerful as it ought to be, in view of the tremendous interests that it has to protect, when compared with the French and German fleets, and having regard to the limited interests that they have to protect. Supposing that the Imperial Government were to find by-and-by that it required very considerably greater assistance from the Colonies towards the maintenance of the fleet and of the army than it has obtained hitherto, I doubt very much whether you would find that a system of subsidies would answer in the long run. . . . The system of subsidies by the Colonies to the Mother Country has been tried betwixt France and its Colonies. In the French Colonial law there is a clause to the effect that the Colonies shall be bound to contribute certain amounts to the maintenance of the French navy, but, according to the latest report that I have seen, there is not a single French Colony that pays a subsidy to-day; in fact, the reverse is really the case, and the Mother Country has to pay for the defence, and in some cases even for the civil government, of the Colonies.

"Therefore taking into consideration the necessity that the British Empire should have some other consolidating force in addition to mere sentiment, that it should have the force of self-interest, that at the same time something more might have to be done for the defence of the Empire than has been done hitherto, that greater contributions might be required from the Colonies than have been paid hitherto, and that the Colonies would not be prepared to pay it in the form of subsidies, but might not object to some indirect taxation, which practically admitted their right to greater fiscal privileges within the Empire than are accorded to Foreign Powers, I have, following the limits that I have seen in the public newspapers from time to time, formulated this subject for discussion. . . . The scheme which I wish to lay before the Conference is one which would promote a closer fiscal union between the various parts of the Empire, which would produce revenue for Imperial purposes, and which at the same time would leave the various fiscal tariffs of the different parts of the Empire, of the Colonies as well as England, untouched.

"I will give some figures to show how this plan might work in practice. I am not, however, going to trouble you with many figures. I find that the total imports into the United Kingdom from foreign countries in 1885 amounted to £286,000,000. That is the last year I could get. The total foreign imports into the Colonies (I need not give the process by which I arrived at the figures) for 1885 would amount to £66,000,000. The two together would give £352,000,000, representing the imports of foreign produce into the whole Empire. Now, supposing that we were to levy an average rate of two per cent. all round (the tariff might be arranged so that one class of goods should pay more than another), that £352,000,000 would give a revenue of not less than £7,000,000. That is a revenue which would pay for a very considerable part of the British fleet. It would relieve the Colonies from the payment of subsidies, and at the same time that it would be paid by the Colonies, it would be paid by Great Britain, too, of course. I do not know whether Great Britain would feel it or not, but the Colonies would not feel it, and it would establish a feeling on their part that, whilst they were paying for the defence of the Empire, they were at the same time enjoying in British markets and in Inter-colonial markets certain advantages which foreigners did not enjoy. That would establish a connecting link between the Colonies mutually, as well as between the Colonies and the Empire also, such as is not at present in existence, and which might further develop by-and-by into a most powerful bond of union."

Such is the Hofmeyr scheme of commercial union for naval

defence, given in the words of its originator. His colleagues at the conference were evidently very much impressed by it, and the following gave it their cordial approval:—Sir Robert Thorburn (Newfoundland), Sir J. W. Downey (South Australia), Sir William Fitzherbert (New Zealand), Mr. Alfred Deakin, Mr. James Service (Victoria), Sir S. W. Griffith (Queensland), Mr. John Robinson (Natal). The representatives of New South Wales and Canada offered no opinion, nor did Lord Knutsford say anything from the point of view of the English Government. It cannot be doubted that a plan, which was favoured by a majority of the Colonial delegates, and which possesses so much intrinsic merit, will, in the end, be adopted as a first step to closer Imperial union.

-- In his remarks on Mr. Hofmeyr's proposal, Mr. Service, of Victoria, observed that, possibly, the establishment of an Imperial tariff might be followed by decreased imports, but at once admitted that this was "a very small criticism to make upon such a noble speech." A similar "small criticism" is contained in the remark of the gentleman of long commercial experience, recorded on page 251 of the November number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, which is to the effect that the carrying out of Mr. Hofmeyr's suggestion would lead to delay and loss of interest "which would certainly amount to another one per cent." If so, the customs arrangements in England must be somewhat defective. Certain it is, that in Canada it is just as easy to pass an entry for dutiable as for free goods. This, at any rate, is the experience of several importers who have been consulted on the subject, and who say further that placing free goods on the dutiable list could not here have the effect of increasing the time or expense for passing them at the custom house.

The same critic asks "how it would be to agree upon a universal tax on spirits or tobacco, and allot that to Imperial purposes?" It may be worth while to inquire what this would really amount to compared with the taxation proposed by Mr. Hofmeyr. The value of the goods received from foreign sources, according to Sir R. W. Rawson, and the proceeds of a two per cent. duty upon them, are given approximatively in the following statement:—

	Value of Foreign Imports.	Amount of a 2 per cent. duty.
Into Great Britain and Ireland ...	£286,566,000 ...	£5,731,320
" India, Ceylon, &c. ...	24,337,000 ...	486,740
" Canada and Newfoundland ...	12,736,000 ...	254,720
" Australasia ...	6,751,000 ...	135,020
" West Indies, &c. ...	3,206,000 ...	64,120
" South Africa, &c. ...	1,061,000 ...	21,220
" Gibraltar, Malta, &c. ...	154,000 ...	3,080
	£334,811,000	£6,696,220

On Mr. Hofmeyr's plan £5,731,320 would therefore be raised on the foreign goods imported into England. To raise an equal amount by an excise tax on spirits, from which at present nearly thirteen millions sterling are derived in Great Britain, would require that the present duties be increased about 45 per cent. With regard to tobacco, which at present produces £9,367,000, the duty upon it would have to be increased 61 per cent., in order to provide the £5,731,000 obtainable by Mr. Hofmeyr's Imperial tariff. That the non-teetotallers or smokers of the United Kingdom, who at present contribute more than one-third of the entire revenue of the country, would consent to such heavy additional taxation, even for the sake of a united Empire, does not seem likely. Besides, this way of providing revenue would not have the slightest effect in uniting and benefiting the commercial interests of the Empire. So far as their several markets are concerned, Englishmen, Anglo-Indians, and Colonists would be on the same footing as aliens, and still continue to be foreigners to each other. On the other hand, as Mr. Hofmeyr says, an Imperial tariff "would relieve the British taxpayer of some part of his burden. The British taxpayer, at present, has to pay for the maintenance of the Army and Navy single-handed, alone by himself. Under my plan he would share that burden with the Colonies, and he would know, at the same time, that, whilst he contributed something under the heading of a new tax, he, at the same time, obtained a better market for his industry in the Colonies."

The opponents of such a plan as Mr. Hofmeyr's are good enough to consider the matter as it would affect Canada, and tell us that Canada, "in its own interest, wants a differential duty on grain, meat, and other so-called raw materials." Now it can be safely stated that no such wish has been expressed by the people or press generally, or by any of the Governments. Canada is perfectly well satisfied with the power it at present possesses of regulating its own tariff, and the question of differential duties has been brought to the front principally by the advocates of Imperial Federation, and with the design of interesting Canadians in the movement. Mr. McCarthy's declaration, recently quoted, is a proof of this, but its terms also prove that it was conceived in no selfish spirit. We repudiate the idea that Canadian Federationists advocate differential duties or an Imperial tariff exclusively in the interest of Canada, and maintain these to be equally, if not far more, beneficial to England and the rest of the Empire.

It would be equally unjust and uncharitable to say that Mr. Hofmeyr made his proposal in the interest of South Africa, and that its contribution of £20,000 annually would be given only to obtain advantages in other quarters. No one who reads Mr. Hofmeyr's speech will say that it savours of selfishness. The following extracts will show his true aim and spirit:—"I have taken this matter in hand with two objects: to promote the union of the Empire, and at the same time to obtain revenue for purposes of general defence." . . . "I find that the system of favouring colonial above foreign trade is one which is adopted by almost every other colonial Power. France adopts it, Spain adopts it, Portugal adopts it, Holland does not adopt the system herself, but she allows her West Indian colonies to levy a differential duty as against foreign goods, but not as against Dutch goods. . . . If the system should be introduced it will depend very much upon the Representatives of the Colonies of the Empire and of the United Kingdom, whether it should be extended so far as to become protective in character or not. For the present, however, I do not aim at protection. I aim at something that shall supply a cohesive force to the Empire, and shall at the same time provide revenue for defensive purposes."

The objection that the proposed Imperial revenue duty would be a tax upon the raw materials required for British manufacturers is met by Mr. Hofmeyr in the following way. "It would be a tax not on all raw materials, but only on those not coming from the Colonies. The Colonies might develop their producing capacity to such an extent that after the lapse of some years the tax would hardly be felt at all in England. In this respect also the tax might be considered less objectionable, if the English people found that the chances are that they would be indemnified for any loss they suffered by reason of a tax on raw materials by having a better market in the Colonies than they have under the present system of free competition between foreign goods and their own all over the Empire."

December 2, 1889.

MR. RALEIGH ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.¹

IT is now some fifteen months since we had occasion to notice the remarks on "Imperial Federation and Home Rule" contributed by the author of "Elementary Politics" to the columns of the *Liberal Unionist*. Mr. Raleigh dealt with the former of the two subjects in a passage of only nineteen and a half lines, and though he gave Mr. Forster and the League a friendly pat on the back for the good work they had done in rousing the public from its apathy, he evidently felt that their chance of realising their ultimate object was dubious in the extreme. "We may," said he, "in the dim and distant future have a Congress exercising some limited authority over the Empire at large. We have now a Parliament exercising full authority over the United Kingdom, and an adequate measure of authority over the rest of the Empire. *Are we to sacrifice the substance or the shadow?*"

Such was Mr. Raleigh's standpoint in September, 1888, but it is very far from being his standpoint now. As we are glad to mention elsewhere, he has lately "found salvation" in the fold of the Imperial Federation League, and has made a public appearance on our platform in the company of Mr. Parkin. We find him in the intermediate stage between disbelief and conversion in the little volume he published a short time ago, on "Irish Politics," the first of a series of short studies to be issued under his editorship, "bearing more or less on the politics of our day, but not intended to subserve the purpose of any party or movement." This small treatise (which conspicuously displays Mr. Raleigh's characteristic literary virtues of clear thought and concise expression) contains a chapter of almost twelve pages devoted exclusively to Imperial Federation, and it is with this, and this alone, that we have here to do.

The writer begins by stating that whereas formerly the drift of Liberal opinion in England was towards disintegration, the tendency is now all the other way. "So far," he writes, "from wishing to part with the Colonies, we are asking whether it is not possible to make the connection closer than it is." What then can be done to bring about this Imperial unity? The term Imperial Federation may have several meanings, but "it must, in any case, imply that the Colonies are to be represented in an Imperial Council or Congress." Mr. Raleigh goes on to show by a variety of arguments—the difficulty of adjusting representation to population, the necessity of some arrangement being made for the Crown Colonies and dependencies, the liability of an Imperial House of Commons to be broken into groups—that the addition to the British Parliament in London of popularly elected representatives of colonial opinion is out of the question. The suggestion of an Imperial House of Lords he also brushes aside on the same grounds as those stated by our President at the Mansion House the other day, viz., that it would be altogether out of harmony with the democratic sentiment of Colonial politicians. There remains another method, which he proceeds to

sketch in some detail, namely, the creation of a second chamber, either of a totally new kind, or based upon the existing Privy Council, in which the various portions of the Empire might find representation more or less on the principle which governs the American Senate. The words in which Mr. Raleigh drafts the constitution of such an Imperial council are not without interest at the present time: "The British Government should nominate at least fifty members, qualified by holding or having held high offices in the service of the Crown. Each independent Colonial government should be free to nominate two councillors to represent it. Crown Colonies and Dependencies should also be represented: but they would have to be grouped; to give separate representation to them would make the Council too large. The Council should have regular times for sitting; and it should sit in public, or with closed doors, as it thinks fit, like the American Senate." "The functions of the Council," he goes on, "would include ratification of the executive Acts relating to naval and military defences, trade-routes, and postal facilities, and other Imperial matters. Appointment of Colonial governors, judges of the Court of Final Appeal, etc., would also require ratification. . . . If an Imperial system of defence can be organised, it would be for the Council to ascertain what assistance the legislatures of the self-governing parts of the Empire are prepared to vote."

We have quoted enough to "show the pattern" of Mr. Raleigh's Imperial Council, and our readers will see that it has a very strong family likeness to the Conference which the League is now urging upon the Government to summon. It differs from it, indeed, only in the fact that it is in a higher stage of development, with its defined membership and its recognised executive duties. It is, in short, what the present Colonial Conference will, we trust, become hereafter, at a date which the most prescient among us cannot, as yet, attempt to fix. While we should be glad if the process could be accelerated, we yet feel confident that the League has acted wisely in limiting its ambition, and taking in hand a task which, as the experience of 1887 shows, can be satisfactorily accomplished. Each conference that assembles will approximate more closely to Mr. Raleigh's ideal, and the re-modelling of the British constitution which he now so cheerfully contemplates will come about gradually and inevitably, as the new "Wittenagemote" attracts to itself, by successive stages, its necessary powers and prerogatives. And so we feel that the passage in which Mr. Raleigh gently takes the League to task at the close of his reference to the subject of Imperial Federation, "for not as yet having distinguished itself in the field of practical statesmanship," has lost such sting as it possessed since the announcement of our new policy at the Mansion House meeting. At last we have something tangible to aim at, and though, to use his own words, we have not yet "produced a scheme complete at all points," we may at least claim to have given "a more palpable and definite form" to our proposals. And if Mr. Raleigh approves, we are quite ready to take his accession to our ranks, following, as it does, so closely upon the recent formulation of our aims, as marking the point in the advance of the Imperial Federation idea at which it has passed from the region of sentiment to that of hard and sober fact.

Although Imperial Federation by cut-and-dried enactment does not appear probable at present, there is an evident and strong tendency in that direction. The necessities of defence and self-preservation are bringing about a practical system of Federation which may, and probably will, in time ripen into Federation of the Empire.—*Montreal Daily Star*.

I was most overwhelmed with emotion when I had to sing "Home, sweet Home" at the opening of the Colonial Exhibition in 1885. There were 12,000 people in the hall representing all parts of the British Empire, while at one end on the dais quietly sat the woman who was Queen of them all. For a moment the scene dazzled me, and I was overcome.—*Mdme. Albani*.

I am persuaded that if we are to maintain this Empire, it must be by attaching to us, in some manifest way, the eminent and forcible men of the Colonies. I do not care how this is done. At any rate, I do not venture to assert dogmatically how it should be done. Whether by attaching them as councillors to a department; whether by introducing them into the Privy Council; whether by giving them some opportunities of getting into the House of Commons; whether by conferring peerages upon them—it is not for a private person like me to determine. But if we wish to remain a great State, we must be prepared, I think, to give those persons who in distant regions are increasing and enriching our Empire some means of adit to the Imperial Executive and the Imperial Legislature.—*Sir Arthur Helps* ("Friends in Council").

A Canadian paper is responsible for the following additional verse of the National Anthem, which, as it was new to ourselves, may perhaps be new to our readers also:—

Crowned by a nation's love,
Guarded by Heaven above,
Long live the Queen.
Loud may each voice exclaim,
Wide as Britannia's fame,
Long live Victoria's name
God bless our Queen.

¹ Irish Politics. By T. Raleigh, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. Pp. 114. Price 1s.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

JANUARY 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie." JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

As all our readers must know by this time, LORD SALISBURY has fixed January 10th, at 3 p.m., as the day and hour at which he will receive the deputation of the League. As we have shown elsewhere, he will hardly be able to tell us that there are no matters to the fore at present of importance, such as might justify the assemblage of a body as august as the Imperial Conference. And the members of the League are determined to make it equally impossible for any one to deny that the deputation is an influential and representative body. By all we hear, both in numbers and in weight of distinguished names, it will far surpass the deputation of three years back, which asked for and obtained the summons of the first Imperial Conference.

OUR list of meetings this month is an unusually long one, though it does not include a report of the meeting at Wolverhampton on December 23rd, with Mr. RICKMAN, M.P., in the chair, which will appear in our issue for February. Our next number, however, will contain still more. The fixtures at present are as follows:—

January 15th. Hastings.	January 27th. Bradford.
January 20th. Leeds.	January 28th. Batley.
January 23rd. Liverpool.	January 31st. Cleckheaton.
January 24th. Leeds (Chamber of Commerce).	(unfixed) Barnsley.

Then for February we have:—

February 6th. Cheltenham.	February 24th. London:
February 11th. Leith.	People's Palace, Mile End.
February 12th. Edinburgh.	{ Aberdeen.
February 14th. Glasgow.	{ Dundee.
	{ Perth.
	{ Paisley.
	unfixed

At the Edinburgh meeting the DUKE OF ARGYLL has promised to take the chair.

If it were not for the fact that while the subject expands, the size of our columns remains obstinately

stationary, we should have nothing but unmitigated satisfaction to express at the rapid growth of home interest in Colonial affairs. The newspapers lately have been full of all sorts of Colonial matters. The Federation question in Australia has been, by comparison, almost adequately treated. From Swaziland we have long and full telegrams every few days. MR. STAVELEY HILL and SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL have forced upon the readers of the *Times* a knowledge of the rights and wrongs of the Behring Sea difficulties. More recently the Bait Question and the eternal French Shore difficulties have once more brought Newfoundland and its position to the front. But, in the wise words of the late DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, continued discussion and correspondence, "especially when carried on a distance of half round the world," is at times "more likely to intensify than to remove" differences. One thing is certain, that with all these great questions, to say nothing of all the lesser ones, still waiting for settlement, if LORD SALISBURY does refuse to summon a new Imperial Conference this year, he will scarcely venture to base his refusal on the lack of topics of adequate importance for discussion.

AMONG the many important questions raised by GENERAL EDWARDS'S now famous report, that which relates to the position of Tasmania, in the event of a war, is not the least noteworthy. The GENERAL predicts, with much plausibility, that an enemy would lose no time in pouncing upon the island, whose expensive fortifications, in the absence of artillerymen, are (to use the phrase of the *Tasmanian Mail*) "somewhat in the nature of dummies," and occupying it as a base of operations against the rest of Australia. He strongly urges, therefore, that the forces of the Colony should be increased, its Rifle Clubs fostered, and a proper commissariat and transport service organised. In this way the unenviable fate of becoming what the Greeks called an *epiteichisma*, pregnant with danger if not destruction to their neighbours, may be avoided by the inhabitants of the island Colony. "Sleepy Hollow," as its more go-a-head neighbours to the north are sometimes rude enough to describe it, must, in fact, rouse itself, and get its guns efficiently manned, or GENERAL EDWARDS will not be answerable for the consequences. Perhaps, however, as the main importance of Tasmania to an enemy would be to serve as above stated against Australia, it would be no more than fair that Australia should pay a good slice of the extra cost involved.

WE are glad to endorse the remarks of *Young Australia*, our official organ at the Antipodes, on the subject of Australian Federation. "Our position" says our contemporary, "is a simple one. We are ready to support the existing Federal Council, or a Dominion Parliament that shall supplant it, or an Intercolonial Conference, or any other expedient that seems likely to facilitate Federation. Union is our object, and we will support any movement that seems to be in the direction of union: we represent no particular Colony, no political party, and we would urge our readers to sink as far as possible their local jealousies and try to remember that we are all Australians. Just as the individual has often to sacrifice his personal convenience for the general good of the community, so each Colony should be content to give up something if Australia as a whole is benefited." There is the right ring here, and if Colonial Federation is taken up in this spirit, it can only prove a step towards the still nobler goal of Imperial Unity.

SIR HENRY PARKES has seen his way to accept, with certain qualifications, the proposal made by MR. GILLIES to submit the questions raised by GENERAL EDWARDS'S report to the existing Federal Council (enlarged by the addition of representatives from the Colonies that have hitherto stood aloof), and a convention will probably be held at an early date, which will speak with the united voice of Australia. Without too closely scrutinising the motives of the Premier of New South Wales in making this concession, we may congratulate him on having brought within the range of practical politics the consideration in a large minded spirit of the whole of the vast problem of Imperial

Defence. SIR HENRY recently visited Brisbane to enlist the support of Queensland for his proposals, and the outcome of these and other negotiations are the resolutions, which we print below, and which have been forwarded to the Governments of the various Colonies for submission to their respective Parliaments.

THE resolutions are as follows:—

"That this House is of opinion that it is expedient and desirable that a convention should be held of the Australasian Colonies at a place and time to be agreed upon for the purposes hereinafter stated.

"1. To consider and prepare a Bill for the Federation of these Colonies, such scheme of Federation to include the appointment of a Governor-General, the creation of a Privy Council and Judicial Court of Appeal, and the establishment of a Federal Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Commons.

"2. To consider, define, and recommend the functions and powers with which such Government should be endowed to effectively carry out the objects of the Federation.

"3. To consider, and devise, and embody in such Bill the necessary safeguards for the preservation of the rights and the satisfactory working of the Provincial Governments of the several Colonies in relation to the Federal power.

"4. To prepare an address to Her Majesty the Queen praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause the Bill so prepared to be introduced in the Imperial Parliament with a view to its being passed into law, and that such address be signed by the respective Presidents and Speakers on behalf of the Australasian Parliaments. That a Colony be represented at the proposed convention by (members to be named), who are hereby elected members of such convention."

VICTORIA comes out strong in support of our principles with a contribution of £300 to the expenses incurred during MR. PARKIN'S tour, and little Tasmania follows suit by sending £50 for the same object. As this is in addition to all the expenses of meetings and so forth incurred and defrayed locally, the bitterest anti-Colonist is scarcely likely to include parsimony among the numerous faults that Australian flesh is in his opinion heir to. We need not say that this practical demonstration of good-will on the part of Australia meets with due appreciation at head-quarters. Besides showing that the interest felt in the cause of Imperial Federation is a good deal more than merely platonic, it is a very direct testimony to the triumphant success of MR. PARKIN'S mission.

"THE question of the Federation of the West Indies," says the *Grenada People*, "may be said to have entered the 'region of practical politics.'" That journal, however, does not conceal its dislike for the provisions of MR. HAYNES-SMITH'S Bill for revising the Constitution of the Leeward Islands, the main points in which are (1) amalgamation of the Civil Service; (2) direct representation in the Federal Council; (3) effacement of Local Legislatures by the substitution of local boards with limited powers. It is to the last-named proposal that the greatest objection is taken; the *People* asserting (with some justice, as it seems to us) that "to abolish the 'Local Legislatures, or to limit their power to the insignificant 'duties of a vestry, is but a sorry method of establishing a 'durable and beneficial federal union.'" Our own constitution provides that "no scheme of Federation shall interfere 'with the existing rights of Local Legislatures,'" and it is this salutary principle which, as our contemporary points out, MR. HAYNES-SMITH is ignoring. We shall watch with interest the development of the situation, and we cannot but express a hope that such modifications may be adopted as will lay a durable foundation for the ultimate establishment of a West Indian Dominion, embracing the Windward as well as the Leeward Islands.

WE have much pleasure in giving a hearty welcome to *Colonia*, the newly established magazine of the Colonial College at Hollesley Bay. That excellent institution has always had our good word from the day it came into existence, now nearly three years ago, and we have followed its development with the keenest sympathy and interest. "There 'is now,'" says the editorial by which the paper is prefaced, "a large number of students settled in the several British 'Colonial dependencies, and in the United States, forming 'a strong link of attachment to the Alma Mater, and

"strengthening that *esprit de corps* which is the very essence 'of our inner life.'" It is consequently the aim of the magazine to keep the past and present members of the College in touch with one another, by giving a report of all the news affecting its welfare, and such items of Colonial intelligence as are likely to be useful to intending settlers. Among other interesting articles, the first number contains a contribution from the Resident Director on "The Origin of 'the Colonial College." A directory of old students, and some letters embodying their experience, are also prominent features.

"IMPERIAL FEDERATION from an Australian Student's 'point of view' occupies some half a dozen pages of the magazine. We need not say that we agree with the editorial note which precedes this article, rather than with the conclusions of its writer. The former deprecates the "aparent disregard for the Mother Country which is typical of 'the present generation born and bred in our different 'Colonies," while the latter thinks that "young Australia 'would vastly prefer a separate national existence as the 'United States of Oceania, to playing a minor part as a 'member of the British Imperial Federation." The former gently suggests that "In all relations of life a fostering care 'is best repaid by a simple loyalty;" the latter brusquely asserts that his contemporaries "have not the sentimental 'regard for England that their fathers have, and are freer to 'look at the question from a common-sense point of view." If MR. TELFORD will only do that, we feel sure that he will reverse the over-hasty judgment of his "green unknowing 'youth," and choose in his "riper age" the solid advantages of a closer union with the old country.

WE have lately received a notable accession of leading members of both Universities. Cambridge gives us PROFESSOR SIDGWICK, the brother-in-law of MR. BALFOUR, author of the "Methods of Ethics," and one of the most open-minded thinkers of the day. At the same time we welcome from Oxford no less than three distinguished heads of colleges (who have all been added to the Council of the League), the REV. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D.D., Master of University, author of the well-known History of England; SIR WILLIAM ANSON, Bart., Warden of All Souls', author of the "Law and Custom of the Constitution;" and the REV. W. JACKSON, M.A., Rector of Exeter; as well as that sinewy essayist, MR. T. RALEIGH, to whose recent contributions to the discussion of our subject we make due reference elsewhere. The adhesion of such men as these is a gratifying sign of the way in which the idea of national unity is gaining ground, not only among the politicians, but also among that higher class (according to PLATO), the philosophers, of the country.

WE venture to offer our hearty congratulations to the *Graphic*. Under the plain title of "Our National Defences"—not a word of "Colonial," or anything to imply their obvious inferiority to Woolwich or Sandhurst—it presents its readers with a set of five pictures of the Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario. The pictures are reproduced from pictures taken by MR. PAUET, a member of the college, while half a column of descriptive letterpress is contributed by MR. A. W. REYNOLDS, the Assistant Secretary in the High Commissioner's Office. From it we learn not only that the college "tends to a true and loyal spirit towards 'the Mother Country among her distant North American 'subjects"—that we know already—but also that no less than sixty-nine cadets have, up to the present time, been gazetted to commissions in the Imperial Army. We confess we were not aware that the success of the college had already—it was only opened in 1876—been as conspicuous as this. We can heartily re-echo MR. REYNOLDS'S wish that an Australian college on the same model may be established ere long.

WE are glad to notice that MR. E. G. WOOD, the well-known optician, of 74, Cheapside, has added to his collection of slides for the magic lantern a series illustrative of "Our Indian and Colonial Empire," which will be very useful to those who lecture on behalf of the League to

popular audiences. As is the case with other sets of slides furnished by Mr. Wood, it is accompanied by a lecture, which has been revised up to date, and gives, in a succinct form, an able survey of Her Majesty's dominions. It concludes with the following words:—"We shall have done a good work if this lecture helps us to realise the magnitude of the British Empire, and to understand how varied are the elements of which it is composed. It will not have been in vain if it causes us to take broad views in political matters, and if it furthers the idea of Imperial Federation, which is attracting the attention of many of our most thoughtful men."

OUR readers may have noticed in the report of the proceedings of the League in Canada given in the journal last month that the Council did not formally express their approval of the proposal that a second Imperial Conference should be summoned. The League at home, aware of the entire harmony on the subject that in fact existed, and anxious at the same time to have the public support of the premier Colony, immediately took steps to call attention to the omission. We are glad to say that a special meeting of the Canadian Council was forthwith summoned, and a cable telegram in the following terms, "Council favours Imperial Conferences. Wish trade discussed," was dispatched next morning. The full report of the meeting has now been received, and will be found in another column. On the point of trade, we need only say that if the Canadian League wishes it discussed, the Canadian delegates are quite certain to be instructed by their Government to raise the question, and to a question raised by the Canadian delegates the remaining members of the Conference are not in the least likely to turn a deaf ear.

How influential the League is in Canada we have shown already by publishing the list of its Council, comprising as it does one-fourth of the Dominion House of Commons. We may add to this that the close of the year sees no less than twenty-four branches affiliated. They are as follows, taking the country from East to West, across the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific:—

MARITIME PROVINCES.	Halifax.	
	Pictou.	
	St. John.	
	Sydney.	
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.	Yarmouth.	
	Montreal.	
ONTARIO.	Barrie.	Ottawa.
	Belleville.	Peterboro.
	Bracebridge.	Port Arthur.
	Brantford.	Toronto.
	Chatham.	Victoria County (with
	Ingersoll.	16 sub-branches).
	Kingston.	Warton.
	Orrillia.	Woodstock.
BRITISH COLUMBIA.	Vancouver.	
	Victoria.	

Now that the League has taken its new departure and pledged itself to work for the definite end of "Imperial Conferences constantly and periodically renewed," it is naturally with great satisfaction that we find ourselves supported by utterances from the other side of the world. Four days before the Mansion House meeting a letter was received from SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, who can speak with authority, not only as the Speaker of the New Zealand Assembly, but also as a delegate at the last Conference, in which he says: "I think you are right in trying to get a Conference. Talking to, or at one another at a distance is of no avail." On the 19th October, the editor of the *Bacchus Marsh* (Victoria) *Express* thus summed up an interesting debate on Imperial Federation which had been going on for some time in his columns: "Federation should be effected by holding in London every three years purely consultative conferences of representatives of all parts of the Empire, presided over by the Premier of the British Government." So we may trust that the idea has fairly taken root throughout the Empire; and an idea so fruitful we are persuaded the English race will not willingly let die.

THE Canadian Pacific Railway does not let the grass grow under its feet. It has lately perfected, as we learn from

a contemporary, a time-table for the running of a mail-train which will accomplish the distance from Vancouver or Port Moody to St. John—from the Pacific to the Atlantic—in four days. It will carry the English mails from China, Japan, Australia, and certain ports in the Indian Ocean. Fourteen locomotives will be run, each of which will do a stretch of about 250 miles. Some of these are now ready for their arduous imperial task. They will be distinguished by having red smoke-stacks, driving-wheels, and running-gear, while the capacity of the tenders will be double that of the ordinary engines. This important train was, said our contemporary, to be put on as soon as the St. Lawrence froze over.

DALLEY MEMORIAL FUND.

THIRD LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Sir Adams G. Archibald, K.C.M.G. (Nova Scotia).	Hon. S. A. Stephen, M.L.C. (New South Wales).
W. T. Jones (Melbourne).	Mrs. S. A. Stephen.
Hon. S. A. Joseph, M.L.C. (New South Wales).	J. Vaughan Morgan (Melbourne).
Lord Augustus Loftus, G.C.B.	Hon. R. Burdett Smith, M.L.C. (New South Wales).

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE Board of Trade Returns for November continue to show satisfactory results as regards volume of trade, with an advance in prices of Imports only, as will be seen in the annexed Readings.

NOVEMBER, 1889, COMPARED WITH NOVEMBER, 1888.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
2,219,000 ... to ... 2,401,000 = 8'0 per cent.
2. Value of imports has increased from—
£35,224,000 ... to ... £41,303,000 = 17'2 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£15 16s. ... to ... £17 4s. = 8'1 per cent.

B. Exports.

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,584,000 ... to ... 2,834,000 = 9'6 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£24,597,000 ... to ... £27,477,000 = 11'7 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£9 10s. ... to ... £9 14s. = 2'0 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,296,000 ... to ... 2,488,000 tons = 8'3 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
8s. 8d. ... to ... 10s. 8d. per ton = 22'2 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 8'6 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,054,000 ... to ... 1,175,000 = 11'6 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£23,583,000 ... to ... £26,132,000 = 9'2 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£22 6s. ... to ... £22 4s. per ton = 0'4 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER.

The principal features of last month's trade, beyond the continued and considerable increase of volume, which is specially noteworthy in the value of Imports, are—

1. The large advance in the price of Imports.
2. An increase of 17'5 per cent. in the value of Articles of Food imported—that of Live Animals being 102'8 per cent., and of Tobacco 54'5 per cent.
3. The only branch of Imports in which there has been a falling off (of 8 per cent.) has been that of Miscellaneous articles.
4. Raw Materials for Textile manufactures have increased 28'3 per cent.
5. Exports of Yarns and Textile Fabrics, in which there was a slight decrease (2'7 per cent.) last month, have increased to the same extent (2'8 per cent.) this month.
6. Exports of Metals and Machinery and Millwork show an advance upon the high Exports of last month. The percentage increase has been 37'4 and 44'1 per cent. respectively.
7. The Export of Foreign and Colonial goods shows a continued high rate of increase as in last month—viz., 10'2 per cent.
8. Yet with this great increase in the volume of Exports there has been no advance in the average price per ton; but rather a trifling decrease, from £22 6s. to £22 4s. This may be tested by the examination of a few leading Manufactures, of which both the quantities and declared value are given in the Board of Trade returns. Cotton and Linen Fabrics have remained stationary; Woollen Fabrics have risen 9 per cent.; Iron and Steel have fallen 0'6 per cent., and other Metals (Copper, Lead, Tin, and Zinc) have fallen 47'1 per cent.

THE BELLY AND THE MEMBERS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

THE Journal of the League has on more than one occasion reported the utterances of different members to the effect that the Colonies could do without England better than England without the Colonies. Lord Charles Beresford used language to this effect at our last annual meeting, and as he is not a Canadian or an Australian, but a home-bred Englishman, perhaps his remark was to be excused as the outcome of a chivalrous desire to magnify the services of one's neighbours, while saying as little as possible about one's own. There are probably not a few members of the League who will agree with me in thinking that it would have been wiser not to raise the question at all. We all remember the old epilogue of the "belly and the members," a parable which is not without application to the present situation. If I may take another illustration, What profit would there be for husband and wife to discuss which of the two would lose most if their marriage bond were dissolved? When the union is meant on both sides to be eternal, why conjure up the spectre of the Divorce Court at all?

But the question has unfortunately not been allowed to sleep. In the current number of the *Nineteenth Century* Sir Julius Vogel, ex-Premier of New Zealand—a Colony where assuredly there is no present desire for separation—writes as follows:—"While an indissoluble union has become and is becoming more in the interest of the Mother Country, it wears the appearance of growing proportionately less in the interests of the Colonies." Perhaps, therefore, it is not unprofitable to examine, from a United Kingdom point of view, the basis of fact upon which this statement rests. It may be considered under the two heads of the interests of the United Kingdom and the interests of the Colonies. And as we all are apt to worship the rising sun, let us give the Colonies the first place. Let us fully admit their immeasurable prospect of future greatness. Does it not all depend upon union with England for a very long time to come? It has been pointed out over and over again that the few scattered inhabitants of Australia have no such title by occupation to the whole of that vast continent as international law would recognise. The title as against foreigners of the Australians to Australia is simply and solely the guns of the British navy. As for Canada, it is admitted on all hands that the Dominion cannot stand alone, that the alternative to the British connexion is annexation to the States. Does any human being at the Cape believe that, if they obtained their independence, the Germans would long remain in want of a pretext to occupy Walfisch Bay, to find their way into Amatongaland and Swaziland, and then, joining hands across the continent, to cut off the Cape inhabitants finally from the illimitable wealth of South-central Africa? But to leave this line of argument, for there are a few sanguine persons who believe that mankind has moved upwards, and worked out the beast—that nations have lost their predatory instincts—and to come to results that are absolutely inevitable. What would be the credit of an independent Queensland, an independent South Australia, or even an independent Victoria or New South Wales, in the London market. And without the London market to draw on, not merely for money, but for cheap money, how long would affairs in Australia retain their present prosperous condition? Sydney itself could scarcely supply enough floating capital to move its wool-clip as far as the coast. As for building new lines of railways, carrying on great irrigation works, and in a hundred other ways developing the resources of the country, the thing would be out of the question for half a century to come. The United States, be it remembered, were getting on well into its second century before the Declaration of Independence was signed, and it was not till long after that event that the prosperity of the country resumed its forward march.

Now turn to England. Suppose Australia or Canada independent, suppose even that both these calamities occurred simultaneously, England would still be left the commercial and industrial centre of the world, the great naval power, the mistress of Gibraltar and Malta and Aden, of Bermuda, of Hongkong and Singapore. She would still be mistress of India, and, as that most acute of observers, Sir Henry Maine, has told us, it is not our Colonial Empire,

but our possession of India which, in the eyes of Continental Europe, secures for us the undisputed title to be considered a great Power. There would be no question of the existence of England being imperilled. Trafalgar and Waterloo were won by the men who as children could remember York Town and Saratoga. But we may go a stage further, and admitting unreservedly that the Colonies—provided they remain united to the Mother Country—will be immensely more important fifty years hence than they are to-day, we may still ask whether Great Britain also will not then be far more populous, far richer, and far stronger? People tell us that we have reached the limit of population in these small islands, that we are never six weeks removed from starvation, that a town-bred population must deteriorate and become physically incapable of the burdens of Empire. It is easy to reply that the ideas of these croakers are hopelessly out of date. London is even now far more healthy, not only than Melbourne or any other great city in the world, but than most of the petty country towns; and year by year the progress of sanitary science, the shortening of the hours of labour, the growing taste for out-door sports, are uniting to make the conditions of town life still more healthy. If England is only six weeks from want, London is hardly six days, and yet no one doubts that London will continue in the future as in the past to be fed and warmed and clothed satisfactorily. Our eggs are in so many baskets they can hardly all be stolen from us at once. And what is true of London, is true of the United Kingdom as a whole. Our pessimists have failed to see how the world has been changed round them by steam and the telegraph. Money begets money; business goes where business is; and so long as England maintains command of the sea no one can set bounds to the possible increase of her wealth and population. That command she can scarcely lose, for the continental nations which are staggering under the weight of their military defences dare not enter into serious rivalry with her in the possession of a fleet.

If all this be true, and I believe it is, does it present a picture like that we have shown to us from time to time—some poor toothless old crone humbly suing to her full-fed grandchildren for a morsel of bread? By all means let us refrain from discussing these possibilities of the future altogether, let us assume that we are all agreed that the Empire is one and indivisible. But if they must be discussed, at least let us insist that both sides of the question shall be heard, and not allow judgment against Old England to go by default.

THIRTY YEARS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.¹

SIR JULIUS VOGEL is fond of telling how, not so very many years back, he sent a long letter to the *Times* dealing with some great Colonial issue, and how Mr. Delane offered to publish it if he would cut it down to a column or a column and a half, as no one would read four columns about the Colonies. These two handsome and portly volumes, which the *Times*, like all the other papers, noticed at great length the very day they appeared as one of the chief events of the publishing season, prove that at least in this respect we are wiser than our fathers. The death, while these pages were actually passing through the press, of Lord Blachford, who, as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Sir Henry Taylor (another influential official of the department)—"I go very far with you in the desire to shake off all responsibly governed Colonies," is one more proof that the old order has changed, yielding place to new. But to come to the subject more immediately in hand.

Frankly, we like Sir George Bowen's part of it better than Mr. Lane-Poole's. We cannot think it an artistic arrangement that Sir George's life, from 1821 to 1887, should be sketched in the first seventy-six pages, and then told over again in the letters and despatches, and the running commentary to string them together which occupy the remaining 850. Nor can we think that Mr. Lane-Poole has been altogether fair to Sir Michael Hicks Beach—by common consent, not the least capable of the men who have ruled over the Colonial Office in the last thirty years. Sir Michael, it appears, felt constrained on one occasion to express his opinion that it would have been better if Sir George Bowen had adopted a line of action different from that which he actually took. He was careful, at the same time, to refer to Sir George's "long and distinguished career,"

¹ *Thirty Years of Colonial Government.* A selection from the papers of the Right Hon. Sir George Bowen, G.C.M.G. By Stanley Lane-Poole. London: Longmans. Two vols. 8vo., pp. 460—467. Price 3s.

and to point out that it was not his "desire or intention to convey censure." Criticism so courteous and temperate as this does not, we venture to think, justify an editor in describing Sir Michael as "wholly without experience in Colonial affairs"—most Ministers are that when they first go to the Colonial Office—and characterising his action as "obviously improper and unfair." On the face of the papers as they appear here, Sir George was unquestionably right and Sir Michael unquestionably wrong; but then Sir Michael is at a disadvantage, for only two pages out of fifty are devoted to elucidating his side of the case. Nor does the editor always seem to agree with his author. Sir George Bowen writes (Vol. I., 229):—

It appears to be the opinion of many persons in England that the duties of an Australian Governor are merely social and ornamental—that he reigns but should not govern. Certainly my experience here would go far to show that such a theory is decidedly opposed to the views and wishes of many of the Australians themselves. . . . It seems, indeed, probable that the Governor of a Colony in which all antagonism to the home authorities has been removed by the full concession of local self-government can generally, if he performs his part well, exercise a more genuine and commanding influence than the Governor of a Crown Colony.

When Sir George left Victoria in 1879, he went, Mr. Lane-Poole tells us (Vol. II., 165), to Mauritius, "in which, as a Crown Colony, he would govern as well as reign." For our part, we agree with the views taken by Sir George Bowen rather than with his editor. He has brought out admirably, both in theory in his writings and in practice in his administration, the enormous power which (as Bagehot acutely explained years ago in his "English Constitution") can be exercised by a constitutional monarch, who advises, but does not order—who occupies a position so dignified that his advice cannot be thrust contemptuously on one side, and so high above party strife that his impartiality cannot be questioned. Of course, however, a Colonial governor is at this disadvantage from which his sovereign is exempt, that, as representing the reserved authority of the Crown in extra-Colonial matters, he is liable at any moment to be brought into conflict with his responsible advisers.

But enough of general criticism. Let us come to notice some points more in detail. Two literary men who are still to the fore appear in these pages. The one of them in poetry, the other in prose. From Sir Edwin Arnold's graceful lines to Sir George Bowen we borrow the following:—

History writes you in letters of gold
With those who have compassed the art to hold
Imperial mother and lordly children
In free affection; their pride to enfold

In bond of amity. You, who see,
Teach us that large simplicity
Which voices of wisdom, and great dead heroes,
And kinship enjoin, "One Britain be."

Of Professor Goldwin Smith we hear in a letter addressed by Sir George to Mr. Gladstone, under date August, 1862, to the following effect:—

It seems as strange to Englishmen in Queensland as it would appear to Englishmen in Devon and Yorkshire, to be told that they ought to be "emancipated" from the rule of Queen Victoria; and strong denunciations are heaped on the head of my friend Goldwin Smith for his proposals to that effect by the Australian press.

Again, thirteen years later Sir George writes from Washington that, "the newspaper edited by Goldwin Smith is the oracle of American doctrinaires." Another literary man appears prominently in these pages. If Bulwer Lytton were not sure of immortalities as the author of "My Novel," and "The Caxtons," he would deserve to go down to posterity for his letters and despatches as Colonial Secretary. Here is one quotation:—

You are aware that since I have been the Secretary for the Colonies I have changed the old Colonial uniform for the same as that worn in the Imperial service. I consider it a great point to assimilate the two services in outward emblems of dignity. The Queen's servant is the Queen's servant, whether at Westminster or at the Antipodes.

But we must have some quotations from Sir George himself. From Brisbane in 1860 he writes as follows:—

It is certainly very pleasant to find oneself among so loyal a population as that of Australia. Whatever inconveniences may attend what is called "responsible," but should rather be called "parliamentary," government in our Colonies, it is certain that it has had the effect of greatly tightening the bonds of pride and affection which unite the Australians to their Mother Country. Since the full establishment of local self government, the Colonists no longer "feel the collar," to quote the phrase of a popular leader here, who was formerly supposed to be disaffected, but is now enthusiastic in his loyalty. If you grant representative institutions without responsible government, you "light the fire and stop the chimney," as Charles Baller said. Witness the Ionian Islands. I question if there is any practical or logical *locus standi* between the form of government in Ceylon and Mauritius and the form of government in Victoria and New South Wales.

Here is another passage. In reference to the rest of Aus-

tralia it embodies only a regret; in reference to Western Australia; may it not still embody an aspiration:—

It is, I believe, the general feeling of the governors, as well as of many of the principal Colonists, that adequate fixed [but why fixed?] contributions should have been reserved for naval and military defence when the Crown land revenues were absolutely surrendered. . . . Why should not a fair proportion of this grand patrimony of the British nation at large have been set apart for the general defence and unity of the British Empire? I have told the Duke of Newcastle that it is probably not too late even now to rectify the grievous error which has been committed. If the Secretary of State for the Colonies were to make an appeal to the patriotism and loyalty of the Australians, it would not be difficult to induce the several Legislatures to provide, by permanent Acts, naval and military contributions proportionate to the revenue and population of each. You will recollect that this was the policy which Benjamin Franklin suggested to George Grenville instead of the fatal Stamp Act.

Here is a letter from New Zealand to the Duke of Buckingham when he was at the Colonial Office in 1868:—

I dare not conceal from you that the leading men here object to the tone far more than the substance of many of the despatches from home during the last four or five years. All who have lived much in our dependencies know that English Colonists in general, even more than other men, are governed by the heart rather than by the head. It is quite possible to lead them, but it is equally foolish and dangerous to attempt to drive them, or even to treat them with what seems to their sensitive *amour propre* a want of due consideration.

Again, a few months later:—

To maintain in the eyes of the natives the *prestige* of the Queen's name and of Imperial power and authority, a small garrison of H.M.'s troops is of proved value. Of all the painful feelings excited by the present condition of New Zealand, perhaps the most painful is connected with the effect produced on the loyal natives by the official announcement in the midst of the most dangerous crisis that has ever occurred in the history of this community to the effect that the last British soldier will be removed in next February from New Zealand.

Two years later to Lord Kimberley, who had meanwhile succeeded the Duke of Buckingham, he writes:—

As will be seen from the New Zealand press, and from the debates in the New Zealand Parliament, I have to struggle with a very general feeling of disaffection to the Imperial Government, arising out of the removal of the last Imperial regiment, while the native war was still raging, though the Colonial Parliament has engaged to pay its entire cost. . . . But the kindly and sympathetic language of the Secretary of State in his recent communications is fast causing the revival of the old loyalty of New Zealand.

But we have quoted too much, and our space is exhausted. Still we must not omit to add that Sir George Bowen's despatches are not all occupied with high affairs of state. If every governor sends home as graphic accounts of his official tours, the Colonial Secretary is a lucky man. But it must be remembered that one of Sir George's earliest literary performances was the "Handbook to Greece." There are, moreover, not a few "plums" in the shape of good stories, as, for instance, where Lord Palmerston excuses the Government for leaving pictures in the cellars of the National Gallery, on the ground that *artis est celare artem*. As for apt quotations, they are found on almost every page. Let us be content to note, as a fitting one with which to conclude this notice of the life of so eminent a representative of Her Majesty, the noble words in which Coleridge speaks of the British Crown, as "the halo round the sacred head of freedom."

THE CONSTITUTION OF CANADA.¹

WE cannot refrain from congratulating the authorities of the Cambridge University Press upon their publication of this excellent book. Ten—or, at all events, twenty—years ago the notion of standing sponsors to a treatise dealing with any constitution less ancient than that of Lacedæmon would have seemed to such a body utterly preposterous; but the syndics of the Pitt Press are evidently alive to the fact that there is a growing demand for Colonial wares in the British market, and, like sensible men, are setting to work to supply it. If we understand Professor Munro's preface aright, we may expect from the same source, and within a reasonable time, a series of volumes written by himself and treating successively of the Australasian and South African Colonies and the other scattered Dependencies of the Crown. Such a task is worthy of Owens College and also of the University which numbers amongst its staff the author of "The Expansion of England," and we shall await its accomplishment with sympathetic anxiety. Professor Munro had purposed to make a comprehensive survey of the legal aspects of the constitution of the Empire, but this intention as far as regards the United Kingdom itself was forestalled by the publication of Sir William Anson's work on the Law and Custom of the Constitution, to which our author pays a suitable tribute. We cannot altogether regret his consequent decision to restrict himself to the constitution of the Colonies, for it is to this change of plan that we doubtless owe the more microscopic treatment which marks the first instalment of

¹ By J. E. C. Munro, Barrister-at-Law, Professor of Law, Owens College, Victoria University, Cambridge. University Press. 1889. pp. xxvii., 356. Price 10s. 6d.

his labours. As he says himself, "Of these" (the Colonies) "it is not possible to take a general survey without examining each in detail," and the result of this close and careful scrutiny is apparent in the volume before us. He disclaims indeed any attempt at criticising the working of the various constitutions he describes, but he presents his readers with a clear and well-arranged account of their general and special features, which is wholly free from the controversial matter that so often beclouds more ambitious political essays.

The book was written, or at all events prepared for publication (as Professor Munro points out in his introductory chapter), at the auspicious moment when the Dominion of Canada, inaugurated in 1867, had just attained its majority. Though the constitution has thus only been in existence for twenty-one years, it affords scope for an inquiry of great interest, both as being a successful experiment in the application of the Federal principle to large and widely distant communities, and as differing in some essential particulars from the American union. We may add that at the present moment it possesses additional importance, owing to the fact that it is not unlikely to be accepted as the model for the new Dominion in the Pacific, the establishment of which cannot now be long delayed. The three great groups of self-governing British Colonies are, in fact, to employ an astronomical metaphor, in different stages of cosmic development, but the conditions towards which they are evolving are practically identical. Canada is the Earth or Mars of the Colonial solar system—Australasia its cloudy and still uncompact Jupiter—while South Africa, like some "far-off unhappy" Uranus, awaits at a yet greater distance of time the solidifying process which will give it consistency and form.

In view, then, of the approaching changes in Australasia, and the more remote possibility that South Africa will one day follow the example of her sisters, Professor Munro has done well to begin with Canada, whose institutions are an admirable object-lesson in the principles of Federation. After a short chapter dealing with the subject in its main outlines we have a concise constitutional history of the various Provinces up to the date of their union, and are then introduced to the Provincial Assemblies and Legislative Councils, and their various methods of procedure. The functions of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Provincial Administration, and the Provincial Judicature, are next discussed, and we then proceed to the consideration of the Dominion Government, its House of Commons, its Senate (with their respective modes of legislation), its Governor-General, its Privy Council, and its Executive officers. A chapter on the Dominion Judicature follows, and after an exhaustive analysis of the division of legislative power between (1) the Lieutenant-Governor and the Provincial Legislatures, (2) the Governor-General and the Dominion Parliament, and (3) the Crown and the Imperial Parliament, we have two short but interesting sections dealing with the Dominion control of the Provinces, and the Imperial control of the Dominion. We are aware that these remarks partake rather of the nature of a catalogue than a criticism, but that is owing to the character of Professor Munro's book, which deals with facts and not with theories.

It is rendered more complete by a number of appendices, chiefly consisting of Imperial Acts of Parliament, and taken altogether forms a most workmanlike treatise, which should find a place on the shelves of all who desire to acquaint themselves with the practical working of a highly-organised Federal Government.

THE MAYOR'S BANQUET IN MELBOURNE.

Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt. The quotation is somewhat hackneyed, but is really inevitable in introducing a description of the banquet given by the incoming Mayor of Melbourne in the Town Hall on November 9th—a banquet at which the Prince of Wales' feathers were the prominent feature of the decorations, and the whole company rose to their feet to sing "Rule, Britannia." Among the 500 guests present on the occasion, there were on the right of the Mayor (Councillor Matthew Lang) His Excellency the Governor (Sir Henry Loch), the retiring Mayor (Alderman Sir Benjamin Benjamin), Sir James MacBain (President of the Legislative Council), Mr. Gillies (Premier), Mr. D. M. Davies (Commissioner of Public Works), Mr. Justice Hodges, Sir William J. Clarke, M.L.C.; and the Hon. A. Yorke; and on the left His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales (Lord Carrington), His Excellency the Governor of South Australia (the Earl of Kintore), His Excellency Sir William C. F. Robinson, Captain Bosanquet, Mr. J. B. Patterson (Commissioner of Customs), Mr. D. O'Connor (Postmaster-General of New South Wales), and Colonel Sargood, M.L.C. Lack of space and the late period at which the report reaches us make it impossible to report the speeches at any length. Their main burden of course was Australian Federation; but almost every speaker touched, and in every case sympathetically, upon our special subject, and what they said on it we give below.

SIR HENRY LOCH said: I have been entrusted with the discharge of duties of a difficult and onerous character—(hear, hear)—to which I

shall devote the best energies in my power. (Applause.) There is an old Roman maxim that "New things come out of Africa," the meaning of which is that unexpected events constantly occur in that country. As it was in the past, so I believe it is in the present, and although I rejoice to think that the aspect of affairs there now is upon the whole satisfactory, still there is no saying what a day may bring forth. If trouble and anxieties do arise, I shall look back and think of my many friends here, with the certainty that I have their sympathy—(hear, hear)—in meeting any difficulties that may have to be surmounted. (Applause.) As regards any policy it may be my duty to pursue, I am sure that you will all feel that it is my earnest desire to carry out that policy which will best advance the happiness of the people over whom I am placed, and the advancement of the great Colony over which I am appointed Governor—(applause)—as well as over those countries which extend up to the Zambesi, over which I shall have a more personal influence. It will be my constant endeavour to carry out the government and the duties entrusted to my charge in a manner that will conduce to the unity and honour of the Empire—(applause)—and in acting thus I feel I may still claim to be serving this great Colony, for as Governor of one of the most important Provinces of the Empire I shall in a sense be working for the people and in support of the interests of this country. (Applause.) . . . Gentlemen, I have referred to the growth, the prosperity, and the greatness of this Colony, but I believe that concurrently with that growth and prosperity there has been an increased display of loyalty and regard for the unity and maintenance of the Empire. (Applause.) I have a firm belief that the young Australian strongly desires to maintain the unity of the Empire—(applause)—and is ready to accept all the responsibilities and dangers that are connected with maintaining the power of a great Empire. The consideration of the question upon which Sir Henry Parkes has invited the attention of the world, I feel sure, receive that true and liberal consideration from the Government and from the people of this Colony that it always loyally extends to every question affecting Imperial interests, and I pray God that the deliberations of the Governments of these Colonies, and the final decision of the people of these Colonies, may be such as will best promote their happiness and the greatness and the unity of the Empire at large. (Great applause.)

LORD CARRINGTON said: From all sides we hear of a steadily-increasing desire for Colonial Federation. How or when that is to be accomplished, or of its internal advantages, it is not for me to speak; but all would rejoice, if only on account of its effect on the relations between England and Australia which must follow. Sir Henry Loch on his outward journey must have been struck by the difference of the position of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in British North America and in Australasia. Though in British North America perhaps not one man in ten thousand knows the name of the Secretary of State, Canadians recognise that through him the Dominion speaks to England, and through him England sends her answer. (Applause.) No one can say that there is more unanimity of opinion or more general national feeling in Federated Canada than there is here, but in the Dominion Provincial Parliaments speak on Provincial subjects, while the voice of Canada is heard through the central Parliament and Federal Government, and the voice is the voice of the great majority of the entire people. (Applause.) On the other hand, in Australia Lord Knutsford's name is as well known as the name of the Prime Minister of Victoria. At present each Colony has its own independent government, and the majority in one Colony may differ from the majority in another; as, for instance, in the questions of appointment of Governors, New Hebrides, and naval defence; and sometimes the defeated minority in local questions actually appeals to the Secretary of State for an interference, which under ordinary conditions they would bitterly resent. (Hear, hear.) This makes our expressions of opinion somewhat discordant and hard to average, since we have no common organ for expressing that opinion, and the consequence is the position of the Secretary of State with regard to Australia sometimes becomes a very delicate and difficult one, and misunderstandings arise between the two countries which ought never to exist at all. (Hear, hear.) Still, as to all questions on which the Colonies are agreed we have always had England's support. (Applause.) I gladly hail the advent of inter-Provincial union as a step towards that larger Federation of equal rights, of common citizenship, and of the due allotment of responsibility in all dealings with other nations, which will give permanent security to the future relations between Great Britain and Australia. (Loud applause.) . . . May Lord Hopetoun be as fortunate and as successful as his predecessor. May he, like Sir Henry Loch, never have the smallest shadow of a political difficulty; may he never see disaffection or disaster; and may he, like Sir Henry Loch, leave the great Colony of Victoria as he found it—true and loyal to her national rights, loyal and true to the Old Country from which she sprang, prosperous and contented, and apparently without a single cloud on the horizon. (Loud and continued applause.)

LORD KINTORE said:—After all, governors are but ἀνέμνα καὶ σκῆψα—fleeting shadows and evanescent apparitions that haunt your history, but add scarce a line to its pages. Should we leave behind us a single kindly memory—should our names hereafter mark a date or identify a period—it is the most we can aspire to. (Cries of "No, no.") Half a column of biographical dictionary would suffice to exhibit the sums of our united achievements, so imperceptibly do we come and go, play our small part, and fade from off the scene. But unsubstantial, phantasmal, and impersonal as we may be individually, we nevertheless represent and symbolise in our uninterrupted succession some of the most solid realities of which the modern world can boast—(hear, hear, and applause)—for are we not the living proofs and exponents of the love of a mighty nation for the children she has sent forth to enlarge her dominion and enhance her renown, the affection

of great Colonies for a Mother Country that has endowed them with freedom and legislative independence, the reverence of a free people for constitutional liberty as secured by monarchical government, the recognition by the owners of a continent of their right to share a still mightier *imperium*, the love and loyalty towards the purest woman and most duty-loving sovereign that ever wore a crown or wielded a sceptre, the unswerving confidence of the community in their ability to vindicate their independence, to elaborate their own destiny, and to guard and embellish to the utmost the glorious inheritance with which Providence has endowed them? (Long and continued applause.) In one respect we are indeed but insignificant factors in the system of your national existence, in another we are more than the equals of the greatest autocrats the world has seen. If then, Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I now in my turn do acknowledge with all the emphasis of which language is capable, the pleasure with which I have witnessed such an exhibition of your affection and goodwill towards the Governor of Victoria, and towards us who are his guests, it is not the individual who thanks you, but the interpreter and representative of those indestructible principles of constitutional Government, of Imperial unity, and of natural affection which are the foundations of your private happiness and public prosperity. (Applause.)

SIR JAMES MACBAIN concluded his speech with these words:—Allow me to say this, and it is my serious conviction, that, looking forward to the future, if you want to preserve yourselves and your families from a baptism of blood by dissension within ourselves or by attack from without, then we ought at once to facilitate and to forward in all possible ways the federation of the Colonies of Australia, not only among themselves but with the Mother Country, and in that way we will be able to defend ourselves and those who are dear to us. (Applause.)

MR. DOWNES CARTER said that the Premier might rely that in his efforts to bring about a closer Colonial and Imperial Federation he would receive the hearty support of the Legislative Assembly. (Applause.)

CAPTAIN BOSANQUET could not but take the opportunity of congratulating the people of Melbourne on the progress which had been made in the defence works of their grand harbour. (Applause.) He could not but be impressed, when coming through the Heads, with the sight of the heavy guns pointing down upon him from the forts, and with the ironclad and turreted warships, and the torpedo boats; and the spectacle had convinced him that this great city would enjoy the fullest peace and security in time of war. (Applause.) The harbour was well fitted by nature for the defence, owing to the existence of the channels at the entrance; but all honour was due to those who had increased the defences until the port was protected to an extent that was almost second to none in the world. (Cheers.)

COLONEL TEMPLETON referred to the advantages which had been obtained through the visits of Imperial officers to the Colony during the last five or six years.

THE HON. ALEC YORKE, who was called upon to respond as a visitor from the Mother Country, said it had given him great satisfaction to hear England spoken of so frequently during the evening as "home." (Applause.) A great deal had been said about Federation, but a Federation of hearts already existed between Great Britain and this great and prosperous country—(applause)—the touch of sympathy that made the whole Empire kin. (Cheers.)

HON. D. O'CONNOR said:—My heart warmed within me when I heard "Rule Britannia" raised. (Cheers.) All who have spoken, from their Excellencies the Governors to the Prime Minister, and Captain Bosanquet, who represents one great department of the Empire, have treated of the question of Federation. (Applause.) Gentlemen, it does not require any great man to bring about Federation. (Cheers.) It is born in our nature. (Cheers.) It is embedded in our hearts; it is in our souls. (Cheers.) We have sprung from a great nation. Without vulgar boasting we are the heirs of the ages. (Applause.) We inherit the splendid achievements of those who went before us, and how can it be said, because we, who belong to the great Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races, came to these Colonies that any difficulty can arise in joining us together? (Cheers.) No; we are indestructible. (Applause.) We are devoted to the old land, and true to the new. (Cheers.) We will be united, and I am glad that our union has now come within the arena of practical politics; and I know that whether living on one side of the Murray or another, in New South Wales, South Australia, or New Zealand, we are all determined to maintain the honour and glory of the flag that has braved a thousand years. (Cheers.)

The ruling force in the world to-day is consolidation and a desire for unity, and any proposal for drawing closer together the kindred members of a great Empire is not likely to meet with condemnation.—*The Empire*.

Since the Imperial Federation League was established, at a meeting held under the presidency of the late Mr. W. E. Forster in July, 1884, the question which it was formed to advocate has made decided progress, both at home and in Britain beyond the seas. Nevertheless, it is still very much in the tentative stage, and it is plain that the proposed conference is needed to bring it within reach of a definite issue.—*Cardiff Western Mail*.

We say to Mr. Wiman, "We will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." We are the "Northmen" of this continent. We know full well the meaning of "hearth," of "home," and "fatherland." The embracing oceans of the East, and West, and North, and our expanded boundary at the South, provide a nation's heritage. Our climate, soil and sea proffer a nation's promise. Of our past, we are not ashamed; with our present, we are content; and our future we may safely leave to our father's God and our own. Firm in faith, true to trust, bright with hope, we shall build upon the old foundation—Canadians and Britons to the end. And when our days on earth are numbered, we shall sleep sweetly under the folds of the good old flag, beneath the soil, forever hallowed by the patriot's dust.—Mr. T. E. Moberly in the *Toronto Week*.

PROVINCIAL OPINION ON MR. PARKIN'S MEETINGS.

From the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, Nov. 27th.

Imperial Federation is a wide phrase which may mean different things to different minds. In so far as it represents a desire for the greatness and prosperity of the Empire, for drawing closer the bonds that unite our kin beyond the sea to the Mother Country, and for so entwining the mutual advantages of oneness that no thoughts of severance shall arise—it has our warmest support. The interdependence existing between Great Britain and her Colonies, the immense advantages of an Empire which, though geographically scattered over the globe, shall be tied by the closest links of self-interest and affection into a consolidated unity—these truths were forcibly expressed by Mr. G. R. Parkin on Monday night. For our own part we decline to believe that patriotism is the monopoly of any section of the community, or of any clique of politicians. All, it is true, do not beat the big drum of "Rule Britannia" with the same vehemence; all do not measure their patriotic pride by the largeness of their adjectives and the swelling rotundity of their periods; but here, as in many other things, quietness means strength, not indifference; it indicates the well-grounded conviction that needs no adventitious aids from shouts and buncombe. Any effort, therefore, that goes towards impressing on our statesmen the prime necessity of taking all wise measures towards knitting more closely together the various threads of the Queen's possessions into one integral fabric, must have the support of all parties.

From the *Derby Express*, Nov. 30th.

It is a good omen, we take it, that the task of explaining the objects of the League, at the Guildhall meeting last night, was entrusted to a Canadian. Mr. Parkin, whose ability as a travelled and well-informed advocate was made apparent at the recent gathering in London, proved a most captivating speaker, and easily succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of his audience. His great point was that our commercial and Imperial supremacy are bound up together, and therefore that it is essential to our national existence that the various units of the British Empire should not be allowed to drop away from the parent stem but encouraged to join in one grand confederation of the English race. It is absolutely essential, if England is to maintain her position as the manufacturing centre of the world, that she should be able to maintain her communications with her producing Colonies. In order to keep the control of the seas, the control of the coaling stations is essential; and, since the striking distance of a man-of-war is limited to 2,000 miles, it is obvious that the secession of Australia and New Zealand would make offensive and defensive operations in the southern seas almost an impossibility. The League offers no cut-and-dried plan for consideration, but simply aims for the present at concentrating the public mind upon the subject. Mr. Parkin warned us, however, that the question is coming to close quarters, and that the real issue at stake is Federation or Separation; but he assured us that for the moment, at all events, the Colonies are loyal to the Mother Country. Most of our previous efforts at empire building have been initiated and carried out by individual monarchs and statesmen; it is for the democracy now to show that they can grasp the situation, and that they are equal to the task of empire consolidation.

From the *Great Yarmouth Gazette*, Dec. 14th.

Those who were fortunate enough to be present at the Federation meeting, on Tuesday evening, heard a truly wonderful speech by Mr. Parkin. A thorough master of his subject, and animated by fervid feeling, the speaker marshalled his facts with singular clearness, blending the whole into an argument of irresistible force. The audience gave a cordial allegiance to the doctrine and aim of Imperial Federation. The central truth of the address, illustrated by apt reference and enforced by eloquent appeal, was this:—Consolidate all the available forces, moral, intellectual, and material, of the British Empire, and the future of England's trade and peace is assured. It is indeed a grand, thrilling idea, that of a family union of Great Britain and the Colonies. Such a federation means in its practical result, an absolute command of inexhaustible areas of food and raw material, together with an indisputable possession of the great waterways of the world. The threats of the proudest despotism would be powerless against an Empire so placed. It is true the purpose of the League lives to-day as an enthusiasm, and cynical and extremely practical ones bestow on it flouts and jibes, but none the less this splendid passion for English Unity is taking firmest hold on the biggest hearts and intellects of our race, and with unrivalled capacity for empire Englishmen are moving towards a brotherhood of action which will eventually dominate the world. "Great words," sayest thou O reader, but remember they are the words of prophets whose inspiration is the spirit of the age and the greatest of national histories.

From the *Liverpool Courier*, Dec. 17th.

The members of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce yesterday listened to an interesting lecture by Mr. G. R. Parkin on the subject of Imperial Federation. The attendance, the lecture itself, the resolution subsequently unanimously carried, and the sentiments expressed by the various speakers, all showed that this, at all events, is not being treated as a party question. Mr. Samuel Smith is as deeply convinced as Lord George Hamilton that the *laissez faire* and peace-at-any-price doctrines of the Manchester School have passed away, and that it is desirable to consolidate the resources and the interests of the Empire, through all its parts. Mr. Parkin's assertion that Imperial Federation has ceased to be an idea and become a question of practical and tangible form, may be somewhat premature. The subject is vast; many susceptibilities have to be gently dealt with, and numerous jealousies to be overcome. That, however, the idea is making steady progress is beyond question, and when the position and mercantile relations subsisting between the great port of Liverpool and the most distant parts of the Empire are taken into account, the active identification of Liverpool's Chamber of Commerce with the movement may be regarded as marking an epoch in its history.

THE LEAGUE IN TORONTO.

MEETING of women on the invitation of Mrs. McCarthy at her house on May 2nd, 1889, to induce them to join the League and bring in new members.

Present: Mrs. John Beverley Robinson, Forsyth Grant, Mrs. B. R. Clarkson, Steph. Jarvis, Kenneth Mackenzie, Miss T. Mackenzie, Jas. Henderson Cunningham, Otter, Miss Otter, Arthur Spragge, Featherston Osler, Miss Osler, Miss Small, Miss Alice Freeman, Mrs. John A. Macdowell, Miss Darling, Miss Shanly, Miss Forlong, James Murray, Creehnan, Fred. Dennison, Cattanaach, Grant Macdonald, Frederick Wyld, Law, Campbell Macdonald, Miss F. Boulton, H. Boulton, L. Boulton, Miss Burton, Miss A. Burton, Mrs. Ogden, Miss G. Robinson, Mrs. D'Alton McCarthy, Miss McCarthy, and Mrs. Fitzgibbon, thirty-seven in all.

They were addressed by Messrs. Cunningham, George Blackstock, and Castell Hopkins on the objects of the League, and urged to become members and induce others to join. A printed copy of the "constitution," list of council, members, &c., and of Lord Rosebery's recent speech, was delivered to each, together with a collection paper.

All those, or nearly all those, present joined and paid their subscriptions.

Meeting of women of league at Mrs. D'Alton McCarthy's house on October 21st, 1889, to hand in subscription lists and form committee to decide on badge.

Present: Mrs. D'Alton McCarthy, Miss McCarthy, Mrs. Wyld, Mrs. Campbell Macdonald, Mrs. Stephen Jarvis, Mrs. W. B. Clarksoo, Mrs. George Denison, Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer, Mrs. Chewitt, Mrs. Creehnan, Mrs. Ken. Mackenzie, Miss Mackenzie, Mrs. Cunningham, Mrs. Kay, Mrs. Wragge, Mr. Casimir Dickson, Mr. Castell Hopkins, and Commander F. C. Law, R.N.

A committee was formed of Mrs. Nordheimer, Mrs. Stephen Jarvis, and Mrs. George Denison to decide upon the badge for the branch which is to be exhibited at a subsequent meeting of women of the League. Twelve names of new members with their subscriptions were handed in.

Committee meeting at Mr. Worrell's office, 18, King's Street West, at 5 p.m., on October 21st, 1889.

Present: Mr. John Matthews in the chair, Lieut-Colonel George Denison, Messrs. Worrell, Castell Hopkins, Merritt, Casimir Dickson, Cuthbert, and the Hon. Secretary-Treasurer.

The Secretary-Treasurer stated that up to date, and including twelve new names just received at the ladies' meeting, we had 514 men members, 56 women, 570 in all, five having resigned and one died during the current year. That 270 members took in the journal, 18 of whom took all the publications of the League, and that eight outsiders took in the journal besides, making 278 in all, and that 235 members were registered in England. He also informed the meeting that Messrs. Cunningham, Lefroy, and Casimir Dickson were willing to read papers during the coming winter. It was decided that Mr. Dickson, who would be the soonest ready, should be asked to read his on the third Thursday in November (21st), Mr. Cunningham about the middle of December, and Mr. Lefroy as soon as his was ready, probably in January, and that the annual meeting of the branch for the election of officers, etc., should take place at the same time. The Chairman suggested to those of the Organising Committee present that the basis of their campaign during the coming winter should be the special advantages to Canada of Imperial Federation, giving reasons why.

A general meeting was held in the large room of Association Hall, on Friday, November 22nd, 1889, to hear a paper read by Mr. Casimir Dickson on "The Conference of 1887, and Future Conferences."

Present: Messrs. George R. Cockburn, M.P., Robert Hay, late M.P., Lieut.-Colonel George Denison, J. Herbert Mason, John A. Worrell, John T. Small, Dr. John McConnell, Walter Dickson, James P. Murray, R. L. Fraser, Thomas E. Moberly, the Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. D'Alton McCarthy, Mrs. George Denison, Mrs. Law, and about thirty other ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Cockburn, Senior Vice-President of the branch, occupied the chair, and after the minutes of the previous meeting had been read and confirmed, introduced the speaker.

Mr. Dickson then read a very interesting and able paper on the above subject, setting forth the various steps which led to the calling of the first conference of representatives of the Mother Country and the Colonies in the Spring of 1887, the matter discussed, the results, and discussing the probability that future conferences would lead to the grand object we all have in view—the consolidation of the various parts of the Empire into one compact whole for offence, defence, and trade. He sketched the formation of the large National Debt of the United Kingdom, and showed that most, if not the whole, of it was incurred, directly or indirectly, in the interests of her Colonies. He declared that objections to Federation on the ground that it would entail a sharing of that debt, came with a bad grace from members of those same Colonies. He then showed the increased interest taken by all parties in the United Kingdom in the subject of Federation, and the increased prominence it had in the press, and sat down amidst well-earned applause.

The Chairman then reviewed Mr. Dickson's paper, and paid him a high compliment for the manner in which he had got it up. He related some of his experiences when in England, from which place he had only recently returned, showing how well the large Colonies were thought of, and how well their members were treated by people of the old country, and called on those present to aid in the discussion of the paper, and begged Colonel Denison to commence. Colonel Denison strongly advocated commercial union within the Empire, showing its advantage to the various parts, especially to Canada, and no less so to England in case of war. Mr. Moberly spoke next on the grandeur of

our heritage as a component part of such a vast and powerful Empire, and of the infinite possibilities on Imperial Federation. Mr. Gibb, late of the 93rd Highlanders, laid stress on the part played by the Army and Navy in building up the Colonies and India, and said that after so much blood and treasure expended, it would be a poor result to see the Colonies drift away from the Mother Country. Mr. Herbert Mason strongly advocated Imperial Federation and showed its special advantages to Canada. Mr. Worrell most eloquently upheld the idea of Imperial Federation, and condemned those adventurers who came over here from the United States and advocated Commercial Union with that country, which would result in the long run in the obliteration of our nationality. Mr. Morton spoke in the same strain. Mr. Hopkins, among other things, referred to the unreliable news they received from the United Kingdom, the telegrams being cooked to suit the American palate, and looked forward with pleasure to the day in the near future when they would possess their own cable. Mr. Holgate also said a few words. Colonel Denison then proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by Mr. Holgate, and carried unanimously. Mr. Casimir Dickson next moved "that as matters of Imperial concern become ripe for discussion, this meeting is of opinion that Imperial conferences should be summoned to consider them." This was seconded by Colonel George Denison, and carried unanimously. Mr. Moberly then told the meeting that no less than five of the Toronto papers were warm friends of our cause. Before dispersing the Hon. Secretary-Treasurer read the minutes of the meeting of ladies at Mrs. McCarthy's house in May last, as there had been no general meeting of the branch since that date; stated the number of men and women members, the number taking the journal, etc., and urged on those present a little more energy in procuring new members.

CANADIAN OPINION ON THE NEW DEPARTURE.

From the *St. John's (New Brunswick) Evening Gazette*.

THERE are doubtless many good men in Canada who are opposed to the idea of Imperial Federation, but it is a notable fact that among the opponents of this measure will be found every enemy of British rule which this Dominion contains. The ranks of the Imperial Federalists will be searched in vain for a single annexationist, advocate of independence or Canada First man, but these classes form a large proportion of the persons who are ridiculing Imperial Federation as a "fad," or describing the utterances of those who advocate it as a "wheeze." The men who are most active in promoting Imperial Federation are not likely to be discouraged by such demonstrations, but they will rely on time to vindicate the honesty of their intentions, and the wisdom of the course they are pursuing. "As to my name and memory," said Lord Bacon in his will, "I leave it to men's charitable speeches and to foreign nations, and to the next age." With similar confidence the advocates of Imperial Federation may trust to the judgment of posterity, who will honour them as patriots whose love of country was bounded by no narrow horizon, but embraced the entire British Empire. They are for the present engaged in combating a widespread conspiracy for the dismemberment of that Empire in which every faddist and every enemy of the British flag has a share, and when these foes of our common country have been driven back it will be time enough to proceed to consider the details of the proposed Federation. In England a new departure was taken at the annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League which was held in London on Friday and which was largely and influentially attended. It was agreed to urge upon the British Government the necessity of holding at regular intervals Imperial Conferences to consider matters of common concern that are ripe for discussion. This is an outcome of Sir Charles Tupper's recent suggestion, and will be the means of showing the British Premier and other doubters of the practicability of Imperial Federation that the advice of the Colonies is worth listening to in matters which touch their interests. Mr. Parkin was at this meeting and produced a favourable impression. It is gratifying to know that a native of New Brunswick is taking so prominent a part in this important matter.

From the *Bystander* (Toronto).

Lord Salisbury's letter on Imperial Federation, now that we have its full text, amounts to a positive declaration that the Imperial Government will not move. If the Imperial Government will not move, nobody else can; for who is to call the Colonies together? The movement has of late been made a stalking-horse for Protection. For its genuine adherents we have nothing but respect and sympathy to express. Only let them read history and see whether it affords any example of an Imperial Federation resembling in the least degree what they propose. They will find that the Roman Empire was all in a ring fence and had the world to itself, while the Spanish Empire, though not in a ring fence, was an Empire in the true sense of the term, the dependencies being despotically ruled by Spain. Let them consider, too, the tendency of the race, whether it is to centralisation or independence. What is the moral of the quarrel of the Mother Country and the American Colonies? Have the Australian Colonies succeeded in federating? Have those in South Africa? Is our own Confederation an assured success? Is there not considerable risk, in tightening the political bond, of loosening or even breaking the bond of the heart? The difficulties of dealing with the Indian Empire, of determining the relations between the British and the Federal Crown and Parliament, of apportioning the representation among communities ranging in size from Great Britain to St. Helena, are already before them. Sentiment by all means, but it is vain to bid our bosoms swell with enthusiasm for an object which nobody can define, and which nobody will take a step to promote.

[The *Bystander* represents the party composed of Professor Goldwin Smith. As far as its influence on Canadian politics goes we believe its name is entirely justified.—ED. IMP. FED.]

REPORT OF THE DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

THE Defence Committee of the League have met on several occasions and have carefully considered what subjects connected with the defence of the Empire might advantageously be submitted by her Majesty's Government to a Conference of Delegates from the Colonies to be assembled in London.

PRESENT EXPENDITURE ON NAVAL AND MILITARY SERVICES.

The Committee find that at the present time a sum of no less than £52,000,000 per annum is expended by the several Governments within the Empire in providing for the Naval and Military Services of the Crown.

This amount does not include special grants voted for emergencies, nor does it include the capital value of the permanent works of defence which have been constructed in various parts of the Empire.

NATURAL STRATEGICAL ADVANTAGES OF OUR POSITION.

The Committee call attention to the fact that at the present time a very large proportion of the important coaling depôts of the world and of the strategical points on the great lines of maritime communication are within the limits of the British Empire; and in view of the large expenditure referred to above and of this very great natural advantage enjoyed by the inhabitants of the British Empire it might reasonably be supposed that a force sufficient to guarantee the integrity of our territory and the safety of our commerce in time of war would be maintained, and that our special advantages of position and coal supply would have been utilised to the greatest possible extent.

THE ACTUAL CONDITION OF AFFAIRS.

Such a supposition is not, however, borne out by facts. From the information at their disposal the committee are led to believe that, although the aggregate of men and material is large, the various forces on which we can rely are not so organised as to admit of concerted action in time of war; and they think that more complete steps than have hitherto been taken are required to obtain full advantage of the natural strength and resources of the Empire.

The Committee feel that the time has come when the question of Imperial Defence should be considered as a whole, and when the policy that directs it should be continuous.

For only thus can the many acknowledged mistakes that have been made in the past be avoided for the future, and only thus can the new organisations and defences rendered necessary by the rapid expansion of the Empire be regulated with economy and efficiency.

As examples of the deficiencies which exist, the following facts may be cited:—

1. No means are provided for raising the naval forces of the Empire from a peace to a war footing except in home and Australasian waters, British commerce elsewhere must, therefore, depend for protection during the first weeks, or perhaps months, of war, upon the insufficient naval force of a peace establishment, although that is the period during which its "moral effect" may determine the fate of British sea-borne trade.

2. No scheme of common action between the various forces of the Crown throughout the world in time of war has, up to the present, been formulated or agreed upon.

Such forces in most parts of the Empire would be compelled to act independently of each other, and consequently with a great loss of efficiency.

3. In many parts of the Empire there are at this moment fortifications insufficiently provided with a modern armament.

4. There are a number of fortified places without adequate provision for a garrison in time of war.

5. In war the continuance of regular steam communication between the various parts of the Empire will be a primary necessity. In many cases the lines of steamers are subsidised by Home and Colonial Governments for mail service; the fastest steamers will be the safest in war; but the fastest steamers of these lines are also subsidised by the Admiralty, to secure the right of removing them in war from the mail service, in order to make good deficiencies in the naval power of the Empire. This, if carried out, would practically destroy the mail service at the time when its efficiency was of the utmost importance.

6. There is no arsenal capable of supplying her Majesty's forces—naval or military—with the materials necessary for carrying on war under modern conditions, either in Canada, in Australia, or at the Cape. Her Majesty's ships on the Canadian, Australian, and South African stations must rely upon Great Britain both for ammunition and guns, and for a large portion of their equipment, while even the provision for supplying small arm ammunition in our principal Colonies and dependencies is in some cases absent, and in others totally inadequate.

7. It is doubtful if the capacity of public and private factories in England for the supply of guns, arms, ammunition, and warlike stores is more than equal to the demands of the Royal navy and British and Indian armies on a war footing.

The plant at such establishments is adapted to the supply of arms and ammunition in use in the Imperial service. Colonial forces are not in all cases, or of necessity, similarly armed.

Thus the want of system renders it impossible to meet the demands which will pour in from all portions of the Empire on the outbreak of war, with the further possibility that the ammunition and stores available at any spot may not be of the nature required.

THE NECESSITY FOR ORGANISATION.

It appears from these facts, and from others of a similar character which might be cited, that what is most needed to secure the safety of the Empire in time of war is not principally, if at all, additional expenditure or largely increased establishments, but rather a rational and well considered organisation of the means which already exist.

It is universally admitted that organisation and unity of purpose

are necessary to the successful and economical conduct of any business, and the business of preparing for war is no exception to this truth.

THE EXAMPLE AFFORDED BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The elaborate organisations of the German and French general staffs is a proof that other nations have realised the paramount necessity for a high degree of organisation adapted to their respective national requirements in time of peace.

The Committee are of opinion that only by similar exercise of foresight and skill can full value be obtained for the money now expended on naval and military purposes throughout the Empire, or the services of the various armed forces of the Crown be utilised to the best advantage.

THE CONDITIONS UPON WHICH ORGANISATION IS POSSIBLE.

It is obvious that co-operation and the organisation which must result from it can only be obtained by mutual arrangements between all the parties interested; and that no scheme can be complete or satisfactory which has not received the consideration and approval of the several Governments by which the administration of the Empire is carried on.

THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Committee believe that a Conference of Representatives of the several Colonies convened by her Majesty's Government and sitting in London, would offer a suitable opportunity of discussing the best means of organising the Naval and Military forces of the Empire, which, in the opinion of your Committee, would be found in the establishment of an Imperial Council of Defence, composed of representatives duly appointed by the Mother Country, self-governing Colonies, and the Indian Government respectively, to lay down on broad lines a general scheme of Imperial Defence, with power to modify it from time to time as circumstances may render necessary.

A NON-POLITICAL SEPARATIST.

MR. PURVES, Q.C., has been making another speech to his "non-political" Australian Natives' Association. Somewhat in the spirit of the lady who "vowing she would ne'er consent consented," he pointed out that Victoria enjoyed "the most complete liberty ever enjoyed by any community on the face of the globe," and then went on to say that separation, though it would not come in their time, must be looked forward to as inevitable, but that meanwhile they would "welcome Lord Hopetown and all his thirty flunkies and give them a loyal reception." Here upon a local paper, the *Bacchus Marsh Express*, which, like so many Australian papers, is edited with an ability that seems out of place in so small a community, took him to task in a long leader of which we quote the concluding portion.

"Not the least curious part of the business is that Mr. Purves and his coadjutors do not seem to be at all aware that they are playing in the most light-hearted and irresponsible manner possible with remarkably sharp-edged weapons. If separation of Australasia from the Mother Country is to come from cause (that is, injustice manifested by Great Britain, or from any other undesirable attributes of the relationship), and that is the only justification for separation, it is not necessary to have the Australian Natives' Association or any Association to point out that cause; the discernment of the responsible rulers in the Parliament of the country, and of the people as a whole at the back of them, will discover that cause and they will act upon it as British people have ever done. The right to revolt for due cause is inherent in the race, and it is a little bit impudent for a few Australian born units of that race to profess to have discovered that they are the sole custodians of that power, which their forefathers and fellow subjects have always shown they know how to use, otherwise the British Constitution (with all its class demerits which time is rapidly detaching from it) would not be at this moment the most liberty-promoting and preserving in the whole world. The glamour of Republican institutions has much fascination for superficial thinkers, but Republicanism is ever dogged (as in France) by the spectre of revolt, instability, and lack of national dignity, or by the terrible turmoil (as in America) of presidential elections and periodical paralysis of central authority, so much so that America really does not possess a national government at all, but is perennially at the mercy of mob law with temporary periods of quietness. Mr. Purves chafed under the idea of Australian States being called Colonies, and the title is a little bit outgrown, but an alteration in that respect can easily be made without creating either a King or a President of Australasia, and the complaint is really of the character of those made by "Mr.'s" who think they ought to be called "Esqs." It is a very small matter, and should not appeal at all to the sentiments of a democratic people. Mr. Purves perorated a little upon the glorious inheritance and the unique liberty the Australian communities possess, at the same time indicating very truly several intercolonial disagreements and diverse interests which may create more or less serious internal dissension. Then why should he seek to imperil that inheritance, and put an edge on those disagreements, by suggesting as a thing rather to be desired, and certainly not to be feared or delayed, the separation of the Colonies from the British Empire, which is the only power that can allay those dissensions and preserve as she has created that inheritance? What in the name of all that is Australian or British, or desirable in any mundane sense whatever, is to be gained by an Australian Republic which cannot be obtained in an infinitely better form by a Federated Australasia owning an allegiance to and, if necessary, supporting as completely as Middlesex itself, the British throne, or the British connection, whatever form the Government may take, for it may be Republican some day?

Until Mr. Purves and the Australian Natives' Association can show reasons much more relevant than they have yet shown for even talking about separation, they have no right to put forward such a propaganda in the airy no-consequence fashion which Mr. Purves indulges in. Chief Justice Higinbotham rebuked a similar frame of mind, inversely expressed, many years ago, when he and his Darling grant colleagues were accused of disloyalty. He said there was plenty of lip loyalty to the British Crown, but there was less of true loyalty to the principles of liberty and stability of which the throne was but the symbol and the executive power. And we say that lip loyalty to a mushroom Australian spread-eagleism is a poor substitute for true loyalty to the British power and history embodied in the present liberties enjoyed by these Colonies under the British flag, and as sharers in the history and the power of that flag. It is but a pinchbeck patriotism which would set those inheritances and safeguards aside without being driven to do so by causes similar to those which created the American Republic, and we do hope that the Australian natives will be led to see that they have nothing to gain by cherishing sedition in really the most contemptible form in which it could be manifested, namely, as that of a treacherous ally, willing to co-operate with the Empire as long as there is anything to be gained by it, but anxious to sneak off at the first gust of disagreement or the first beckoning of imagined self-interest. That is not the shoulder-to-shoulder spirit which has made the British Empire what it is, and it will be pitiful indeed if the Colony of Victoria, as the originator of the Australian Natives' Association, should be the breeding-place of a spirit which is certainly not British, and we hope will not be peculiar to Australia.

Upon this Mr. Armytage, M.L.A., wrote a long letter, dated Parliament House, October 15, to the Editor of the *Express*. He began by pointing out that Mr. Purves had twice taken an oath, "I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, as lawful sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of this Colony of Victoria. So help me God!" and asking how Mr. Purves reconciled his oath and his speech. Then after ridiculing Mr. Purves's assertion that he was keeping clear of politics, and asserting his belief that the great majority of his fellow-countrymen had too keen an appreciation of the liberty they at present enjoy to be inclined to risk separation, and holding up as a warning "The degrading spectacle which the great American nation (for it is great, in spite of its political institutions) presented to the world during the last Presidential contest," with just one glance at France, Mr. Armytage concluded his letter as follows:—

It seems to me so plainly to our interest to maintain our present connection with England that it is madness to wish to sever it. Where are we striving to send all our surplus produce to? England, of course. If we get our butter home we have to compete not only with our own flesh and blood, but with Denmark, Holland, France, and other foreign countries. Again, it was estimated that Queensland lost over £2,000,000 per annum in the English market through having to compete with the "bounty-fed" sugar. Now, is it not within the range of practical politics that, if we show our determination to stand by the Old Country, that we will get a preference in its markets over other nations? Again, our interests, in common with English interests, are commercial and distinctly peaceable. How could we better secure those interests than by leaguering ourselves in a commercial and defensive alliance with England? It is impossible, of course, to give a cut-and-dried plan of this alliance. But it would be far better, much more sensible, and infinitely more profitable to ourselves, to work with that object in view than to be fostering a spirit of concealed narrow-minded ignorance which is to find expression in separation. And, as you, sir, very truly say, "we must either work for separation or against it." I don't know that I would go the whole length with you in saying "there is nothing to prevent Australia moulding the destinies of the Empire," but Lord Rosebery last year said something very like it. He said, English foreign policy was fast changing from a *Continental* to a *Colonial* one. And what impressed England with the importance of its Colonies but the memorable action of the late Hon. W. B. Dalley in sending the New South Wales contingent to the Soudan? That action, I see, Mr. Purves "does not object to." No, and he would never have been able to talk enough about it if Victoria had taken the lead instead of New South Wales in that movement. I consider that action the most significant national event that has taken place since the resuscitation of the Italian nation. It showed foreign nations that, should they dare to attack the grand Old Country, we are all so proud to know we belong to, they would have to reckon, not with one England only, but with many Englands in all parts of the globe. If Mr. Purves wishes to gain one of his professed objects, he and his confrères will have to speak with respect of our neighbours, and give honour ungrudgingly where honour is due. The idea of likening England as a Roman Colony with Australia as an English Colony is quite one of the most absurd Mr. Purves has evolved from his wonderful brain. The Roman Colonies, or rather they were not Colonies, but subjugated countries, were as often a source of weakness as of strength to Rome, and most certainly England was a source of weakness. The Roman troops were withdrawn from England when the barbarian menaced the Imperial City itself. I sincerely trust we won't have to do what England did when she ceased to be a Roman Colony, and suffer the questionable friendship of some modern Saxons or unquestionable hostility of modern Danes. The Australian Natives' Association will find its hands full if it conducts its social and "benefit" sides with success. It will deserve the sincere thanks of all if it succeed in breaking down old-world bitternesses, founded on distinctions of race and feuds the origins of which are well-nigh forgotten. The latter is an object worthy of the highest aims and noblest aspirations. Having succeeded with that, let them take up Federation of the Colonies, and then of the Empire. In the meantime let them with one voice

repeat after Mr. Purves,—“I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria as lawful sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of this Colony of Victoria, So help me God.”

We must find room for the further editorial comment, if it were only in order that we might seize the opportunity to assure our friend that whatever irresponsible enthusiasts may say or may have said, the League, as a whole, is not likely to founder on the rock of a brand-new Federal Council. That we all look forward to with confident hope, that we are prepared to work for, but just as Mr. Purves is persuaded that the separation which he expects will not come in his time, so we acknowledge that few of us are likely to see adopted the definitive constitution of the British Empire:—

We thank Mr. Armytage for his excellent letter. Journalists too seldom find public men taking the trouble to support views they approve of upon questions of the highest public importance, consequently the gadflies of society are apt to feel emboldened to sit in judgment upon what they do not understand. Our remark as to Australia "moulding" the policy of the Empire did not imply that she should govern the Empire. It is on that rock the Imperial Federationists founder. They want to substitute for the British Government a Federal Council of the Empire, which would destroy the vital central force essential in an Empire. Federation should be effected by holding purely consultative Conferences in London every three years of representatives of all parts of the Empire presided over by the Premier of the British Government. The central authority must remain the source of Imperial policy and action, and the local authorities the sources of local action, the whole being "moulded" by the periodical Conferences. Emergencies can be dealt with by emergency consultations, per telegraph. Imperial Federation, to be a success, must not be amalgamation in any sense either of British nationalism or of Colonial nationalism, but an affiliation of both under the wider bond or pact of British or Anglo-Saxon Imperialism. In justice to Mr. Purves we have to add that he did not fix thirty years hence as the period when separation would be probable or desirable; that was our interpretation of his references to "this generation" not having to decide the question, as thirty years is regarded as the period vaguely called a "generation."

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Council was held in Shaftesbury Hall, Toronto, on December 10th, 1889, by order of the president. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., chairman; Mr. Casimir Dickson, hon. secretary. There were also present Lieut-Col. G. T. Denison, Lieut-Col. F. T. Denison, C.M.G.; M.P., Lieut-Col. Gilkison (Brantford), Commander Law, R.N., and Messrs. J. A. Worrell, Q.C., M. A. Lambert (St. Thomas), J. T. Small, J. Castell Hopkins, T. E. Moberly, W. Stark, and D. T. Symons.

On the motion of Mr. J. A. Worrell, Q.C., seconded by Mr. D. T. Symons, it was decided that a committee, consisting of Lieut-Col. G. T. Denison and Messrs. Casimir Dickson and Hopkins, be appointed to prepare the draft of a new pamphlet containing information with regard to the League's work, and submit the same to the annual meeting. It was decided, further, that the annual meeting be held at Ottawa, on the 30th January next, at 10 a.m., in the Tower Room of the House of Parliament.

Letters were then read which had passed between the secretaries of the League in Canada and England with regard to the resolution passed at the Council meeting on October 4th last, requesting the parent League to call a convention of delegates from the various branches of the League to decide upon what suggestions should be made to Her Majesty's Government with a view to the calling of a second Colonial Conference, and the resolutions of the parent League of November 15th and 21st were reported. After consideration by the Council and discussion and the reading of correspondence on the subject, the following resolution was—at the suggestion of the president, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P.—moved by Mr. T. E. Moberly, seconded by Commander Law, R.N., and passed:—

"The resolution proposed by Sir Frederick Weld upon the resolution passed at the last meeting of this Council having been considered by this Council,

"It is resolved that, regard being had to the difficulties deemed insurmountable by the Executive Council of the Parent League of holding a convention of delegates, that the resolution passed at the suggestion of Lord Rosebery for the establishment of Imperial Conferences be and the same is hereby approved.

"But this Council would regret that any Conference should be held at which the question of inter-Imperial and Colonial trade would not be deemed a subject of first-class importance."

A communication was read from the Secretary of the Toronto Board of Trade acknowledging the receipt of the set of books which had been presented to that body in accordance with the resolution passed at the last Council meeting.

The complete returns of the recent Newfoundland elections give the following interesting statement of the composition of the new chamber:—

Government supporters ...	...	...	...	5
"Whitewayites" ...	...	...	...	28
"Independents" ...	...	...	...	3
				—
Total House ...	...	...	...	36

Canadian Gazette.

A VERY SOILED REMAINDER.

We had imagined, we confess, that when we wanted a little general abuse of our cause it was necessary to resort for a citation to the columns of *Truth*. This was of course a somewhat monotonous proceeding, but as we have always felt constrained to do our best to set before our readers the *cons* as well as the *pros*, we felt that in default of other more conspicuous representatives of the moribund Little England school, we had no option but to quote the flouts and jeers of Mr. Labouchere. Now, however, we have discovered another surviving member of that once powerful party, who appears to be permitted to give vent to his opinions in the leader columns of the *Bristol Mercury*. Here is a specimen of them; no doubt ere long we shall have the advantage of culling some still choicer flowers from the same stock.

One of those vague grandiose projects which exercise great influence over certain minds is the scheme of Imperial Federation. Fortunately the vast body of public opinion on this and other soiled remainders of the Jingo policy is in a very healthy state, and, with the exception of a mere handful of enthusiasts for whom the glamour has proved too much, the people are quite indifferent to the meetings of the Imperial Federation League or its wild plans. If the ordinary Englishman troubles himself to read the account of their proceedings, it is on the principal of Terence that nothing human should be alien to him. The difficulty is to ascertain precisely what is meant by Imperial Federation. At a recent gathering in West Kensington, Sir Algernon Borthwick declared that unity of sentiments should be encouraged, and added, with a dreadful relapse into prosaic detail, that an oceanic penny postage should be established. One is reminded by these incongruous suggestions of the cure broached by an Elizabethan author for the ills of his time, which was a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures and of the noble art of shooting with a bow and arrow. Another speaker thought that Federation would place the Empire in so strong a position that it could be independent of European complications. But, as "Outidanos" pointed out in his memorable article, there is not the shadow of a reason, except the cold miscalculating ambition of a Tory Premier, why, even without Imperial Federation, we should meddle in the quarrels of Russia, Germany, and France. The true reason for the shyness of the spokesmen of the League in explaining their objects is that they have only to be stated to be scouted. Sir Julius Vogel, a former Premier of New Zealand, who regards himself as the inventor of the idea of combination, goes further than most of his fellow believers in letting us see the iron hand which is beneath the velvet glove of unity of sentiment and oceanic penny postage. He would have the Colonies indissolubly united to the Mother Country, and a council constituted in which representatives should sit to decide the amount to be contributed towards federal expenditure. He admits that there is a strong party in Australia which seeks, in the words of Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to keep "Australia for the Australians," or, in the still more forcible expression of Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the Opposition, to secure for that great continent "the position of an independent State." He confesses that "government on the spot has proved to be immeasurably superior to government from Downing Street." He has to allow that the relations between the Colonies and Mother Country are so delicate that the Colonial Office has been compelled in innumerable instances to yield to the desires of the Colonists. Yet he has the temerity in the *Nineteenth Century* to insist on a Federation from which no member can withdraw, an "indestructible union," to be maintained by the armed might of the majority. He further argues that the Colonies have no right to secede, and that the recent annexations made by this country show that the anti-Colonial theory has lost its hold on the public mind. He omits to distinguish between the two motives of Colonisation. Our operations in East Africa, justifiable or not, are simply for trade purposes, not for Empire, and we have yet to learn that the Colonists would abandon their tariffs on our goods however much unity of sentiment there might be between us. To put the question in a brief form, the League is trying to educate English feeling into a determination to prevent the secession of the Colonies by a savage fratricidal war. That is the one definite idea amidst Sir J. Vogel's vapourings. The Pendjeh affair and many other incidents show that he has mistaken the way in which the tide is flowing. In the opinion of the great majority of the English people such expressions as "an Empire on which the sun never sets" are fine phrases, but they are not worth a thimbleful of human blood.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

THE following extract is from the letter of the special Canadian correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*—our best congratulations to that journal on the possession of such a functionary at all. It is dated Halifax, September 24th. We may just add that, as the *Glasgow Herald* is a paper which looks upon us as amiable but weak-minded enthusiasts, we shall probably be justified in thinking that its correspondent does not exaggerate the feeling in our favour:—

For some years past Imperial Federation has been much discussed in Canada. This is partly in consequence of the persistent aggressiveness of the United States and the apathy of the Home Government where Canadian interests are concerned, partly from the mutual advantage which would accrue to all parts of the Empire, and partly because Canada is now of age and wishes to adopt the *toga virilis*. At present Canada has no voice, as of right, in the Imperial Councils. The Imperial Government performs all the higher functions of government; it negotiates and enforces treaties affecting the deepest interest of Canada and the other self-governing provinces. It declares war and makes peace.

In the amount of registered tonnage Canada ranks as the fourth shipping Power in the world. She has more registered tonnage than the United States, France, Italy, Russia, Spain, or Denmark. The German Empire has only 150,000 more tonnage registered than Canada. Yet the Imperial Government may, by its own act, without consulting Canada, imperil that shipping by a declaration of war against some foreign power. The population of the Colonies is now 10,000,000, equally as wealthy in proportion as the population of Great Britain, although the wealth is more diffused. It is not expected that the federation of the Empire could be consummated till between four and five years, and it is estimated that within that time the Colonial population will have reached 13,000,000.

Imperial Federation as discussed in Canada takes two forms. The first is an arrangement by which the Colonies will have some control in Imperial affairs, and to some extent regulate Imperial policy, in return for which the Colonies would contribute their just proportion to the Imperial revenue. There would also be a war contribution of men and money. It is proposed that representatives be sent to an Imperial Parliament, representation to be by population in the case of those Colonies which make full contribution to the expenses of the Empire. In view of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the large militia force which Canada is obliged to maintain, she might expect her contribution to be somewhat less. Owing to the great and ever-growing reinforcements which Great Britain could draw from the Colonies, she might retire from the European system altogether, fortify the Indian frontier, and say to Russia, "If you wish India, take it, if you can." It is maintained, and I think truly, that the Empire would be much more stable if obligations were reciprocal. As it is, the Colonies are not bound to contribute a farthing to the support of the Empire. We have in Canada a political system which is a prototype of what an Imperial system might be. Each province is independent and self-governing in local matters, and yet each joined with all the others for mutual help and support and the general regulation of affairs in the Federal Parliament at Ottawa.

The second form is that of an Imperial Customs Union, by which all portions of the Empire will mutually agree to make discrimination in their tariffs in favour of each other as against goods coming from other parts of the world. Canada has an *ad valorem* tariff of 25 per cent. If by agreement with the Mother Country the tariff should be raised to 35 per cent. against foreign countries, the effect of that 10 per cent. would be to give the manufacturers of Great Britain 40,000,000 dols. which Canada now purchases elsewhere. In like manner a slight discrimination in favour of Canadian wheat to the extent of the known variation in Great Britain, which does not affect the price of the loaf, would turn the whole tide of British emigration and capital, which of late years has made the north-west of the United States, into Canada, for, of course, such discrimination would control the home market. Surely it is more proper that the surplus population of Great Britain should be directed to British Colonies, there to build up and strengthen the outlying parts of the Empire, than that they should go to a foreign country. In the twenty-one years from 1866 to 1886 (inclusive) emigrants have gone from the British Isles as follows:—

To North American Colonies	...	...	...	444,811
To Australia and New Zealand	...	...	...	642,348
To other places	...	...	...	221,800
Total	...	...	...	1,308,959
To the United States	...	...	...	2,749,213
Grand total	...	...	...	4,058,172

Taking the value of each emigrant at 1,000 dols., the total value of the emigrants from Great Britain to the United States within the past twenty-one years would amount to 2,749,213,000 dols.

A GOOD WORD FROM THE WEST.

From the *Western Morning News*.

EARLY next month a deputation from the Imperial Federation League will wait upon the Prime Minister in order to urge the expediency of calling another conference of Colonial representatives. This deputation will be introduced by Lord Rosebery, who is president of the League, and was Lord Salisbury's immediate predecessor at the Foreign Office. What Lord Rosebery and his colleagues want is for the Government to do something that will evince a desire to consult the Colonies with regard to the solution of Imperial problems. They are well aware that although the policy of Federation is gradually ripening, it is not yet practicable as a resource of statesmanship; and they are content to watch the ripening process until the fruit of their labours is ready to be gathered. But, meanwhile, they wish to see the principle officially recognised and acted upon so far as is possible. The Conference of Colonial representatives which Mr. Stanhope summoned when he was Colonial Secretary was found to be at once practicable and useful as a means of ascertaining the drift of Colonial opinion regarding some of those great questions to which the attention of our statesmen is directed, and we have little doubt that the results of its deliberations were found to be of great practical value. These great communities which are growing up at the Antipodes and elsewhere constitute an offspring of which the Mother Country may be justly proud; and they naturally think that their interests should be taken account of as well as the interests of the United Kingdom. These interests affect the well-being of the Empire, and should, consequently, have a bearing on its general policy. The time has not yet come for having a truly Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster where the Colonies could be directly represented. At present, the Parliament of the United Kingdom is the Imperial Parliament. If Mr. Gladstone's Irish Bill had been passed in its original form, all the functions and authority of the Imperial Parliament would have devolved on the Parliament of Great Britain, and then, by giving Home Rule to Scotland, only the English Parliament would possess an "Imperial" character. We think it would be

preferable to adopt the French method, and broaden the basis of the Imperial Parliament by joining a Colonial representation to the representation of the United Kingdom. But as this cannot be done at present, we think it eminently desirable to make the nearest approach to it that is practicable. Lord Rosebery and his colleagues in the Imperial Federation League hold that the Conference which met in London in 1887 represented the Imperial idea in its true sense, and they will urge Lord Salisbury to institute frequent meetings of the same kind between representatives of all parts of the Empire. The Conference may meet only in its consultative capacity; but by means of such consultation the Imperial Government can hardly fail to be materially assisted in dealing with delicate subjects affecting foreign Powers. It seems to us that mischief may be prevented by a frequent consultation between the Secretary of State and accredited representatives from the Colonies. We know that Australia felt very keenly about New Guinea and New Caledonia, and we cannot help thinking that the present situation in relation to those islands might have been very different if the views of the Colonies had been set forth at a conference instead of through the medium of despatches. There is so much more force in personal representations, and the various aspects of a question can be so much better understood by means of personal consultation, that the advantages of periodical conferences cannot be doubted. Then there is the sentiment of the Colonies to be considered, and this in itself is a matter of great importance. We may say, as we do sometimes, that such and such a question is only a sentimental matter; but the truth is that the world is governed by sentiment, and the propitiation of sentiment is really one of the highest forms of statesmanship. The sentiment of our Colonies goes for a good deal, and will count for a good deal more, in the government of the Empire, and we may be sure that this sentiment is conciliated, if not flattered, by having Colonial representatives taken into council by the Ministers of the Crown in England. As nothing but good, so far as we can see, can result from the policy which Lord Rosebery will ask the Prime Minister to adopt, we trust that when the President of the Imperial Federation League prefers his request that another conference may be summoned, Lord Salisbury will reply with ready and hearty assent.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on Thursday, December 19th, at noon, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., in the chair.

The Secretary's report for the month was received.

The report of the Special Committee upon the arrangements for the deputation to the Prime Minister on the 10th January was received, and it was resolved that all members of the Council should be invited to take part in the deputation.

The Hon. T. A. Brassey called attention to the necessity for providing a further income to meet the ordinary expenditure of the League, and moved a resolution with regard to the subscriptions of the members of the Council which, after discussion and amendment, was adopted.

The City of London Branch of the League was ordered to be affiliated.

The resignation of Mr. J. L. Ohlson, a member of the Committee, was ordered to be accepted, with an expression of regret and thanks for the services rendered by him to the League.

The following members of the Oxford University Branch were elected to the Council of the League on the motion of Sir Rawson Rawson, seconded by the Hon. T. A. Brassey:—The Rev. Jas. Franck Bright, D.D., Master of University College, Sir William Anson, Bart., D.C.L., Warden of All Souls' College, and the Rev. W. Jackson, M.A., Rector of Exeter College.

On the motion of Mr. C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P., seconded by Mr. H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Mr. Samuel Hoare, M.P., was also elected a member.

The Secretary reported that Mr. F. Faithfull Begg had been elected by the City of London Branch to represent it upon the Executive Committee.

Letters from the Secretary of the League in Canada and from the Secretary of the City of London Branch relating to the rules for representation of Branches upon the Council and Executive Committee were referred to the Special Committee for report.

The Committee then adjourned.

All things considered Imperial Federation matters appear to be quietly forging ahead.—*Orillia Packet*.

The Colonial Office certainly ought to know more about Colonial affairs than anyone outside that Government department, but it may be reasonably doubted if the officials are as well informed as they might be expected to be; or whether the office is any exception to the rules of perfunctoriness and circumlocution.—*Liverpool Daily Post*.

What would become of our largest notions, such as religion and common sense, if we had to define them? When St. Augustine was asked, "What is Religion?" he replied, "I know when you do not ask me." So it is with a large political idea like Imperial Federation. The thing is growing gradually into a definite, coherent shape.—*Derby Mercury*.

"I hold and believe that the time is not remote when Great Britain will give up the idea of treating the dependencies of the Crown as children, to be cast adrift by their parent as soon as they arrive at manhood, and substitute for it the far wiser and nobler policy of knitting herself and her Colonies into one mighty confederacy, girdling the earth in its whole circumference, and fighting against the world in arts and arms."—*Mrs. Robert Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke) in 1844*.

MERCHANDISE MARKS LEGISLATION IN THE COLONIES.

THE following statement, which was obtained recently from the Board of Trade by Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., shows the exact position of the whole of the British Colonies and Dependencies with regard to legislation on the subject of Merchandise Marks. We understand that where in the sub-joined list reference is made to an Act of the Colonial Parliament or Legislative Council, it is implied that the Act is practically in the same sense as the English measure. We may add further that, since this statement was compiled, news has reached us that the Victorian Act has passed through all its stages, and only awaits the Royal assent to come into force on January 1:—

Colony.	Remarks.
North America—	
Canada	Cap. 41 of 1888.
Newfoundland	Cap. 21 of 1888.
Australia—	
New South Wales	Not answered.
Victoria	Promised.
Queensland	Promised.
Tasmania	Under consideration.
South Australia... ..	Introduced.
Western Australia	Act 6 of 52 Vict.
New Zealand	Bill prepared.
Fiji Islands	Instructed to legislate.
West Indies—	
Jamaica	Laws 18 and 22 of 1888.
British Honduras	Ordinance 3 of 1888.
British Guiana	Ordinance 8 of 1888.
Bahamas	Introduced, but decided to delay a year.
Trinidad	} Ordinances 7 and 19 of 1888.
Tobago	
Barbados	Act 28 of 1888-9.
Windward Islands—	
Grenada	Ordinance 9 of 1889.
St. Vincent	Ordinance 8 of 1888.
St. Lucia	Ordinance 22 of 1888.
Leeward Islands—	
Antigua	} Federal Acts 34 of 1887 and 2 of 1889.
Montserrat	
St. Kitts and Nevis	
Virgin Islands	
Dominica	
Bermuda	Legislation rejected by House of Assembly.
Heligoland... ..	Draft Ordinance approved.
Falkland Islands	Ordinance 1 of 1889.
Africa—	
Cape of Good Hope	Act 12 of 1888.
Natal	Laws 22 of 1888 and 11 of 1889.
St. Helena	Imperial Act in force.
Sierra Leone	Ordinance 7 of 1889.
Gambia	Ordinance 11 of 1888. No. 11.
Gold Coast	Ordinances 4 and 16 of 1888.
Lagos	Ordinance 8 of 1888.
Eastern Mediterranean—	
Gibraltar	Ordinance 4 of 1888.
Malta	Bill prepared.
Cyprus	} Legislation twice rejected by Legislative Council.
Ceylon	
Hong Kong	Ordinances 13 and 14 of 1888.
Labuan	Promised.
Labuan	Instructed to legislate.
Mauritius	Ordinance 13 of 1888.
Straits Settlements	Ordinance 3 of 1888.
India	Act 4 of 1889.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

THE Secretary is prepared to receive applications from secretaries of debating clubs and others, for addresses upon Imperial Federation, by gentlemen who will attend for this purpose on payment of expenses only. The number of engagements being limited, early application is recommended. The Imperial Federation League comprising members of all political parties, its lectures will be addressed to any kind of meeting, irrespective of political colour, and it must be understood that they will bear no party character. Engagements will be made according to priority of application. All communications on the subject of lectures and all payments to be made to the Secretary.

A LARGE outline Map of the World, specially designed for lecturing purposes, fifteen feet by twelve, with the British Empire coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour, can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black-and-white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is also ready. These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

There is a world-wide consensus among eminent observers and statesmen of all parties that the existing bond with the Colonies must soon be drawn closer.—*Cambridge Chronicle*.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request.

The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

CAMBRIDGE.—A meeting was held in the Guildhall on November 28th under the auspices of the Cambridge University Branch of the Imperial Federation League. Prof. Seeley presided. An able address was delivered by Mr. G. R. Parkin, who has just returned from a special tour in Canada and the Australasian Colonies, the speaker showing that the cause which it is his mission to promote is progressing as rapidly as is possible or desirable. Prof. Sidgwick moved the following resolution:—"That bearing in mind the complete success which attended the meeting of the representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire by the invitation of her Majesty's Government in the year 1887, and the opinion so frequently expressed by those representatives that a series of such conferences would greatly tend to the consolidation and welfare of the Empire at large, this meeting desires to convey to Her Majesty's Government its opinion that it is undesirable that any long interval should elapse before a second Conference is called, and that, subject to public convenience, an invitation should be issued by Her Majesty's Government at an early date." Mr. G. W. Prothero seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried. On the motion of Professor Westcott, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman for presiding. It was agreed on all hands that Mr. Parkin's address was a very valuable contribution to the literature of his subject, and a capital stimulus to its practical consideration.

CANTERBURY (New Zealand).—A meeting of the Committee of the Canterbury, New Zealand, Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on October 14th, the President, Mr. C. C. Bowen, occupying the chair. The Hon. Secretary (Mr. D. Bellhouse) submitted a paper on the question of Imperial Federation, and it was decided that the paper should be read at a general meeting of members and others in sympathy with the movement, on Monday, October 28th. It was also agreed that the committee should meet quarterly, viz., on the first Monday in January, April, July, and October, when papers bearing on the objects of the League should be read and discussed. The first annual meeting of the branch, for election of officers, &c., will be held on the first Monday in February, 1890, when the President will read a paper on "The Deficiencies of the Postal System throughout the British Empire, and its bearing on the Federation Question." After transacting some routine business, the meeting adjourned.

A general meeting of the members of the branch, as arranged, took place at the Chamber of Commerce on October 28th. Mr. C. C. Bowen, the President, occupied the chair. He read apologies for absence from Mr. Joyce, M.H.R., and the Rev. T. Flavell. In opening the proceedings, the Chairman said that before he called upon Mr. Bellhouse to read his paper, there were one or two matters on which he desired to say a few words. There was a good deal of misconception abroad as to the objects of the Federation League, and it was important in the interests of Imperial unity that its friends should understand each other. For his part, he agreed with those who objected to any premature attempt to formulate an Imperial Constitution or to interfere with the complete autonomy of the several Colonies. The looser the bond in time of peace, the stronger it would be when an emergency required it to be tightened. All successful Federations have been occasioned by outside pressure. We hope it will be a long time before such outside pressure be put upon us; but we must be ready for all emergencies. There is quite enough warning of danger abroad to make Englishmen in every part of the world look to their resources for defence; and what resources they are, if all parts of the Empire learn to act together and in unison. To secure the unity which is strength, we must first of all accustom ourselves, and especially the rising generation in the Colonies, to realise the fact of a larger nationality than that of one little Colony. The object of the Federation League is to popularise this larger feeling of patriotism, to keep before the minds of Englishmen at home and abroad their right to a share of the Imperial inheritance and to induce them to recognise their responsibilities as well as their privileges. Mr. Bellhouse, the secretary to the League, then read his paper, for which he said he claimed no originality. The ideas and many of the phrases were "cribbed" from the writings of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, first President of the League, the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, present President of the League; Mr. Alex. McNeil, Vice-President of the League in Canada; Mr. George R. Parkin, of New Brunswick; Mr. William Cresswell, Oxon; IMPERIAL FEDERATION, the organ of the League in England, and *Young Australia*, its organ in Victoria. Under these circumstances he hoped the gentlemen and his friends would forgive him for "cribbing." He then proceeded to give a brief account of the origin of the League, its aims and objects, and stated that its branches were now established in Canada, the Indies, Australia, Tasmania, Cape Town, New Zealand. He quoted the writers already mentioned in support of Imperial Federation, and repeated the opinions of the Hon. W. E. Forster and the Earl of Rosebery; and he also alluded to the results of the Imperial Conference held in 1887. He advocated Federation, especially as regarded mutual defence, and showed how fallacious an idea was that of separation. Speaking upon the commercial aspect of the question, he held that the Mother Country should arrange her tariff with her Colonies, in so far

that while it was of advantage to the producer it did not materially hurt the consumer, and suggested a scheme of reciprocity of mutual advantages. He contended that the time had arrived when the Australasias should send forth their claim in respect to representation, and observed that if England, Canada, and Australia were united under one common cause they would be the greatest power on the face of the earth. He concluded by appealing to each and all to countenance and support every measure for unity. Mr. W. B. Percival spoke in support of federation, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Bellhouse. Professor Haslam seconded the motion. Sir John Hall supported the resolution and the great object of the League in more closely uniting the Mother Country and the Colonies. He, however, could not help thinking that the League was going the wrong way to work. He pointed out where, to his mind, federation was impossible, and added that he firmly believed in federation for common defence. Mr. C. P. Hulbert supported the motion, as also did Mr. Russell, who observed that Imperial Federation meant equalising the value of money. The motion was carried, and after Professor Haslam had given notice of motion for the next meeting the proceedings closed.

CHESTER.—A meeting was held in the Town Hall on December 7th to promote the cause of Imperial Federation. It was presided over by the Mayor (Mr. James Salmon), and was addressed by Mr. G. R. Parkin from the point of view of an ardent Canadian advocate of the movement. Referring to Lord Brassey's recent lecture on the Colonies, he criticised the kind and friendly remarks of Judge Hughes upon the probability of Canada's becoming annexed to the United States, and maintained that, though Canada might become independent, as long as it was possible for England to go to war with the States, such a political future was a moral impossibility. (Applause.) Mr. H. Coke, president of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, proposed, and the Sheriff (Dr. Roberts) seconded, a resolution thanking Mr. Parkin for his address, and urging upon the Government the desirability of holding at the earliest date practicable a conference of representatives from all parts of the Empire. The motion was carried, and the usual compliment to the chairman terminated the proceedings. The audience was not so large as might have been expected from the interesting nature of the subject.

COOKSHIRE (COMPTON COUNTY, QUEBEC).—The Liberal-Conservative Association of the County of Compton held its annual meeting and supper at the County Hall on November 21st. The walls were decorated with flags and mottoes, one of which, most prominently displayed and worthy of mention, as showing the present drift of feeling in Canada, was "Imperial Federation." In the course of the proceedings Mr. D. McIntosh, M.P.P. referred to it as representing a principle he would prefer to see carried out rather than annexation, and though he was not prepared to ask them to support it now, was not so sure that if the disloyal sentiments uttered by prominent personages both here and when addressing American audiences were to be made party cries, that they would not have to adopt a closer union with the Empire. Later on Mr. C. A. Bailey, in proposing Municipal Institutions went further in favour of Imperial Federation than the previous speakers, and said he would be glad to see a Viceroyalty in the Dominion with one of the princes as Vice Regent.

DERBY.—A public meeting was held in the Guild Hall on November 29th to hear an address from Mr. G. R. Parkin, M.A., of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, on the subject of "Imperial Federation." Sir William Evans presided, but owing no doubt to the short notice with which the meeting was convened there was only a small audience.

The Chairman, after expressing regret that only such a short notice could be given of the visit of Mr. Parkin, stated that the subject of Imperial Federation was very much before the public at the present time, and would be more and more before us from day to day. Everybody would agree that some kind of Imperial Federation, if it could be carried into effect, would be a very good thing. There were many serious difficulties in the way, but he felt very little doubt that a scheme of Federation would be agreed upon some day or other. He himself ought to feel an interest in the matter, his brother-in-law, a very able man, having been for many years Minister of the Crown in New Zealand, and having taken the deepest interest in the question, being a member of the council. With regard to Mr. Parkin, he was a Canadian, but he had had many opportunities of making himself well acquainted with this country and also with all our Colonies. Besides visiting all parts of his own country, Mr. Parkin had also visited other English Colonies, with the special object of making himself acquainted with the subject and forwarding Imperial Federation as far as he could. He had had many opportunities of knowledge which very few of them possessed. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, Sir William announced that letters of apology for non-attendance had been received from Lord Scarsdale, Mr. T. Roe, M.P., the Mayor, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and many others. They would all have been present had they had longer notice and been able to come.

Mr. Parkin then addressed the meeting, and on the conclusion of his remarks, the Chairman stated that they were all obliged to Mr. Parkin for his very interesting lecture, and were convinced of the very great importance as well as difficulty of the subject. He hoped the next time Mr. Parkin appeared among us there would be a larger audience to listen to him; in the meanwhile he had no doubt the subject would be more considered than had been the case hitherto. It was a very wide and great one, and they would all admit that whatever the solution might be it was a very important one. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. C. C. Bowring moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin for his excellent address. (Applause.) They all came there that evening for information, and they had received a great deal of the most valuable and useful information from Mr. Parkin. (Hear, hear.) It made him hunger for more from the same source. (Hear, hear.) It was not a political question. (Hear, hear.) He was perfectly certain that on a future occasion when Mr. Parkin came to instruct us, the hall would not hold those who would wish to be present. There was just

one point that probably on another occasion they might be instructed with regard to, viz., details, the form in which Federation should take place, and the theories and possibilities of how it might be done. They had popular representation at home, and popular representation abroad, and how to combine them was of course difficult. None of them, after listening to Mr. Parkin, could possibly hesitate for one moment in thinking that it was of the greatest importance for the welfare of the United Kingdom and Colonies that it should be done. (Hear, hear.) Then as to how it should be done, they should like those who had studied the matter to give them something to carefully think over.

Mr. H. S. Neale had very great pleasure in seconding the proposition. At this time of day, and in the present somewhat undeveloped condition of the subject, it would be almost premature, he thought, to call upon a gentleman in the position of Mr. Parkin for anything in the nature of detail. As the subject came more and more before public attention, as he believed and hoped it would, details would be coming forth, and possible theories would be broached by the advocates of Imperial Federation; and they could all agree now in the profound desirability of strengthening by every means in our power the various links which bind the Colonies to us. (Hear, hear.) Anything in the way of Federation, so far as the idea meant the better connection, the more complete confidence between ourselves and the Colonies, was bound to meet with the support of every patriotic Englishman—(hear, hear)—and therefore, without going into the details of such a scheme, they must all agree in its desirability and the patriotism which evoked it. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

FOREST OF DEAN.—On Nov. 25th Mr. H. F. Wilson lectured on "Our Colonies" in the Town Hall of Cinderford to a large audience, composed in part of the members of the Cinderford and Ruspidge Institutes. Mr. Arnold Thomas acted as chairman; and Mr. Colchester Wemyss, Dr. Macartney, Mr. F. L. Lucas, and other gentlemen were on the platform. The lecture was illustrated by a series of magic-lantern slides of Colonial life and scenery, and enlivened by music at intervals, the whole company joining with much enthusiasm in the strains of "Rule Britannia" and the National Anthem. In exhibiting a picture of the Imperial Conference of 1887 Mr. Wilson said that his hearers might recognise in that distinguished group of statesmen the germs of a Parliament for Greater Britain. In moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, who was listened to for over two hours with great attention, the chairman spoke of the increasing importance of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and expressed the hope that they might one day all be united to her in the bonds of a durable Federation.

GREAT YARMOUTH.—On Tuesday, December 10th, a meeting was held at the Town Hall, in connection with the Imperial Federation League, when the chair was occupied by Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., who was supported by Mr. G. R. Parkin (Canada), the Mayor (J. W. B. Johnson, Esq.), the Revs. E. Evans, J. Smith, and Messrs. A. Peaton, J. Dixon, H. Buxton, J. Nutman, J. C. Smith, D. Tomkins, T. Green, H. Copeland, J. Pearce, and others.

The Chairman, in his introductory remarks, dwelt upon the vast importance of the British Empire, and went on to say that they did well to remember this vast question, and the great possibilities that lay before it, and the great sphere of usefulness it had yet to fill. They might remember, looking back into the history of the past, that there had been nothing quite like it in the world before, and that there was nothing quite akin to it at the present time. The late Mr. Forster had pointed out that the trade which annually took place between England and her Colonies amounted to just £190,000,000, while the trade with England and Europe only reached the total of £170,000,000. By these figures it would be seen that the trade with their dependencies was considerably larger than that with the whole of the rest of the world put together, and these facts he considered went to prove that there was much truth in the assertion that trade did follow the flag, and the trade with the Colonies and the Mother Country was greater in consequence of the union that existed between them. In his further remarks Sir Fowell dwelt upon the necessity, for the foregoing and other reasons, of drawing closer the bonds of union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. That in brief was the object of the Federation League, and most heartily did he commend it to the consideration of the meeting. He had much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Parkin, who for many years had made the subject a special study, to address them. (Applause.)

Mr. Parkin addressed the meeting in an eloquent and interesting speech, which was warmly received, dealing with the question of Imperial Federation from various points of view. Subsequently the Mayor in a few words moved a resolution identical in form with that recently passed at the Mansion House meeting. It was seconded by Mr. H. F. Buxton, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Pearce, of British Columbia, moved, and Mr. D. Tomkins seconded, and it was cordially agreed "That this meeting most heartily thanks Mr. Parkin for his very able address in explanation of the principles and objects of Imperial Federation, and strongly recommends the formation of a local branch of the League." The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

HASTINGS.—On November 28th a meeting of the Hastings branch of the Imperial Federation League was held at the Town Hall. The Mayor (Mr. Councillor Stubbs) presided, amongst those supporting him being Mr. Wilson Noble, the borough member, the Hon. T. A. Brassey, and Mr. Steinbridge. It was resolved to hold a meeting in the town towards the end of January next, and to invite Mr. G. R. Parkin, the Canadian gentleman who has recently travelled through the British Colonies, to attend and deliver an address in advocacy of the principles of the League. A meeting in connection with the League was held in Hastings in January last.

LEEK.—On December 6th a meeting was held in the Leek Town Hall, under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League. Mr. Thomas Shaw (chairman of the Leek Improvement Commissioners)

presided, and amongst the gentlemen on the platform were Messrs. Charles Bill, Arthur Nicholson, Henry Davenport, Arthur H. Shaw, Henry Bermingham, Thomas J. Smith, William Allen, Henry Salt, Samuel Unwin, James G. Powell, W. Sugden, Joseph Powell, Robert Wright, Henry W. Nixon, Isaac Heath, W. L. Sugden, and E. A. Worthington.—In opening the proceedings, the Chairman regretted that, in consequence of the serious illness of a member of his family and the death of another, Mr. H. T. Davenport, M.P., was absent, and that Mr. Charles J. Blagg was also unable to be present. He further explained that the meeting was of a strictly non-political character, the Federation movement having the support of the leading statesmen of every political party. Mr. Shaw then introduced Mr. G. R. Parkin, who, on behalf of the League, had been on a mission to Canada and Australasia. He said the subject was one that ought to engage the attention of every Englishman, and one that imperatively demanded a solution, inasmuch as the present system of Government could not continue much longer. The greatest fact in modern history was the marvellous spread of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the Federation of the Colonies was necessary to secure the permanent unity of the Empire by preventing the Colonies being lost to Great Britain. It was of Imperial importance that something should be done to solidify the immense Colonies that were springing up all over the world, and which were mainly peopled by Englishmen. Such a growth must end in Federation or separation. The possession of Canada was as vitally important to England as the possession of Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, and he held that Federation would consolidate and protect the commercial interests of the greatest trading nation in the world. Such a Federation would not be a menace to other nations, for the interests of the Colonies and of England were supremely those of peace. Mr. Parkin concluded by stating that the League had the object of bringing about periodical Conferences of the leading statesmen of all the Colonies, and showing to the world that the English Colonies were and would remain faithful to their great Mother Country.—Mr. Charles Bill said he thoroughly agreed that the question of Federation was the most important of the day, exceeding that of any other political issues, great and grave though they were. Mr. Forster had defined Federation as such a union between England and her Colonies as would lead to the organisation of a common defence of a joint foreign policy, and he (the speaker) thought the definition a good one. At some length he discussed the desirableness of Federation, and concluded by moving a resolution in favour of calling together a Colonial Conference.—Mr. Arthur Nicholson seconded the resolution, and expressed a hope that some system might be devised that would bring the Colonies and Old England into a cordial, lasting Union.—The motion was supported by Mr. Joseph Challinor, and being submitted to the meeting was carried unanimously.—The Rev. C. B. Maude moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin, which was seconded by Mr. Bermingham, and carried.

LOUTH.—A meeting was held in the Town Hall on November 26th, when the Hon. T. A. Brassey delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation. The Mayor (Ald. Barton) presided, and there were also on the platform the Hon. T. A. Brassey, A. Raymond Heath, Esq., M.P., W. H. Smyth, Esq., J.P., T. Cheney Garfit, Esq., J.P., Alderman Cusworth, Councillors Griffin, Longbottom, Morton, Messrs. R. Cartwright and S. A. Hillier. The Chairman, in introducing the lecturer to the meeting, said it afforded him very great pleasure to introduce both the subject and the speaker, and he had not the slightest doubt the subject of Imperial Federation was not so well known by many as they wished. He had no doubt that when the company had listened to this address they would be better informed on the subject than they were at present. They could all, whatever their views—religious or political—join together in heartily forwarding what they believed the best interests of the British Empire. (Applause.) The Hon. T. A. Brassey, who was well received, said perhaps the first business of anyone who spoke on Imperial Federation should be to bring home to the minds of his hearers the enormous size of the British Empire. Personally he thought the best way in which he could do this was to tell the audience of what he had seen himself of the British Empire, in a voyage which was made some three years ago, in the vessel of which they had all no doubt heard, named the *Sunbeam*. (Cheers.) They started from England in the autumn of 1886, and visited Aden, India, Burmah, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo, Australia, Mauritius, the Cape, St. Helena, Ascension, Sierra Leone, Cape de Verdes, and Azores. No less than three months were spent in India, travelling the length and breadth of the country, the enormity of which can be gathered from the fact that they were as many as sixty nights travelling in trains. Now, the distance of the voyage was 33,000 miles, and out of all those places visited only four were outside the British Empire. He thought the enormous distance by which these places were separated should alone show what the British Empire was. Feeling some pride in the glorious heritage of the British race, he had determined to do all he could to hold it together. (Cheers.) Mr. Brassey then entered upon a very interesting discussion of the various aspects of the problem of Imperial Federation, urging (1) the summoning of triennial Colonial Conferences, (2) the careful watching of Colonial Policy, (3) the maintenance and improvement of the Navy. He concluded by saying that if it were true that Federation was an idle dream, if it were true England must lose her Colonies and be destined to become a second-rate power in the future, by all means let them face the truth at once and show that they would die hard, as Englishmen were wont to do. But he did not believe it was true. He believed many would live to see the institution of the greatest influence for peace and civilisation the world had ever known, in the Federation of the British Empire, and ultimately of the Anglo-Saxon race. (Applause.) Mr. A. Raymond Heath, M.P., who was called upon to propose a resolution, said before moving the resolution he must thank his friends of both political parties for helping to make this meeting a success. Of course, they could not expect at once to get any popular excitement upon this question, but they believed, and many who were not ardent politicians, that this was one of the most important subjects

in England—(applause)—and it was their duty to get the people of England gradually interested in it. Nothing could be done in the way of progression unless the people were at the backs of those who wanted to progress. (Cheers.) He was pleased that gentlemen of both parties had joined him in endeavouring to get up this meeting to hear the speech of his friend, Mr. Brassey. They were justified in supporting the League when they saw Lord Rosebery, who was one of the ablest followers of Mr. Gladstone—(applause)—and perhaps was destined to succeed Mr. Gladstone in leading the party Mr. Gladstone now led, was their chairman and Mr. Edward Stanhope—(loud applause)—their vice-chairman; and when they were abused and laughed at by Mr. Labouchere, they, irrespective of party politics, could unite on a common platform. Although they might abuse one another at certain times, yet, when there came an Imperial question, he believed both parties united and honestly united to do their best for their country, their fellow-men, and the magnificent Empire which they had inherited. Mr. Heath then warmly supported the view of the previous speaker, and moved a resolution calling upon the Government to summon a second Imperial Conference. This was supported by Mr. J. Cheney Garfit and carried unanimously. The Chairman (in submitting it) said that the information they had received would lead them to investigate the question of Imperial Federation, which was of vital importance to the British Empire. It was of such interest to the British Empire that it was above the level of party politics, and he congratulated them upon having a subject which men of all shades of political opinion could join in. (Applause.)

MONMOUTH.—Mr. Albert Spicer, the adopted Liberal candidate for the Monmouth Boroughs, visited Monmouth on November 25th, and in the evening addressed a large meeting at the Rolls Hall, on the Australian Colonies and Imperial Federation. The Rev. J. Ault presided, and in introducing the speaker mentioned that the meeting did not assume an atom of political feeling. Mr. Spicer did not think it was needed on the part of anyone to apologise to an audience when appearing before them to give some experiences in connection with a visit to any part of the great British Empire. He happened to be a member of the council of the Imperial Federation League, and he was glad to know that that was a non-political body. After a very interesting account of the present condition and future prospects of the Australian Colonies, Mr. Spicer went on to discuss the question of Imperial Federation. He said that there were many in Australia who saw a danger in these Colonies being separated from the Mother Country, and would rather see some strong bond of union. A little while ago they had a Colonial Conference, and it was determined that Australia should unite with England in providing a number of ships for the defence of the Colony. That was carried out, and all the Colonies entered into it with the exception of Queensland. But he was one of those who thought a slight mistake was made in providing the naval defence scheme. They had asked the Australian Colonies to provide for an expenditure over which they would have no control. At the present time each of the Colonies was providing a certain sum of money to pay the English Government for the defence of the Colonies. He thought it would have been a great deal better if that payment had been accompanied by the formation of a representative board, representing England and the Colonies, to manage affairs, and to see that the whole scheme was properly carried out. They would, he thought, never get the Australian Colonies to tax themselves regularly for sums of money over which they had no control. He hoped that the time was not far distant when some scheme of Federation might be drawn up, proposed by the Colonies themselves, which should enable them to feel that in questions affecting the whole Empire they had some voice along with ourselves. He did not believe that anything of the sort, however, could be done hurriedly, and he did not believe it would be wise for England to propose any such plan, but anything that we could do to draw the Colonies closer to ourselves, and to keep more in touch with all their occupations and their desires, the stronger we should be as a great united British Empire. The relation subsisting between the Mother Country and the Colonies he likened to that of a family in which the sons and daughters had grown up and gone out to form homes for themselves. They ought to so maintain that relation that when questions arose they should treat the Colonies more in the spirit of parental companionship than of parental authority. (Cheers.) A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Spicer for his address, on the motion of Mr. Cossens, seconded by Mr. A. Taylor.

SALTNEY.—At the Lecture Hall, Saltney, on November 28th, Mr. S. W. Ramsden, Chester, gave an interesting and popular lecture entitled "England's Land of Promise," under the auspices of the local Literary and Debating Society. The chair was occupied by the president (the Rev. T. P. Dimond Hogg), who, in a few opening remarks, expressed the pleasure experienced by the society in availing themselves of Mr. Ramsden's services, and commented briefly on the general interest evinced in the all-absorbing topics relating to Canada. At the close of the lecture the Hon. H. Holbrook (ex-Minister of Works, British Columbia) made the following remarks upon the subject of Imperial Federation, which he said was naturally introduced when one reflected on the immense size of the Dominion and its great fertility. The subject, which had nothing to do with party politics (for it was beyond and above them), was started in London in July, 1884, with the object of devising some plan for bringing the Colonies into closer connection with Great Britain. There had already been held a conference which had succeeded in securing protection for our coaling stations, and it was hoped to have another deputation to present to the Prime Minister a proposal for a general consultation of Colonial statesmen, so that all might work together in one cause. (Applause.) In going to Canada the emigrant had the advantage of being received by a warm-hearted and hospitable people, by whom he was not regarded as a foreigner, but allowed to enjoy the same rights and privileges as at home. As an answer to the proposition of a meeting of the Senate of the United States, held last winter in Boston, to make a commercial treaty with Canada for the reception of American goods and manufactures and the

adoption of a tariff which would almost exclude British traffic—branches of the Imperial Federation League were established in nearly every large town in the Dominion.

UPTON.—In connection with the Upton Literary Society an address was given, on Nov. 19th, by Mr. Thomas Duffill Denman, on "Imperial Federation."—Letters of apology for absence were read from Rev. R. Nobbs and Mr. Stannard. Mr. H. N. Thomas presided.—Mr. Denman said the subject they had met to discuss was above party strife. It was a policy which he hoped would one day be formulated by the greatest statesmen of the Conservative and Liberal parties, forgetting all their differences and joining hands to promote the prosperity and the best interests of the Empire. Imperial Federation, he said, meant the closest possible union of the various self-governing States ruled by the British Crown, consistently with that free national development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence. A resolution in favour of Imperial Federation was carried without a single dissentient.

WALWORTH.—On November 29th a meeting of the Alexander Institute Debating Society took place at the Institute, Carter Street, Walworth, S.E., Arthur Reid, Esq., in the chair. The subject of debate "That Imperial Federation is desirable," was introduced by Mr. C. M. Arundell, who, in the course of an instructive speech, dealt with the various benefits to be gained by the federation of the different portions of the British Empire. Were such a measure carried out the interests of the British Empire would be commercially and politically strengthened. The speaker also urged that the interests of one portion of the Empire were the interests of the whole, that the tendency of nations was to grow larger and stronger, and that the most powerful would, of course, occupy a position beyond all others; finally, that the British Empire, extending over one-third of the globe, was the largest empire and only required consolidating to make it the most powerful.—Mr. Herbert I. Hope, in the absence of an opposition speaker, followed, and stated various points which seemed to him to lie in the way of the immediate realisation of the scheme. He wanted to know in what manner the Colonies were to be represented—by the sending of representatives to sit in some assembly to be held in London? Would a small Colony be entitled to send the same number of representatives as a larger or the largest? Would they sit in the House of Lords or Commons?—one or both of which might raise objection to such representatives holding seats. He concluded by saying he was a warm supporter of the scheme, but did not think the time had yet arrived for its fulfilment, but that conferences and communications of ideas between the Colonies themselves was the first step. Messrs. Beaumont, Howkins, Johnston, and Goodfellow supported the motion.

Mr. Arundell was then called upon to reply. He was sorry no one present had taken the position of an opponent to the motion. In answer to a question that had been asked as to what was to be done in the case of Colonies opposed to the scheme, the speaker suggested the desirability of leaving such points alone until a case in point arose. Mr. Arundell was of opinion that it was necessary and desirable to put the scheme into operation immediately, inasmuch as the Colonies now being young the present was the proper time for their federation to the Mother Country. The motion was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

WOODFORD.—At the weekly meeting of the Woodford Liberal and Radical Club on November 20th, Mr. T. Duffill Denman gave an address on Imperial Federation. He said the subject which they were met to discuss that evening was a very wide, intricate, and difficult one, and hoped that they would mutually enlighten, instruct, and help one another by their intercourse. He was pleased to think that in these days of party strife and clamour, of political heat and often rancorous personalities, they could come together and calmly talk upon a subject which appealed to the higher sentiments of every man alike—a sublime and patriotic cause. What did they mean by Imperial Federation? It meant "the closest possible union of the various self-governing States ruled by the British Crown, consistently with that free national development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence." He always liked a homely illustration if possible, and it seemed to him to be nothing more nor less than this: A merchant, who has sons in his counting-house, in course of time recognises that they have arrived at years of discretion and wisdom, understand the business thoroughly, and, indeed, are quite capable of setting up on their own account, competing with him in the markets, and sustaining an equally flourishing establishment. He takes them into partnership, and thus, while giving them a voice in the affairs of the firm and in directing its policy, at the same time consolidates and strengthens its reputation. Such was the principle of Imperial Federation. It must be a welding together of the strong and the weak, a partnership on equal terms. The Colonies and the Mother Country had a common desire, and it surely would not be an insurmountable difficulty to come to a common conclusion and adopt a common plan. Trade and commerce would receive a great stimulus, and peace would be almost fully assured, for the spectacle of a great empire firmly welded together would tend to hasten the happy era when "men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn the art of war no more." (Applause.) A very animated debate followed, influential members of the club speaking both for and against Imperial Federation. Ultimately it was decided to adjourn the debate to another evening next session.

Then and Now.—The following is perhaps the briefest and yet fullest exhibit of popular sentiment in regard to Canada's great national highway:—

The Canadian Pacific a little while ago:—

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The Canadian Pacific now:—

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Canadian Gazette

COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

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Vice-President—RIGHT HON. E. STANHOPE, M.P.

(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

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 Hamar Bass, M.P.
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R. J. Beadon (late Tasmania).
 E. W. Beckett, M.P.
 George Beetham, M.H.R., New Zealand.
 H. C. Beeton (Agent-General, British Columbia).
 H. R. Beeton.
F. Faithfull Begg.
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Sir Algernon Borthwick, Bart., M.P.
 S. B. Boulton. (Canada).
 J. G. Bourinot (Clerk of House of Commons, Ottawa).
 The Right Hon. Sir G. F. Bowen, G.C.M.G.
 Commander Graham Bower, R.N., C.M.G. (Cape Town).
Lord Brassey, K.C.B.
The Hon. T. Alnutt Brassey.
Hon. J. C. Bray (late Premier of South Australia).
 The Marquess of Breadalbane. (College, Oxford).
 The Rev. J. F. Bright, D.D. (Master of University T. Lynn Bristowe, M.P.).
 Henry Broadhurst, M.P.
 H. J. T. Broadwood.
 Rev. G. F. Browne (Cambridge).
W. J. Browne (late South Australia).
 Oscar Browning (Cambridge).
 Professor James Bryce, M.P. (Oxford).
 Professor Montague Burrows (Oxford).
 Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.
 Sydney C. Buxton, M.P.
 The Master of Caius College, Cambridge.
 The Right Hon. The Earl of Carnarvon.
 G. Downes Carter, M.L.A. (President of the Imperial Federation League in Victoria).
 Hon. J. S. Carvell (Lieut.-Governor Prince Edward I.).
Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory.
 Lord Eustace G. Cecil.
 Walter Chamberlain.
 A. F. Charrington.
 H. B. Christian (Cape).
 E. F. Clarke, M.P.P. (Mayor of Toronto), **Canada**.
 Hyde Clarke.
 Professor E. C. Clarke (Cambridge).
 Sir Charles Clifford (late New Zealand).
 The Hon. C. W. Cochrane-Baillie, M.P.
 G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., **Canada**.
 Arthur Cohen, Q.C.
 A. L. Cohen.
Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 Admiral Sir John Commerell, G.C.B.
 Sir John Coode, K.C.M.G.
 W. B. Collyers.
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., G.C.M.G. (late N.S.W.).
 A. Cameron Corbett, M.P.
 John Corbett, M.P.
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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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Imperial Federation.

FEBRUARY I, 1890.

THE POSTAL JUBILEE.

"We have this day to announce a step which, simple and 'unpretending as it may seem, is really a greater move 'towards a complete unity of our independent Empire than 'the most splendid conquest or the largest annexation.'" The step referred to is a reduction of postal charges to the Colonies, and the quotation is from the *Times* newspaper. What! Have we got our Imperial Penny Postage then in the form of a surprise-cracker to celebrate the Jubilee of Rowland Hill's reform of the inland rates? And was that artful Mr. Raikes only poking fun the other evening, at the Post Office Dinner, when he declared such a thing altogether impracticable? Alas! no; the passage quoted above, as a correspondent has reminded the *Times*, appeared in its columns no less than thirty-seven years ago, upon the occasion of an earlier reduction. The Postmaster-General has indeed been recently credited in one print with harbouring a design for some such agreeable surprise; but for the present we fear he must be credited with having expressed his own mind more correctly than his interpreters. It was a grand opportunity for signalling the jubilee of the inland penny post by extending its benefits through the recognition of another great principle—that "Great Britain" now stands for an Empire not bounded by the four seas; and if Mr. Raikes had been altogether free to do as he pleased in the matter, who knows that he would not have seized this occasion of winning postal immortality? There is yet time for the year to be marked by at least the inception of a scheme, the completion of which would justify the repetition of the impressive utterance of the *Times* in an ampler sense.

No one who has thought about the matter at all will have any doubt as to the incalculable usefulness of a really cheap postal service between all parts of the Empire, both as an important end in itself, and as one of the most powerful of the means presently available towards further developments of national union and federal inter-action. The present exorbitant charges upon correspondence between the United Kingdom on the one side, and Australia and the East on the other, are practically prohibitory to the great mass of would-be private correspondents, and some indeed are about as effectual a barrier as could well be devised to that frequency of mutual intercourse without which the sentiment of family and national relationship inevitably dwindles into non-existence. This is one class of correspondence that demands a cheap medium of communication; but there is another. Business letters of what may be termed the first class between bankers and financial houses or merchants and their constituents, will no doubt pay—and can afford to pay—whatever rates are demanded of their senders for the sake of a high rate of speed and absolute regularity; though, even as to this class, the telegraph has to some extent lessened the paramount demand for the highest possible speed in postal communication. But besides such first-class correspondence, there is a class of mail matter to be considered that belongs neither to it nor to the class of private letters. Cheapness is a consideration for masses of commercial matter, such as advertisements, circulars, price-lists, market tables, &c., besides samples and such other heavier articles that go by other than letter-post. For newspapers and books also it is most desirable on every ground that the postage should be as low as possible. Newspapers in particular are entitled to consideration on two grounds—as being at once a species of correspondence between individuals and localities and a medium of commercial advertisement and exchange. To every class of correspondence, in fact, except first-class business letters, cheapness is a matter of far greater consideration than speed; two or three or four days more or less on a long journey is a matter of no moment whatever. The objection that a really cheap alternative route would deplete the overland mail-bags and so materially diminish the revenue which goes to pay the fast services is to a very great extent fallacious. The great bulk of the

correspondence by that route is of that business character to which speed is the primary object, and it will consequently continue to use it; the number of letters that would leave it for a cheaper route is comparatively small. Nor is it on this ground admissible to urge, as it has been urged in some quarters, that, if that be so—if the amount of correspondence seeking cheaper rates is so small—there is no great occasion to afford it facilities. It is the very excessiveness of the charge that makes it small; give a cheap rate and there is no limit to the increased bulk that is, so to speak, waiting to be carried. The concession of a four-penny "all sea" route to Australia and the Cape, granted at the beginning of 1889, made too small a difference between the quick and the (slightly) slower route, so far as Australia is concerned, to afford much indication of the result that might be expected from a penny or two-penny rate. Still, we must be thankful for small mercies, and the change must be welcomed as the admission of a principle from the application of which more may be hoped as time goes on.

To those who urge upon the Post Office the adoption of a uniform penny rate throughout the Empire on economic grounds, relying upon the estimated increase of correspondence for the contention that it would be self-supporting, the Postmaster-General, in his speech on the occasion already referred to, made a reply to which weight must undoubtedly be attached. The increase of correspondence and revenue after the introduction of the Inland Penny Post in 1840, affords, he pointed out, no criterion for present estimates because of the difference in what he termed the "area of productiveness." There were twenty-six millions of inhabitants in the British Isles in 1840; whereas there are only three million people altogether in Australia, and no more than two hundred thousand of the British race in India, including the military. Throughout Greater Britain there are some ten million people of British race, or say two-fifths of the population of the United Kingdom in 1840. It certainly cannot be said to have been demonstrated that a universal British Penny Post, at any rate, would pay at the present time; and unless that can be shown, different arguments must be used. Mr. Raikes, we have some satisfaction in noting, recognised the admissibility of national or political reasons in the consideration of such matters. If these be granted to exist in the present question, and it will hardly be denied that they do, then we should be inclined to urge the Post Office to put aside the question whether a cheaper—we do not necessarily say a penny—rate would be self-supporting, and to revert to the principle which obtains throughout the whole inland system of "making the good pay for the bad." There would, on the hypothesis, be at any rate a temporary loss of net revenue; and then comes in "Jorkins," as Mr. Raikes called the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Jorkins we know is inexorable. The net revenue from the Post Office has, however, according to Mr. Shaw Lefevre, increased by no less a sum than £1,200,000 in the last three years; and it is surely not too much to ask, as Sir Arthur Blackwood in effect did ask, that the increase should be utilised for the general benefit of the public; and the boon we are contending for would take but a very small portion of it.

Apart from the general disinclination of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to surrender any part of the Post Office revenue, there is a particular argument applied to the case of a reduction on correspondence to distant parts of the Empire, to the effect that, since any deficiency so caused would have to be taken from general revenue—i.e., from other sources of taxation—the adoption of such a principle would be to tax the many for the benefit of the few. To this we apprehend there are two replies. One that the system of postal communication should be looked at as a whole, and all classes of correspondents put upon a footing of equal advantage; from which it follows that the writer of a letter to the antipodes is as much entitled to have his letter carried at some loss to the revenue (not necessarily at the same amount of loss precisely or at the same rate of postage) as those who write to out-of-the-way corners of Scotland or Ireland. The second answer is that under the existing system senders of letters to distant parts are being taxed most heavily and most unfairly for the benefit of the

rest of the taxpayers, inasmuch as it is the enormous subsidies paid to the steamship companies that compel the Post Office to keep up high rates of postage, which subsidies, though not paid for postal purposes, are yet charged on postal revenue. The subsidies are paid for political and military (or rather naval) purposes, and ought to fall on the charges of the departments concerned, and so on the general body of taxpayers. There is no reason, except the convenience of budgets, and for the sake of keeping down the apparent amount of the Navy votes and so forth, for charging these large amounts to the Post Office, any more than to any other branch of inland revenue—the Excise, for instance.

The objections that may be raised to a much cheapened post throughout the Empire on the Colonial side must be reserved for treatment at a future time. At present we have been looking at the matter almost entirely from the home point of view, except that the reasons of public policy referred to are equally applicable to all parts of the Empire. We shall doubtless have occasion to revert to the subject again before long, especially in view of the looked-for Conference.

THE HONOURABLE M. MERCIER.

M. MERCIER, since his visit to Baltimore, of which we told our readers last month, has been in New York, where to the inevitable reporter of the *New York Herald* he made some statements, which as he made them we are bound to presume he believed to be accurate. It is certainly inconvenient that a mere home-abiding Briton should be forced on Canadian matters to supplement the statements of a gentleman who is not only a Canadian but a Canadian Prime Minister, but as apparently we have sources of information which are not available to M. Mercier, we feel bound to help him out with reference to one or two matters of which his account is scarcely so accurate as might naturally have been expected. In response to the question as to the present sentiment in Canada on the subject of annexation, M. Mercier is reported to have said that for the moment people were not saying much about annexation, but that there existed a general sentiment in favour of some new political departure. This is, we believe, correct, as also the statement that a section of the Canadians, numerous and important both socially, politically, and financially, were in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo*.

But the Quebec Premier continued as follows:—"Very few, I believe, outside the ranks of the ultra-Royalists, favour Imperial Federation; and I am in a position to add that very few true Canadians, whether French, English, Scotch, or Irish, are favourable to the project. Those who advocate it are for the most part English who have come to Canada within the last five-and-twenty years at furthest to make their fortune, and who intend to return home when their object has been attained. These gentlemen, though very respectable, have but few social ties in Canada. Being Canadians neither by birth nor tradition, they jealously preserve their English traditions, and identify themselves with the English by their aspirations. They dream only of the aggrandisement of England, and honestly think that Canadians are incapable of being anything but Colonists. Naturally Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, who is Scotch by birth, is favourable to the project. Being entirely English by education, aspirations, and, I may say, by ambition, hoping to take his seat one day in the Imperial Parliament, and perhaps in the Imperial Government, he is bound to favour the idea of Imperial Federation. He maintains in London, as High Commissioner for Canada, his friend and possible successor to the leadership of the Tory party, Sir Charles Tupper, who entirely shares his ideas. These are, I believe, the only two English-speaking men of much influence in politics who are eager at this moment to effect a change in this direction. Among the French-Canadians you will not find ten to speak in favour of Imperial Federation. Only one has dared to do so at present, namely, M. Tarte, formerly member of the Legislature and editor of *Le Canadien* of Quebec, the French organ of M. Chapleau, the Secretary of State. M. Tarte is an extremely able man, and may have considerable influence on other questions, but I don't think that he will effect conversions on this point, unless it be

that in his capacity of editor of M. Chapleau's organ his views might have some effect on the minds of certain of the friends of this latter gentleman. There is no need to add that I have no faith whatever in the project, the sentiment of the immense majority of Canadians being in the opposite direction, that is to say, in favour of a separation from England. The date of this separation is the secret of history, and will largely depend on questions of tariff, of fisheries, and others concerning rather the relations between Canada and the States, than those between Canada and England. After Imperial Federation comes the question of annexation. There is no doubt that a respectable number of Canadians are in favour of annexation; it is useless to deny it. Those who deny this are either ignorant or hypocrites. As for the proportion in favour of the project it is impossible to say; no vote has been taken, and there is no practical means available to inform one's self of the state of public opinion on this point." On reading this statement it is impossible not to wonder what the *Herald* reporter, who probably had no personal knowledge on the subject, would have thought if, when M. Mercier spoke of the ambitions of Canada's veteran Prime Minister to begin life afresh in the Imperial Parliament, he had added that Sir John Macdonald was in his seventy-fifth year; if, when M. Mercier stated that Sir John and Sir Charles Tupper were the only two well-known politicians who favoured the idea of Imperial Federation, he had added that the majority of the Lieutenant-Governors and a quarter of the members of the Dominion House of Commons were members of the League; if, when he declared that the sentiment of the immense majority of Canadians was in favour of separation from England, he had added that a few weeks back the Catholic Archbishop of Quebec authorised the official publication of the statement that the first thought of the Catholic Church in Canada was loyalty to the Crown of England.

Whatever the readers of the *New York Herald* may have thought of M. Mercier and his statements, it appears as though French citizens of the United States were very far from agreeing with them. The *Courrier*, a French-Canadian journal published at Ogdensburg in the State of New York, writes as follows:—"We very much doubt whether there is in the whole world a more just Government than that of Canada. The Catholics there enjoy the same privileges as citizens of any other denomination. They have their denominational schools, which we have not. They are eligible to the highest offices of the State, a privilege which, as Mr. Daniel Dougherty reminded us the other day at Baltimore, we do not enjoy." The same sentiment was echoed from the extreme South in a long and eloquent article written by M. Tujague, of New Orleans, who warned his compatriots what annexation to the States must mean for them. Independence, says this gentleman, by all means, if possible; but annexation, never. The French language, he declares, will be half forgotten in the second generation, and unknown in the third. The Catholic religion will not be proscribed or persecuted, but will be a bar of advancement to the highest offices in the State. As for the distinct social institutions, they must either disappear or exclude those who maintain them from all the main avenues of business and commerce. It is a choice between poverty and effacement. The cousins of the French-Canadians find themselves placed between the two horns of this dilemma in Louisiana at the present moment. M. Tujague's article was reproduced in more than one quarter by the American press. The *Saturday Globe*, of New York, printed it at full length, and in commenting on it entirely confirmed the conclusions of the writer. "Every nation," so it concluded a long article, "will furnish its contingent to the civilisation of our country, but for this purpose it will need to be absorbed into the mass. If any one remains apart, he will continue to be a stranger in a country where strangers can scarcely take an active part in the great work." To quote another newspaper, the *Courrier des États-Unis*, "the French-Canadians should ponder these words, which assuredly reflect the American sentiment. It is for them to see if they propose to persist in the immemorial task of preserving the nationality that they have inherited from their sires, or if they are ready to abandon it and let themselves be absorbed in the Anglo-Saxon Hegemony." And of all

the French-Canadians, M. Mercier should ponder it most and longest. He is at present engaged in pushing the rights of the several Provinces to an extreme that must, so it is asserted, end in imperilling the existence of the Dominion constitution. On the merits of that controversy we have no wish to enter, but this much is clear: that supposing, for the sake of argument, in order to escape the control of the Dominion and Imperial Parliaments, he succeeded in securing annexation to the States, he would shortly find the little finger of Washington thicker than the loins either of Ottawa or Westminster.

IN REPLY TO DR. WIRGMAN.

WE publish with pleasure the letter from Dr. Wirgman which appears elsewhere, having no feeling whatever that it is "marked with too much freedom for a place in these columns." Dr. Wirgman accused us of replying to him with a mere *tu quoque* which does not affect the main argument. We agree with him so far, that till two blacks make one white, no *tu quoque* ever will touch the main argument of any question. But it is often for all that the most effective form of reply to an individual disputant. We put it to Dr. Wirgman three months back, and we put it to him again, that it does not lie in the mouth of those Colonists who protest against irresponsible committees in London making suggestions as to the government of the extra-Colonial portions of South Africa, to teach the inhabitants of the British Isles how they are to decide their own domestic differences. Beyond this point we cannot carry the discussion here. We have pointed out more than once how impossible it is that a League, from which, as we announce month by month, party politics in any shape or form are wholly alien, that a League, whose supporters are drawn equally from both political parties, can consent to discuss Home Rule and Imperial Federation as necessarily interdependent questions. One thing we would say to Dr. Wirgman. Our fiercest opponents, not only here but in Australia, are to be found amongst those who are the most pronounced Home Rulers. Before he invites us to throw in our lot with one single political party, he should at least see to it that that party is solid in our favour.

A word on the other point which Dr. Wirgman raises. We regret that he should have misunderstood our position in reference to the Chartered Company. Against Mr. Rhodes personally we have not said one word, any more than against the Dukes of Fife and Abercorn, who are his colleagues on the directorate. We protested as long as protesting could be of use, and when the matter was settled, we expressed our regret, that the dominions of the British Crown should have been handed over to a private company, however loyal and patriotic the individuals composing it might be. Mr. Rhodes, says Dr. Wirgman, "will use his fortune and his indomitable energy and pluck to found a new Empire for England in Zambesia." We are glad to hear it; but we should have preferred that England should have founded her Empire for herself. The Colonial Office, we are told, "has no money to build a thousand miles of railway. . . . The Colonial Office cannot fill British Zambesia with emigrants," but the Chartered Company has the money and can find the men. We are not as a rule among the panegyrists of the Colonial Office, but we should be sorry to pass upon it judgment as severe as this. For Dr. Wirgman in effect tells us that the distrust inspired by the name of the Colonial Office is so great that, where South Africa at least is concerned, capitalists would rather entrust their money, and emigrants would rather entrust their lives and fortunes, to a limited liability company than to the good faith of the British Government.

We will not pursue the subject further. The milk is spilt and it is no use crying over it. We wish the Chartered Company success as heartily as can our correspondent. That it may open up—not without profit to itself—"a vast new territory to the enterprise and industry of British subjects," and that it may never find it necessary to call in the aid of the military forces of the British Crown to protect it against the hostility of the native races, must be the fervent hope of every patriotic Briton. But should this latter not in possible event occur, we, for our own part, shall

have the satisfaction of remembering that, when it was not yet too late, we raised our voice against a bargain which was for the Chartered Company in the vulgar phrase "heads I win, tails you lose."

COLONIAL INDEBTEDNESS.

YOUNG AUSTRALIA gives the following summary of the paper read recently by Mr. H. D'E. Taylor, the winner of the prize offered by the League in Victoria for the best essay on Imperial Federation, before a meeting of the Melbourne branch of the Australian Natives Association.

The Australasian Government loans amount to some £160,000,000 sterling at the present time. There are also "private loans"—i.e., municipal, harbour, and other trusts, corporations, trading and other companies—to the amount of about £100,000,000 sterling; or £260,000,000 sterling altogether. These loans have been contracted for periods ranging up to fifty years, and must be repaid in some way within that time. As long as we keep on borrowing we can repay a loan which falls due by issuing a fresh one to cover it. When we cease to borrow, the question of repayment will assume an "urgent" character, for we must then be prepared to repay these vast sums from our own resources. While this "critical period" (to use the expression of Mr. Rouse) is, therefore, in the somewhat distant future, it still merits our careful consideration and preparation to fairly meet it when it does come.

The sense of security arising from remoteness is, however, affected by considerations which cannot be overlooked. If the lenders became alarmed at our political administration, or took alarm at any developments which threatened to affect the character of the security on which they had lent, it would be within their option to cease lending, and to require repayment as current loans fell due. Any cause which would check our borrowing powers would simply check the progress of Australasia. On the other hand, any action which would enable us to borrow money cheaper would assist our development and prosperity in a proportionately rapid degree. The first interest of Australia will, therefore, be found, not only in maintaining the acknowledged high character, as securities, which her loans possess now, but in making every earnest endeavour to raise them to a financial position not "second only," but equal to the first-class securities of Great Britain herself.

We now come to the consideration of the ultimate repayment of Colonial loans, and as the developments which will provide for this will, in their earlier stages, provide for the payment of interest, the latter need not be considered separately. Before we commence to repay we must discontinue to borrow, and this will be a gradual process, affected by two principal causes. The completion of national public works will relieve the State of further expenditure for that purpose, one for which we now borrow not only largely, but principally. At an early stage we adopted the policy that our Governments should spend large sums—borrowed sums—in developing enterprises left in older countries to private means; such works as opening up a mine or a quarry, building a branch railway to a private property or to a racecourse, where failure falls upon the whole community, though the benefits are reaped only by a few. A change is gradually being brought about, and municipal, harbour, and irrigation works are now being provided for, so that any loss shall fall upon those who receive the benefits, and not upon all. The further and more complete development of this latter policy will have an appreciable effect in reducing the sums for which the public credit must be pledged.

A still more satisfactory result would accrue from a policy which would successfully encourage British capital to direct investment in Colonial enterprises, and effect a transfer of responsibility by placing any risk directly upon the British investor. Money so introduced remains with us. Even if a failure should occur, the capitalist bears the loss, and the money has not to be sent out of the Colonies, as is the case when the Government has been made the medium for its introduction.

The second cause is indicated with great force in a late contribution to the subject by the Hon. Thomas Loader, of Melbourne, when he states that the present loans, Government and municipal, are being expended on the first cost of great public works, and therefore in a manner which will enable the Colonies to support, in the future, a very much larger population without a proportionate increase in Government expenditure. It follows that a rate of taxation individually smaller, but spread over a much greater number of people, would provide a larger total of revenue. This would not be subject to the present deductions either for capital or interest, and the sum of such a surplus on the one hand, and saving on the other, would provide, in judicious progression, capital for the redemption of a portion of the indebtedness accumulating at the present time. It must be remembered that it is an open question whether we should not continue to maintain a standing

debt, and whether our efforts should not be directed rather to keep it within such bounds as would prevent any such difficulty in renewing it as would involve the community in serious loss or financial peril. So long as we can invest our loans in a manner which will return us the rate of interest they cost us, and a percentage of profit in addition, it is hard to understand why we should not borrow within the lines of such a restriction with both advantage and safety.

To emphasise the grave importance of the question of population, I will, with your permission, quote the words of London financial authorities of the highest standing upon it. Mr. Tritton points out that in 1878 the Australasian population was 2,464,000, and its public debt £65,584,000. In 1887 the population was 4,350,000, and the debt £162,000,000, in addition to a large amount of private indebtedness, "the debt having increased in very much larger ratio than the population." Mr. Burdett emphasises this "very important fact." He says:—"Of course, it is perfectly certain that if the Colonies are to have more money from loans, there ought to be more work to do, more improvements to carry out, and more land under cultivation: to secure all which good things there must be more population, as well as a steady growth of that population, or else one day there will come a crisis ending in disaster. It is quite clear that, sooner or later, all those who lend their money to any country which does not pay attention to such matters must ultimately weary of the process." Again, "It should never be forgotten that a continuous growth of loan debts cannot be reproductive unless the population is proportionately progressive. When I look at one of the greatest Colonies and compare the year 1887 with the year 1877, and find that the productiveness of the loan capital has sunk by quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, I think I am justified in affirming that this aspect of Colonial finance demands much careful attention. If you take the list of Colonies and compare these two points—population and loan productiveness—you will see that either there must be less borrowing, or steps must certainly be taken to secure a larger population. This is my firm conviction, and I think it is only right, as our words will go out to our brothers across the seas, that these points should be brought out and insisted on to-night." Those are the words of a man who has a large influence on every Colonial loan floated. Mr. Loader's paper is a reply to Mr. Billinghurst's, and he writes:—"The question is simply a great national one," and in his summary he admits that it is the pivot of the position when he declares that—"the increase of the population will enable Australasia to meet its liabilities easily, and ultimately pay off its debt." But we see that the present rate of increase is not considered sufficient for this purpose.

The lesson from this seems plain. While no one would support any attempt to introduce any approach to pauper immigration, we should be preparing for future contingencies by steadily encouraging that which would support itself and add to the productiveness of the community.

The desirability of raising loans locally even at a higher rate of interest is also to be carefully noted. It would lessen the heavy annual drain of money from the Colonies for payment of interest. The sums thus retained would fructify in them, and we should have the benefit of the compound interest from year to year, and those who deal in money know how this accumulates. Each community would thus regain an annually increasing proportion of the nominally higher rate paid for the loan.

But the greatest financial gain which the Colonies can secure by indirect means is to be procured by the success of any scheme which the future may produce for promoting their unity by their federation. The late Mr. Westgarth, an old Australian, is a household authority on Colonial loans. Let me quote his words:—"Under Intercolonial Federation, looking in the direction of finance, there is a vast and almost incredible saving in the rate or price at which our Colonies could borrow the money necessary to their progress." He estimates the gain from a uniform federated Australasian stock at from 10 to 18 per cent. to the different Colonies, according as their present financial position is stronger or weaker, or an average of 13 per cent. on our present national indebtedness. This would be equal to a gain of nearly twenty-one millions sterling, to be reaped when we can issue such a stock in place of our present existing loans. I have always thought the strongest argument for Australasian unity to be the financial one, and yet the one least understood or used by platform speakers who talk most on this subject, and who find it convenient to rely mainly, and perhaps rightly, on sentiment.

We have so far considered questions of the future, and have now to touch on one of the living present—the investment of trust funds in Colonial securities. The funds are under the control of the Supreme Court of Great Britain, and in the aggregate may be reckoned by the million. Our Agents-General have been for some time—and are now—pressing the claims of the Colonies to participate in the benefits which such an investment of these funds would secure. It will be at once apparent that if an immense amount of money

was thrown into the competition for our loans, one of two results must ensue. The first would be a reduction in the rate of interest at which we borrow. The present average rate of interest on our national indebtedness is $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The lowest rate at which we have been able to borrow yet is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It will be a very moderate, indeed an under estimate, to take 4 per cent. as the average rate we will be paying for some years to come. According to the *Economist* of 31st August last (the latest number at my disposal), $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. consols were quoted at par, and first-class British 3 per cent. stocks at a premium. The difference between the interest paid on stocks at par, in which these trust funds may be invested, and an under estimate of the average rate paid on Colonial loans, in which trust funds cannot be invested, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Had these funds been available for our loans in the past, and enabled us to save this $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the amount of money drained out of the Colony for interest would be two millions less in every year. Such a saving would go far to solve the problems taxing the minds of our financiers, and when you remember that we have latterly been adding to our debt from 14 to 18 millions per year, you can form an estimate of the enormous gain to us if the requisite permission to invest trust funds in our securities was given.

The second or alternative result from the competition of such funds would be that our loans would rise to a much higher premium, and our credit be strengthened in proportion.

The following table, in which only those Australian securities which would be eligible are quoted, will show the gain very clearly:—

SECURITIES.	At 6 per ct. interest	At 5 per ct.	At $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	At 4 per ct.	At $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	At per ct.
Australasian	£ 115 to 135	£ 115 to 135	£ 115 to 135	£ 115 to 135	£ 115 to 135	—
First-class British	£ 162 to 180	£ 157 to 172	£ 152 to 167	£ 147 to 162	£ 142 to 157	£ 137 to 152
Australasian indebtedness as stated by Mr. Billinghurst	£4,373,000	£4,799,000	£5,191,000	£5,584,000	£5,976,000	—

The difference in the above premiums on our indebtedness at the lowest quotations exceeds £20,500,000, and taking the highest quotations it exceeds £36,000,000 sterling, while an advance from the highest rates ruling for Australasian securities to the lowest rates ruling for first-class British securities would add to our credit £16,500,000 sterling.

The trust funds at present can only be invested in British consols, annuities and exchange bills, India stocks, colonial government stocks, guaranteed; India railway stocks and shares, guaranteed; local loans stock; bank stock; metropolitan stock; certain railway debentures and stocks of Great Britain and Ireland; and freehold and copyhold mortgages in England and Wales. The mention of India stocks recalls the fact that India is not a self-governing Colony, but a dependency, whose finances and debt are really, both in theory and practice, under the control of the British Government. And yet so careful are the trustees of these funds that all Indian securities are not accepted, sterling debentures and rupee paper being excluded, Indian Railway stocks have to be guaranteed, similar British stocks must be debenture, preference, rent charged, or guaranteed, and all these are subject to conditions and restrictions. The only Colonial stocks admitted to the above list are those guaranteed by the British Government, and here we find the plain line of demarcation, the rubicon which we desire to pass. Australasian securities are the securities of Colonies with so much of self-government as to remove their future action from all but a nominal control by the British Parliaments, and to render monies invested in them liable to conditions over which the British courts (to which these monies are entrusted) have no control. The sacred character of trust funds committed to the care of the nation does not require emphasising in a British community, nor does the extreme care in dealing with them which, as a people, we insist on. It is the possibility of variations being made in the present conditions or new ones altogether arising, without the consent of the investors, which forms the difference between the "first-class stocks" which are enumerated in the above list, and those Colonial stocks which are second only, "as to stability," to the Government and first class securities of the Mother Country. Even the best Colonial stocks are subject to an element of uncertainty which just prevents them attaining that position which the Supreme Court of Great Britain judges to be absolutely necessary.

But now we come to a most remarkable fact. In August, 1888, the British Courts accorded Colonial securities with certain restrictions, the position of "first-class," together with the desired permission for the investment of Trust Funds, but considered it necessary to withdraw it the following November. An examination of current events in Great Britain reveals no reason for this withdrawal. We therefore turn to Australia. Here we find that the possibility, probability, and advisability of Separation were forced upon

public attention in such a manner as to be apparently supported by a section of the community more or less powerful. The time for us to separate was actually fixed "for the next generation," or in "about fifty years," the latter being also the actual term for which some of the Colonies were then issuing and have since issued their loans. Following on this we had the Queensland claim to nominate or elect her own governors, described by the Secretary of State as involving a change in the constitutions granted to the Colonies, and really put forward to pander to the Separatist section in that Colony. Both of these persistent and emphatic movements by more or less responsible leaders were looked upon as indicating developments of feeling antagonistic to Britain, and the leading London papers published articles discussing them from this as well as other points of view. Of course, those to whose care the British trust funds were committed were fully impressed by such movements, and by their probable effect on the future of Australasian securities. Indeed, they might very naturally conclude that they were meant to be, and that it was a friendly hint that if our securities were not quite up to first-class form now, they were not likely to improve in that respect later on. No one, however, can suppose that any Australian statesman would deliberately endeavour to prevent enormous financial benefits from being reaped by these Colonies, and we must charitably presume that the only definite result likely to accrue from their agitation had escaped the agitators' notice—had really never received any consideration. At the same time the more thoughtful inquirer must look upon these agitations as causes which contributed to the withdrawal of the permission to invest these funds in our securities; and he will not find his conclusion weakened by the knowledge that the first intimation of the Queensland position was received in London on the 6th of November, and that the order of the court withdrawing the permission to invest trust fund in Colonial securities was dated the 14th of the same month. Some effects of this withdrawal can be traced on our loans issued since. It needs no prophet to declare that if these funds had been available, the South Australian $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loan issued in the following January would not have failed as it did, nor that a New South Wales loan issued in July last would not have brought a less price than a similar one did the July previous. These facts force me to the irresistible conclusion that there is no way which would so effectually give check to the progress and development of Australasia as to cultivate and develop an agitation for separation.

You will have noted how nearly every suggested improvement centres round the question of unity and the enormous advantages to be derived from it at every point. Unity of stock by consolidation, further unity by conversion of debentures into stock, each securing a lower but uniform rate of interest, unity of small borrowers into larger ones, unity of the Colonies into a federated dominion of Australasia. But the highest unity of all is to be found in the unity of the British people. Every step towards the fullest development of unity must establish our financial position, add to our permanent prosperity, and further the development of our resources, manufactures, commerce, and nationality. Such a financial union as could issue a consolidated stock for the British dominions, even if it was not issued at a lower rate than the present rate of British converted consols, would save these Colonies, on their present debts—public and private—alone, some five million sterling per annum, and would lead to such an immediate development of Australasia as she has never even contemplated, which it is difficult even to realise, and which would entirely overshadow her past progress, wonderful though that has been. It would secure for her more rapidly than seems possible in any other way, that commanding position her youth look forward to with such eagerness, and points in an unmistakable manner the direction in which they may most profitably direct their energies, their talents, and their aspirations.

TRUST FUNDS AND COLONIAL STOCKS.

From *Young Australia*.

Now that there is so much interest being taken in the question of the investment of trust funds in Colonial securities, the proceedings of the committee appointed by Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, which is deliberating in London, will be watched with curiosity. An interesting paper, relating to the subject under the title, "Our Borrowing Power," by Mr. H. D'E. Taylor, will be found elsewhere, and it may be instructive to some of our readers if we define exactly what is meant by the "Investment of Trust Funds in Colonial Securities."

A testator in Great Britain can give the trustees he appoints discretionary power to invest the money he leaves behind him to the best advantage, or he may limit their actions to a certain class of investments, or he may direct that his money be invested only in certain securities, such, for instance, as consols. As long as the trustees, to the best of their ability, carry out the testator's direction, and confine themselves strictly to the

securities specified, they are of course safe. It has often been found, however, that circumstances arise, rendering it advisable, in the interest of the legatees, that money should be invested in other than the securities directed by testators, and the Imperial Parliament has passed Acts from time to time overriding their directions, and giving a certain discretionary power to trustees. The result has been that a list of securities has been compiled in which trustees can invest the funds committed to them, although such securities may not have been included among those specified by the testator, and it is into this list that the Agents-General are now endeavouring to have Colonial securities admitted.

Now this is evidently a most serious matter. The British Parliament deliberately overrides the wishes of testators in the interest of legatees, but it is manifestly of the last importance that when it does so, it should see that the securities in which it permits trustees to invest are absolutely safe. Heretofore, only such securities have been admitted into the list as were directly under the control of the British Government, and the British Courts of Justice. But when we ask that Colonial securities should be admitted to the list, we ask that securities should be admitted which are not under the direct control of the Government, or of the law courts of Great Britain. There is nothing whatever to prevent a testator directing that the money he leaves his children should be invested in Victorian railway stock or New Zealand securities; but if he excludes these investments, it is a serious matter to override his wishes, and thereby possibly do a serious wrong to helpless children, for whose benefit he has invested with such prudence as he possesses the savings of a lifetime. Imperial Federation is the solution of this, as it is of many other difficulties, and while we in Australia are, of course, justified in doing the best we can for ourselves, and while we may have perfect faith in the honour and solvency of the Colonies, we should try and appreciate the responsible position occupied by the British Government in the matter, and the sacred character of the trust funds with which it is dealing.

**** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOUTH AFRICA.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—There are two points with regard to South Africa which you touched upon in your November number, upon which I should like to be permitted to make a few comments. 1. You were kind enough to publish a lecture of mine on Imperial Federation which contained views of which you evidently disapproved. In a footnote to my lecture you took exception to my strongly expressed opinion that the Federation of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales must precede the Federation of the Colonies with England. As an illustration of your objection you said that if South Africa claims to control her own native policy, so England claims to decide upon the question of Federation for the British Isles without suggestions to that effect coming from the Colonies. This is a *tu quoque* argument that does not seem to me to touch the main question.

I venture to think that a Colonist may express his firm conviction in favour of a system of Federalism in England without laying himself open to the imputation of touching questions upon which he has no business to form an opinion. In your number for November you quote the opinion of Sir Hercules Robinson, "that the concession of Home Rule to Ireland must lead the way to a Confederation of the whole Empire." If Sir Hercules Robinson believes that a system of Federalism for the United Kingdom would lead to the Federation of the Empire, it is open to me to express and hold the same view. Many able statesmen besides Sir Hercules Robinson are convinced that the present constitution of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is a serious obstacle in the way of Imperial Federation. It is necessary for the Imperial Federation League to keep clear of English party politics, and I see how difficult it is for the League to approach the knotty question of an Imperial Parliament which shall satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the whole Empire, and weld it together into a solid unity. But I feel sure that Imperial Federation will never become anything more substantial than the airy fabric of a vision until this question is fairly faced and practically solved. I have been too long out of England to take any very keen interest in English party politics, and it seems to me a disastrous misfortune that both parties in England cannot unite in dealing with the Irish question on

a Federal basis. Surely the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, which Mr. Parnell accepted in his letter to Mr. Rhodes, and which has since been accepted by all advocates of Home Rule, might form a basis for some workable scheme of Federalism.

Of course there may be all sorts of inner political currents at work, which no ordinary Colonist can be expected to understand. One can only deal at this distance with the manifest and plain issues of English political questions as they appear to us here, and I trust that this free expression of a Colonist's views on these matters will not be considered to be marked with too much freedom for a place in your columns.

2. And now I crave space for a few words about Mr. Rhodes and British Zambesia. You express regret that "the subjects of the British Empire at large have got to stand aside to make room for Mr. Rhodes and his Chartered Company." You speak as if the English people had been deprived of a splendid heritage by the Royal Charter governing the new State of British Zambesia. You do not understand Mr. Rhodes, who is as thorough and loyal an Englishman as he is a true and patriotic Colonist. Mr. Rhodes came to South Africa, fresh from Oxford, and made a colossal fortune by his business energy and financial genius. He is still a young man, and has made his mark as the most influential Englishman in South Africa. He will use his fortune, and his indomitable energy and pluck to found a new empire for England in Zambesia. The Colonial Office has no money to build a thousand miles of railway from Kimberley into the interior. Mr. Rhodes and his company have the money and are hard at work building their railway through Vryburg and Mafeking to Shoshong, as its first stage. The Colonial Office cannot fill British Zambesia with emigrants, but the Chartered Company can; and through the power and energy of Mr. Rhodes, the English people will *gain and hold* that splendid heritage of which you seem to fear the Chartered Company will deprive them. So far from wishing British subjects to "stand aside" as you suggest, it is the very object of the Chartered Company to open up a vast new territory to the enterprise and industry of British subjects.

I believe the Chartered Company has a noble future before it, and that its establishment will be found to be the strongest link to bind South Africa to the Empire. —Yours faithfully,

A. T. WIRGMAN, D.C.L.

St. Mary's Rectory, Port Elizabeth.

LADY FLORENCE DIXIE ON WOMEN AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—As one who has always been an enthusiastic Imperial Federationist, I hope you will allow me to express the opinion that it is high time the League admitted to its Council and Executive Council the presence of women. One would think, on perusing the lists of the above-named councils, that men's energies were alone employed in forwarding this great movement, when its advance in a very great measure is due to the untiring and unflagging energy of women members of the League. To me it seems a most unfair and unjust position, and only equalled by that of those strange anomalies, the Primrose Dame and the Liberal Federation Woman. The description of these ladies is a cloak which exactly fits the Imperial Federation woman. The two former work with unflagging energy to uphold in power this or that political party, while themselves shorn of all power to take part in the representation of the people and the conduct of the ship of State, even the elective vote being denied them. So is it with the Woman Imperial Federationist. She is to work hard on behalf of the great cause, to be a faithful adherent of the League, but she is to have no part in directing the footsteps of that League. As one who was of the very first to join it, who has worked on its behalf loyally and untiringly, who has induced hundreds to join it and who has been its faithful adherent, I commend these few remarks to the fair consideration and generous interpretation of members of the League.—Your obedient servant, FLORENCE DIXIE.

A CALL TO ACTION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—It seems to me that the future success, if not the very existence, of the League depends, to no small extent, on its action with reference to the early formulation of a practical scheme of Federation. My profound respect for the wisdom, patriotism, and statesmanship of the leading members of the League (from whose opinion on this point I venture to differ), makes me extremely diffident in venturing to address you on this subject. My firm conviction and my deep interest in the question of Imperial Federation, which is, I think, the most, or at least one of the most momentous questions that have been presented during this century to the public of Great Britain, will, I trust, be accepted as my excuse and justification. The publication in *Imperial Federation* of August last of Lord Salisbury's letter of July 23rd to Lord Rosebery, and the reply thereto, and the comments on the letter of the Premier in that and the subsequent number of your journal, have accentuated my conviction.

The League has since its inauguration in the year 1884 been

vigorously engaged in educating public opinion in Great Britain and her Colonies on this very difficult and momentous question, and, as it seems to me, with marked success. If this grand ideal of Empire is to become something more than "a baseless fabric of a vision," the public mind must have something to contemplate more tangible than a bare ideal, if substantial progress is to be maintained. The bare statement that the question is too difficult to be hastily dealt with, will not satisfy an eminently practical race. To many thinkers the Federation scheme is so difficult as to be absolutely impossible. The onus of proving that it is not only possible, but practicable, lies on its advocates.

Born and educated in this remote and comparatively insignificant dependency of the Empire, I am very sensible of my temerity in venturing to differ on this question from those for whose judgment and practical statesmanship I entertain profound respect, and of my boldness in presuming to address you on so important and difficult a political problem as that of Imperial Federation. This problem I regarded until comparatively recently as too difficult for solution, and far removed from the domain of practical politics. With the object of advocating amendments in our Tasmanian constitution I some time since gave my best attention to the study of the principles of the constitutions of Great Britain and of the United States. The study of the principles and history of the latter, and a better acquaintance with the perplexing difficulties of formulating an acceptable Federal constitution which beset Alexander Hamilton, Maddison, Franklin, Washington, and others associated with them, have to a great extent moulded my opinion as to the practicability of framing a constitution for a Federated British Empire. Those members of the League who have traced the growth and gradual development of the British constitution may be excused for, and to some extent justified in, believing that the best constitutions are those which are the result of growth and development, and may point to their own constitution as a case in point; but if they carefully study the constitution of the United States, and give due weight to the fact that it has stood the test of a century of trial, and the strain of one of the most gigantic and devastating civil wars that the history of the world can furnish, they must admit that the enactment of a legislative constitution of vast and far-reaching importance is not only possible, but has been actually accomplished.

That the American constitution is now a living workable reality is beyond the shadow of a doubt, and its pronounced success fully justifies Mr. Gladstone's avowal that "just as the British constitution is the most subtle organisation that has ever proceeded from progressive history, so the American constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off, at a given time, by the brain and purpose of man." The difference between a limited monarchical constitution and a republican constitution will necessitate modifications of the American plan. Yet I maintain that the difficulties of formulating a practical constitution for the British Empire in the year 1889 are infinitely less than the "fathers of the American constitution" had to contend with in the years 1783 to 1789. It cannot be denied that even this remote dependency is now, thanks to steam and electricity, infinitely less remote in point of time from London than were the majority of the States a century ago from Washington. We have for our guidance a scheme of Federation which has stood the test of a century of experience and a great civil war, whilst its framers had neither rule nor precedent applicable to the circumstances of the thirteen States to guide them, but had to evolve from their own intelligence and wisdom an entirely new legislative instrument to meet the very divergent views and interests of those States, and, notwithstanding certain acknowledged defects, marvellously well they did it. Again, the self-governing Colonies of the Empire have their written constitutions. The Canadian Dominion has its legislative constitution. The Australian Colonies are gradually, if somewhat slowly, working up to their Federal constitution.

These facts point a moral. Lord Salisbury's objection to issue an invitation to the self-governing Colonies to send delegates to London to confer and report upon the possibility of establishing closer and more substantial union between the Mother Country and her Colonies is, I think, a strong one, and the invitation if given might "lead to misapprehension." The fact that the League has been in existence for five years, and that it has evoked considerable notice and discussion throughout the Empire, points to the conclusion that in order to justify its existence, to maintain the interest of its members, to extend that interest and increase its roll of members, a tangible and definite scheme must be formulated. Any scheme of Federation will have to face a fierce blaze of criticism, no matter when submitted, and it will require years to get any scheme so far accepted as to be brought within the domain of practical politics; but I am thoroughly convinced of the inevitable necessity of such a course. I am not unmindful of the warnings which have been given from time to time by prominent members of the League against the danger of precipitating matters. The one great fact that stands out prominently, and which was pointedly referred to by Mr. Parkin when in Tasmania, is that the relations of the Colonies with the Mother Country cannot exist much longer on present lines; and inasmuch as it will take years to perfect any scheme of Federation, I venture to think the question should be taken up in the immediate future.

With reference to the method of carrying it out, I would suggest that the League should draft a scheme, submit it for discussion to its various branches throughout the Empire, and then arrange by invitation from the Mother Country for a meeting of delegates from the various Colonies, to whom the revision of the scheme should be submitted before its final adoption by the League. By this means the existence of the League would be amply justified and its influence greatly extended. I think it will not be denied that the Federation idea has been long enough in the academic stage. Unless some such course is adopted, I greatly fear that the influence of the League will grow "small by degrees and beautifully less."

The question of Federation has reached that stage where it cannot remain; it must either advance or recede; and I think the initiative should be taken by the Mother Country, where the parent League was inaugurated. The branch Leagues throughout the Canadian Dominion

and the other Colonies recognise their parent, and would, I believe, heartily co-operate in considering any scheme submitted to them from that source. I see no reason to anticipate that such a course would, or could, lead to misapprehension on the part of the Colonies, and if any considerable opposition should be manifested at the present time I am convinced that there is a greater probability of that opposition being increased and accentuated by delay.

Hoping that some of your readers who concur in my view will further discuss this aspect of the question, I remain yours faithfully,
Hobart, Tasmania, October, 1889. R. J. LUCAS.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES QUESTION.

DEBATE IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER.

ON January 20, M. Flourens put a question in the French Chamber of Deputies to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the interference of England with the fisheries carried on by the French in Newfoundland. He said that what was in question was not only the injury caused to some ship-owners, but the independent right of the French people, already an old one, and the protection of the rights of the devoted and patriotic French merchant navy. The inhabitants of Newfoundland had at first no right to the fisheries, but gradually, under cover of the services rendered to the shipowners and the French seamen, they assumed rights. The inhabitants were numerous, and they proposed nothing less than to drive away the whole of the French, the consequence of which was that in 1885 a new convention was entered into between the two Governments. After this the Parliament of Newfoundland prohibited the inhabitants of the island from selling to Frenchmen the objects necessary for their fisheries. This prohibition was monstrous, and it was asked whether the British Government could support it. It hesitated. The Government of Great Britain seemed for some years only to govern its Colonies on the condition of obeying them. The strict duty of the French Government was also to enforce its rights over the lobster fishing. In 1889 the commander of the naval division received no instructions to this effect. Hence it was that the operations of the French fishermen became quite impossible. M. Flourens then said he wanted the French Parliament to take an interest in the question, which was not purely local. He requested the Minister for Foreign Affairs to protect the French fishermen and not to abstain from doing so, as in 1889.

M. Spuller, in reply, expressed a hope that, as long as the present situation lasted, conflicts would continue to be solved in a friendly way. The fishing rights conceded to France in Newfoundland were essentially temporary, a kind of usufruct enjoyed in the country not belonging to France and in which she was bound to respect the police regulations made by others. The Newfoundland Colonists felt every kind of neighbour irksome, their doctrine being Newfoundland for the Newfoundlanders. The treaties, however, still subsisted, and the rights of France could not be violated without just reclamations being made. The right of France was to protect the lobster fishers, who commenced operations in 1885 owing to a deficiency of cod, just as she protected the cod fishers. The English Government, however, formally disputed this right, for the lobster fishery, unlike the cod fishery, required fixed establishments, and this was the question on which the difficulties and negotiations now bore. In 1885 an arrangement was thought to be arrived at, but fresh difficulties arose. Arbitration had been spoken of, and he could see no other solution, but the English objected to it. The English Government had, however, denied the alleged order given by an English naval officer to a French captain to go off and not to return next year. No trace of such instructions by the English Government had been found. The instructions given by himself were identical with those given by M. Flourens when in office, and he would take care that they were carried out. In view of the negotiations going on, the Chamber had better close the debate and confide in the vigilance of the Government.

After a rejoinder by M. Flourens, who urged that the fishermen ought to know exactly how far they could count on official protection, and after a speech by another Deputy to the same effect, M. Barbey, the Minister of Marine, stated that the fishing rights conceded to France by the Treaty of Utrecht were absolute and unreserved. The French fishermen were constantly asking for protection against the English cruisers, who insisted that the French had no right to lobster fishing, inasmuch as the lobster was not a fish. Now the French cruisers had not to engage in diplomacy, but had simply to exercise their rôle of protection. A very natural consideration, however, held them back. Whenever an English cruiser was on the spot, the French cruiser had to apply to it to claim its protection in favour of the French. This was the right of police. This situation, however, could not last any longer, and when he had given instructions to the French naval commanders the latter would execute them. These instructions must, however, be very definite, and would be drawn up in concert with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. All he could say was that the question must be settled in such a way that if the French flag appeared at Newfoundland it appeared with the same authority as that enjoyed by it on all other points of the globe.

The resolution was then proposed calling the attention of the Government to the treaty rights of France, but the order of the day pure and simple was called for and adopted.

It is difficult to convey an idea that will not seem exaggerated of the part which the picture-papers play in brightening Anglo-Indian life. To you at home they are a passing incident; to us, in the absence of many distractions, they are a perennial pleasure. Here is a hint for Lord Rosebery; the picture-papers are the true corner-stone of Imperial Federation.—*Daily Graphic*.

HOW GOES IT WITH IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

(From the *Daily Graphic*.)

BY THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T.

THERE is always a little suspicion attached to a cry which is raised by politicians. It does not matter whether these politicians have the reputation of being "independent" men, or men who must have a cry to prevent themselves from being dependent. Politicians are all dependents. If they think a cry won't pay, they will drop it. It is quite right that this should be so; for if it be not for the advantage of the public, it is to be presumed that the public will soon "knock the bottom out of it" by leaving the politician to perorate to emptiness. And no one who aspires to lead politics, whether individually wealthy or not, can be held to be independent. The wealthiest in cash are often the most needy of applause. If a cry be raised to float a man's reputation in the babbling world-market, the person who thus vociferates may do it to raise himself to prominence on the tongues of the many, and be no more independent than the veriest cadger. But although unfortunately as democracy becomes more and more the rule the estimate of the politician sinks lower and lower in the scale of estimation, there are men who, without being philosophers only, may be presumed to see clearer than those busily engaged in monetary pursuits, or in the mere game of parties, what may

WELD TOGETHER FOR COMMON ADVANTAGE

large portions of our race. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Britons away from Britain, and living under the summer climes to which our people have gone in such vast numbers, may not lay to the account of mere electioneering needs the call for a closer Confederation of the widely-sundered members of our Empire. Even if personal ambition and the necessity of finding "new planks" in party politics and programmes had been an incentive to such a cry as that of Imperial Federation, the objection would not count against the value of the discussion. If there be nothing in it, the weapons so forged by individuals would only react against themselves. There is more courage in launching into an unknown sea than in waiting at the harbour's mouth to pilot ships past the known difficulties, the shoals and currents which have been often sounded and tested. The desire to prevent wider separation, to link together for united good the fortunes of our several countries, is at the bottom of the movement. Merchants and they who take no part in actual party politics, men whose dealings are with various sections of English-speaking people, encounter difficulties which seem unnecessary. When danger comes in the form of war or "strained relations" between any people under a foreign flag, and those who are

PROUD TO SEE THE UNION JACK

above their heads, the peril of one is certainly not seen with indifference by the others belonging to the Empire, but it is felt that for the protection of the commerce that may be attacked by an enemy there is a want of a concerted system for defence. "Trade follows the flag," but this has not as yet produced a corresponding organisation to strengthen against hostile influence the natural interests that this phrase and fact expresses. It is for the guardianship of common commercial interests that a common insurance office is needed. The individual interests of the Mother Country, or of any one of her great Colonies, can be best advanced by agreement as to measures that shall guarantee the risk of one at the expense of all. Identity is not necessary in form or in substance. The various interests of each portion of the Empire can best be judged by the inhabitants of each section. But that each shall be able, without fear of foreign molestation, to carry out its own ideas of development, an alliance offensive and defensive is necessary. Any foreign invader would make short work of the delicate arrangements of a purely selfish and of a comparatively feeble power, carrying out its own ideas of the best means of promoting its own value to itself alone. In the political world, as in the financial, there must be co-operation. Our Empire can be organised as

A GRAND MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY.

The interests of commerce are nothing but the interests of political well-being. Unless we in our Anglo-Saxon-speaking world are prepared to help each other, we shall prosper less than foreign and more concentrated nations. "It is not," said a friend of mine to me lately, "it is not because the Rothschilds are specially able men that they are so successful; it is because they are planted at the centres of commercial activity, and because from those centres they work together and help each other that they have acquired the great financial power they possess." They do not work on identical lines; each firm of the family, whether at Paris, or Berlin, or Frankfort, or in London, pursues its own work in its own way, but they always help each other. And so with our great Colonies, and with Great Britain—seated at the commercial centres they themselves have made, and are making of ever greater importance—so should these help each other. This is no Downing Street red tape, this is no Imperialisation and concentration acting for the good of Great Britain, and pushed into prominence by her, but it is a living fact, a growing need, an ever-increasing necessity, and pressing law of existence which stares every mercantile house, and every one of our rising nations, more and more in the face. Fast steam vessels, arming an enemy with

ALMOST LIMITLESS POWERS OF DESTRUCTION

against a mercantile marine, enforce every year yet more and more this lesson upon us all. People as possessed of vast territories like those of Canada and Australia may deem that in time they may find all they need at home, but the facts of their constant anxiety to extend their trade relations across the seas, prove that for a century at least and probably for ten times that term of years, they will desire the comforts, the variety, the foreign foods and fashions, brought from over sea. And who among them, except the most thoughtless, can believe that the casting-off of all bonds of alliance and connection with the Mothe

Country could give them safety? Their very wealth, the very sources of which they themselves are justly never tired of speaking, would make them an acquisition to be desired by the warlike nations of the European or even the American continent of the future. The Germans and the French and the Russians, not to mention the Italians and that Spain which cannot for ever be expected to forget her conquering aptitudes of the days of Cortes and Pizarro, will bend upon them their eyes of covetousness and aggrandisement. Most of these nations have no idea of laying aside their well-ordered array of military and of naval power. Would the want of cohesion, only too visible in our Dominions, whether Australasian or Canadian,

YANISM AT THE FIRST SOUND OF THE INVADER'S BUGLES?

Perhaps, but what then if no sure foundation has been laid for concerted resistance? We hear voices, and youthful voices they generally are, but they are none the less to be heeded on that account, say in Australia and in Canada, "Let us have our country for ourselves. What is a war in Affghani-tan to us that we should suffer by a war between England and Russia?" Would they like to digest a corresponding formula, which might be laid down for debate in an English University by some young Englishman who may have read so much of classics that his eyes have gone, and while he glances blandly and blindly through his eyeglasses, enunciates the proposition that New Guinea, or the Western Pacific Islands, or those of the Aleutian Sea, where dwell the fur seals, are so far off that England should not care for them! What matter is it to us, he may say, that New Guinea should become German, that Delagoa Bay may

ENCLOSE THE ENGLISH OF THE TRANSVAAL,

that Russia or America may insist on keeping the Japanese waters or those of Behring's Straits to herself? Yet all this while the eyeglass he is wearing comes from the Brazilian rock crystal, the silk which attaches it to his precious neck comes from China, the garments that clothe his philosophic form are made of Australian wool, and even the leather of his boots on which he takes his manly stand comes from across the seas. He has supported himself for his oration by a meal of which the eggs, and the butter, and the fish may have been British born, but the phosphorus of his brain has not been nourished by the fish alone, but by the flour and the wine, or the sugar and the tea, he has generously taken unto himself. Can he be said to belong to a country independent of outsiders? And so with the case of a war for Affghanistan or other portions of our Indian frontier lands. Half of what a Canadian or Australian has, comes from the Mother Land. Whose capital is it that has built the railroads, that has worked the mines, or developed the boasted resources of the new country? Whose, indeed, but Britain's? "Paid out for her own advantage," replies the youthful separatist; and so it may be, but it is doing him and his infinite good also, and demonstrating the common interests and connection inseparable, except with disaster, to all concerned; over-sea trade being a necessity for us all, let the

TRADE COURSE WITH OUR BLOOD AND TONGUE

—with our own kinsfolk as far as may be. If Britain were mad enough to impose heavy taxation on all Colonial investments, whom would she hurt most, herself or the Colonies? Her interest and their interest is to work together. It is most wholesome that the native of each country should believe his own soil to have generated even in himself the most splendid type of Anglican manhood, but this pride will be valuable indeed if he agrees that he had best work with that next best specimen, his cousin across the water. A Russian war would bring Russian fleets, and so would any war bring foreign fleets to spy out the weakness of Colonial defences. But the result would only be a better union among the Colonists, and a good opportunity to prove to Great Britain that she has not all the disadvantage of defence on her side, when her people are asked to support an enormous navy to defend the trade of all the Empire, and the safety of all its ports.

These matters are gradually being better understood, and to their proper understanding the Imperial Federation people are doing good work. Want of understanding in realising the wishes and conditions of the Colonies, and want of understanding on their part of the working of British feeling, is, or was, the serious danger. Any association banded together

TO FORM A LINK SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

must do good and promote a better knowledge between us. Such a society is another help towards the spreading of an atmosphere of sympathy, and that means good-will towards co-operation. Co-operation means the power to push the fortunes of each country as that country may best desire it. It is to be hoped that no Home or Colonial Federationist will drive his hobby so hard as to introduce arguments for local and domestic "reforms" on the lines of Federation. This would be one of the greatest barriers against the adoption of his gospel here. Where Federation does not exist in form, it is much to be desired in preference to isolation and separation. Where the people have constituted the more complete form of a united constitution, there they would not wish to have what they would consider "foreign" forms of "disintegration" thrust upon them at home because it was wanted for the Empire at large. It does not follow that because Australia has not yet got a common army, that Britain should have each of her races at home adopting a separate tariff. We want to go on as we are, one land. Canada and Australia desire the same. Canada has managed to compose her inter-colonial differences, and does not examine in detail the portmanteau of a British Columbian, nor does New Brunswick say she can't get on without having her railways of a different gauge from those of the French Province of Quebec. There is no doubt that Australia will soon see that there is

AN ADVANTAGE IN A COMMON GAUGE,

if not immediately in a common tariff. She already sees that for a common defence some power is necessary to ensure cohesion and unity in command, and she has nobly come forward to aid in the heavy

burden of the defence of her extended coast-line. Too much praise cannot be accorded to her statesmen for the early recognition of her duties in this respect. No doubt by-and-by she will be able herself to build the vessels which shall aid in her defence, but for a long time to come we can do it cheaper for her. The cost of the maintenance of dockyards and building establishments under Government control is immense, and it will be some time before the energies of her manufacturers are turned in a direction that would make it profitable for her to do much war-ship building on her own coasts. It is the same with the cost of maintaining consular or other representatives. The work is cheerfully done for her by the Imperial servants. So, too, with Canada. In her case, although the population is larger than that of Australia, the Treasury is much poorer, and her people have been so heavily engaged in making the country stronger, as well as richer, by the construction of public works, that it is only gradually that she can afford much for military or naval preparation. She has, however,

THE NUCLEUS OF AN ARMY,

and nothing but further training and more complete organisation is necessary for the magnificent body of militia she can always call out. She has, too, in the Kingston Military College an institution for the instruction of officers which is absolutely admirable, and much needed in Australia. The cadets find berths easily in other services than that of the art military, and can be relied on as a body always available in case of need. Were such a federal institution established by the Australian Governments, one great home for the proper play of federal feeling and organisation would be at once established. It is of the highest importance that this College, when once founded, should give officers only to a Federal Army, at the call of the Federal Council or Government alone, and that no men, whether officers or privates, should be allowed, once a Federal force is established, to call themselves Provincial forces, but that they should all be Federal or Dominion troops. It was the reverse of this policy—it was the fear of offending the separate colony pride—that led America, when her Federal Constitution was first settled, to allow each State to enrol militia, that made the Great Civil War possible, and it will assuredly again breed trouble unless altered by an amendment to the Constitution. Canada saw the fault, and has remedied it, and every militia-man

LOOKS ONLY TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

for orders. Whether the forces so created shall be called out for defence in time of Imperial War, whether Volunteers shall be encouraged for service outside of the Home Government jurisdiction, are questions for the future. If England is always to defend the colonies, as I hope she always will, the equivalent hope may be expressed that to the best of their power the Colonial Governments will assist her in her need in the same way. It is in this direction that in the future some understanding will be arrived at. It is the first and longest step in the consummation of a real federation. But the desire for these matters must be felt by the colonists, the need recognised, before England can properly urge more than discussion and consultation. If Australia manages to do that which the statesmen of America and Canada were able to do, and for which her statesmen should be equal, and found a Union, then another stumbling-block in the way of federation will be removed, for we shall have a

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DOMINION OF AUSTRALIA,

as we have a High Commissioner representing Canada. The High Commissioner has since the creation of the office been a statesman in the closest touch with the Federal Government. His value as a representative, placed on equal terms with the British Plenipotentiary when foreign treaties have to be adjusted, has been amply proved, and the united Australian States or provinces will find that such a representative is necessary. His appointment would make the formation of an Imperial Council more easy. But in saying this, I speak only words I have heard from Australians competent to judge. There is no doubt that some participation in Imperial Council must be arranged for in the near future. The Conference summoned two years ago was of great service, and it may be repeated with advantage. It would, however, be well not to repeat it too often. Perhaps once in every three or four years it might be arranged that such a Conference should take place, and that questions and desires which had in the meantime become prominent should be talked over. There is but little doubt that the range of items on which we at present in Great Britain levy some slight duty

COULD BE EXTENDED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF OUR COLONIES.

Articles of common use and manufacture do not rise in price under a small duty. It is the more elaborate articles, requiring costly machinery for their make and transport for a distance before they are consumed, that are raised in price by a tariff. It may be possible for the Labour Unions in the several countries to name those common articles which could be supplied within the Empire, and on which we need not be dependent on the foreigner. New South Wales might join Britain in this, but it is to be remembered that foreign retaliation in the exclusion of goods must also be borne in mind, and any list of articles asked for as dutiable should be considered with the greatest care, and conjointly by the Delegates appointed to their Conferences. Let us back to the utmost of our power the desires they may express, believing that any little sacrifice will be repaid a hundred-fold in the continued close alliance of our strong brothers across the sea.

Above all, and more important than all for the patriot Briton, there is the Imperial Federation idea, which has made strides in 1889 second only to that taken in 1887, when the Colonial Conference assembled. Imperial Unionists have at last recognised the fact that the time has arrived when something more than mere agitation is necessary, and the proposal that periodical repetitions of the Conference of two years and a half ago should be inaugurated is a distinct advance.—*Home News.*

"AS OUR FATHERS HAVE DONE."

THE KINGSTON UNIVERSITY CLUB.

KINGSTON, Ontario, was *en fête* on December 18th in celebration of the Jubilee of Queen's University. The Governor-General was present, and was made an honorary graduate. Sir John Macdonald was also present, not only in his capacity as Premier, but also as one of three survivors of those who took part half a century ago in the foundation of the University—whose original inception, however, dates from the settlement of the United Empire Loyalists at a much earlier period. The veteran orator laughingly confessed that he was modest in those days, and that when he rose to move the resolution that had been entrusted to him, he was in such a mortal fright that, though he had prepared an eloquent oration, he did not utter a single word, but just placed his resolution in the chairman's hands and sat down.

In the evening there was a banquet, at which Sir John replied to the toast of "The House of Commons." His speech was as follows:—

"Canada has been prosperous, I am free to declare, since 1867. Then it consisted of four Provinces, without any hope and without any prestige, and with a great deal of anxiety as to their future. That has all now disappeared. We have little questions and we have great questions arising among us, but I think, on the whole, whether the great intellectual party which I lead held the reins of government, or whether the abominable fellows called Grits were in power, the country has had on the whole great prosperity. (Loud applause.) We are a free country. We have free institutions. We have parliamentary and legislative institutions formed on

THE GRAND BASIS OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

I can speak as one of the founders of Confederation, of the union of the Provinces, that it was the wish and desire of every member of that conference, of that convocation, and of the various commissions of the time, that it was the united wish of all the gentlemen of the day, to forget old quarrels, to forget old causes of separation, for the purpose of uniting in this one grand object: it was the united wish of Reformers and Conservatives in all that assemblage to form a great country under the same principles of government as Great Britain. I believe that the constitution under which we act and live, speaking from the standpoint of the Dominion Parliament, is an accurate transcript of the English constitution. (Applause.) But here it has always been with us—Canada above all. (Loud applause.) I believe that there are very few exceptions, no matter under what political party, where men range themselves against this sentiment and object; for there are few here who cannot believe in our constitution, believe in its efficacy, believe that we have perfect freedom—as much freedom as is good for us—under that constitution. (Loud applause.) And I also am satisfied that the vast majority of the people of Canada are in favour of the continuance and

PERPETUATION OF THE CONNECTION

between the Dominion and the Mother Country. (Great applause.) There is nothing to gain and everything to lose by that separation. (Hear, hear.) I believe that if any party or person were to announce or declare such a thing—either by annexation with the neighbouring country, the great republic to the south of us, or by declaring for independence—I believe that the people of Canada would say, 'No.' (Loud applause.) We are content, we are prosperous, we have prospered under the mighty flag of England; and I say that it would be unwise, that we would be lunatics, to change the certain present happiness for the uncertain chances of the future. (Loud applause.) I always remember, when this occurs to me, the Italian epitaph: 'I was well, I would be better, and here I am.' We are well, we know all are well, and I am satisfied that the majority of the people of Canada are of the same opinion which I now venture to express here. (Applause.) For the language which I heard this morning, the language which I heard this afternoon, and the language which I have heard to-night, show that at all events all who are connected with the University of Queen's are men in favour of the continuance of the connection between the Dominion and Great Britain. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I say that it would bring

RUIN AND MISFORTUNE, ANY SEPARATION

from the United Kingdom. I believe that is the feeling of the present Parliament of Canada, and I am certain that any party or the supposed party making any appeal to the people of Canada, or any persons attempting to form a party on the principle of separation from England, no matter whether they should propose to walk alone or join another country, I believe that the people of Canada would rise almost to a man and say, 'No, we will do as our fathers have done.' (Great applause.) We are content, and we have children content, to live under the flag of Great Britain."

The history of Greater Britain during the year has been marked by evidence showing that the tide of events is flowing steadily in the direction of Imperial Federation.—*North British Daily Mail.*

COLONIAL FEDERATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

As we have often pointed out in this journal, Colonial Federation for Australia only touches us indirectly. What would be its effect, if it came to pass, on the larger issue of Imperial unity is a question that is arousing some interest just now in Australia. Here are two letters that have recently appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:—

To the EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—There is a question that may at first sight perhaps appear rather outside the present movement towards Australian Federation, but I have reason to think that it is influencing more or less the position assumed by many. Is it probable that the Federation of the Australian Colonies will affect our present relations with the Mother Country and the other Colonies of the Empire, and, if so, in what direction? I know that many men are asking themselves this question just now. Most of them admit that it is probable that such a step will affect our relations with the rest of the Empire, and I agree with them; but with regard to the direction in which it will do so, diametrically opposite conclusions are arrived at. Some will tell you that Australian Federation is a step in the direction of a great British Federation; others, on the contrary, say that it means separation in the near future, and the formation of an independent Republic. It may be urged that speculations of this sort are not affecting the question of Australian Federation, but many conversations I have lately had with men representing various shades of opinion lead me to think otherwise.

Allow me now to show you why I think that Australian Federation will affect our present relationship with Great Britain. Federation will mean the concentration of the thought, the energy, and the power of her Colonies, and the ability to bring this concentration of power to bear in any desired direction. It will mean the growth of a strong national sentiment and the quickening of the national life. It will result in much of the energy at present devoted to purely local objects being concentrated on national affairs, and one result of all this must be that Australia will not long rest satisfied with her present position. She will demand either separation and absolute freedom or a voice in the management of the affairs of the Empire. A federated Australia will not be satisfied for long to play the subordinate part of a mere colony and dependency; and, when she has come to the conclusion that such a state of things can no longer be tolerated, it appears to me that she must choose one of two courses—she must either take her place in a great British Federation or separate.

Let me touch briefly on a couple of the effects of separation. At present if an Australian is ill-used or insulted in any foreign city he will find there a British consul to whom he can apply for protection and redress, and who will be in a position to grant such protection and redress because he has behind him the power of a great Empire. If he chooses to voyage across the seas he can do so in safety, because he sails under the protection of by far the most powerful navy afloat, and because he is a citizen of the Empire that holds the keys of the waterways of the world. Now, if we separate and set up an independent Australian Republic, I do not think we can reasonably expect the use of this great consular system and the protection of this powerful navy. And yet it is absurd to say that we are going to isolate ourselves. All modern history shows that we cannot do it, and if we could we would not, for the spirit of our race forbids it. The question then arises—How long will it take us to organise an efficient consular system of our own, to build great fleets, and to acquire fortified positions along the trade routes, and what will it cost us?

We have a magnificent territory, but we require capital to develop it; we have borrowed immense sums from the Mother Country, and are adding to our debt at the rate of many millions annually. Australasia owes Great Britain some hundreds of millions of money. If we entered into a federation with her our loans would assume a similar position to her national debt, and as this would mean a very much lower rate of interest than we are now paying, we should save some millions annually. If, on the other hand, we separated, we could not expect to borrow as a foreign nation on as favourable terms as we now do, for, to a certain extent at any rate, the Imperial Government controls our actions and protects our property. It would be manifestly very inconvenient not to be able to borrow as heretofore, and it would be absolutely ruinous to be called on to pay up several hundred millions (private and public debts) within the next fifty years. I am, of course, quite aware that England lends to other countries besides her own Colonies; still there is no question that our financial position would be changed very much for the worse by separation.

I have advisedly touched only on two purely selfish aspects of the question. Our future prosperity depends very greatly on our ability to borrow cheaply, and the ability to borrow cheaply depends on our having good and safe security to offer. I will conclude by asking my readers to try and estimate what it will cost us to render our country and our commerce safe against war risks if we cut ourselves adrift and lose the protection of the power and influence of the whole Empire.—I am, &c.,
YOUNG AUSTRALIA.

To the EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

SIR,—Mr. W. M. Foote, M.E., and other Protectionist correspondents wish to make it a foregone conclusion that an Australian Dominion must be based on a restrictive policy; and that most certainly New South Wales will, at the next general election, adopt a restrictive policy. It is not a safe thing "to count chickens before they are hatched." For the last year at least popular opinion is going quite the other way. Now, Protectionists themselves admit that if we adopted Protection, it ought to be some years before we confederated with Colonies long used to Protection. Federation must come by steps. Let the first be a combination for defence. For further development, why not adopt

a compromise course midway between Free Trade and Protection, namely, Fair Trade. Intercolonial Free Trade, but also Free Trade with our Motherland, whose ports are freely open to us; but let us be restrictive against all the world which is restrictive against us. Further than this, I sincerely hope this Colony may not go, though Federation should never come. And if the other Colonies will not yield thus far, I hope the premier Colony will enact the Fair Trade principle, maintain her Free Trade with Free Trade Britain, but protect herself against all states which will not reciprocate Free Trade. By this means we should have an immense advantage over all the restricted Colonies. We should have all the benefits of Free Trade with the fairest, freest, noblest, and most advanced nation in the world—our own nation, too—and yet be protected against our churlish and pent-up neighbours; and our workmen and women would be protected against importations from those countries where Protection has reduced their workers to starvation wages and to working all hours. Mr. Foote and others assume that the future Dominion must be an independent nation, and they mean by that, cut off from the Empire. I will ask, sir, could we be more independent than we are now? Are we tyrannised over by England? Are we taxed one penny? Have we an army quartered upon us? Are we coerced into obedience at the point of the bayonet? Can we not make what laws we please, or unmake what we please? And if we wished to separate, would England say you shall not? No. We are absolutely free and independent. Yet we have the satisfaction—may I say the enviable pride—of being part of the most enlightened and splendid Empire that the grace of God ever permitted on the earth. What can we want more? Are we afraid that England will draw us into wars? Tush! She is too enlightened now to be fond of war, and if she be drawn into one she will not ask our mighty help. But is not her name a protection to us? What if the Germans, tired of the fever-stricken land of New Guinea, planted themselves a colony on Northern Australia in the name of Germany, could we, mighty and independent as we think we are, resist the "blood and iron policy" of Bismarck in such a case? Would we dare lift up our voice, as we lately have, against unjust encroachments in the Pacific Islands if we were not on the safe side of Britain's iron sides? I fancy we should soon be called to book by the "Great Chancellor" and by the French Republic. They would like no better pretext to get a footing here. Nay, let us not be foolish, but maintain and cherish our splendid and safe independency, and not throw it away out of sheer wantonness. We have much to lose, but nothing to gain, by absolute disconnection. It is to be hoped we shall hear no more of such folly. Do we wish to be Republican? This, too, we are—all but the name; and "a rose by any other name doth smell as sweet."—I am, &c., A. B. WOOD.

November 6.

NEW ZEALAND READY FOR CLOSER RELATIONS.

The following letter from Mr. David Bellhouse, secretary of the New Zealand branch of the League, to Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, joint secretary of the League in Canada, appears in a recent number of the *Toronto Empire*:—

CHRISTCHURCH, CANTERBURY, NEW ZEALAND,

October 1, 1889.

DEAR MR. HOPKINS,—You say in your letter of the 12th ult. you would like to hear from me personally as to the prospects and progress of our movement in Australasia, and I will commence by giving you the particulars of what took place in our House of Representatives.

On the 16th July Mr. Hutchison asked the Premier, Sir Harry A. Atkinson, if he would grant or suggest an opportunity for the House this session to discuss the question of Imperial Federation. Sir Harry replied that he did not know whether they would be able to give an opportunity for the discussion of this matter. He would be very glad if the opportunity arose, and, although he was afraid the question was not ripe for very useful discussion, still, so far as he was concerned, he would be very glad that there should be such a discussion if there was time for it. I am sorry to say the opportunity did not arise. On the 28th June Mr. Joyce asked the Premier when he would afford the House an opportunity for discussing a series of proposals relating to a Canadian Pacific mail service with this Colony; and also, in the event of this House being favourable to such Canadian New Zealand mail service, would the Premier entertain the forwarding to the Premier of Canada proposals for a reciprocal tariff treaty with this Colony? This was a very important matter, and many members of the House would like to see a Pacific mail service. If they could not get one through Canada, they might probably have to do without one at all. New Zealand was capable of following in the footsteps of Canada, who had made herself one of the nations of the world. He would suggest that during the recess the Premier might communicate with the Canadian Government, and endeavour to arrange for a mail service. It would be of infinite benefit to the Colony, for every pound of wool we could grow could be absorbed by Canada, and every woollen factory in the Colony would be kept going by supplying Canada with woollen goods. He knew the question was fraught with many difficulties, but he thought the better plan would be to communicate directly with the Canadian Government rather than in a roundabout way through the Agent-General. The Premier said if the honourable gentleman would propose a resolution that the Premier should be sent over on such a mission, he might look upon it favourably. In the meantime the Agent-General, acting under instructions from the Government, had been in communication with the Canadian Commissioner for over twelve months on the subject. The Canadian Government was well aware of the views of the New Zealand Government on the question, and the Government was advised that it was

impossible to move any further in the matter at present. If any member liked to prepare a series of resolutions, he would be happy to give the House an opportunity of discussing them, but he could not see that it would advance the matter any further. It seemed to him that the preliminary arrangements in a matter of this sort must be made by conversation between the representatives of the two Governments. With regard to the Pacific service, the representative of the shipowners who found the steamers for the San Francisco service hoped to be able to make some proposal to the House before the end of the session, and they might hear something from the Agent-General; but the Government were not in a position to make any proposals at present.

On the 19th July Mr. Joyce asked the Premier whether the Government proposes to cable Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, the leader of the Government in the Senate of the Dominion of Canada, upon his arrival in Australia from England, asking him, when there promoting commercial relations, either in reciprocal tariff treaties, or in relation to a Canadian Pacific mail service, to favourably consider New Zealand as in the line of communication from British Columbia to Australia, and that this Colony is prepared to consider proposals for reciprocal commercial relations with Canada. He would remind the Premier that railway communication in Canada was completed from the eastern boundary to its western shores on the Pacific, and negotiations were being made for a six days' service from England to Canada. A representative from the Canadian Government was, moreover, on his way to Australia, and he (Mr. Joyce) wished to know whether the Government had any intention of communicating with that gentleman upon his arrival there. He thought it right some communication should be made to him, either by letter or telegram, and some opportunity should be taken to show him that we were anxious to share with the Australasian Colonies in the proposition for reciprocal commercial relations.

The Premier said perhaps the honourable gentleman was not aware that the Government were in communication with Australia and Canada on this subject, and they would take the proper course to put themselves in communication with Mr. Abbott when he arrived in these seas.

So far this is all taken from *Hansard*, and is reliable.

Now the question of Canadian reciprocity has filled my mind for some time, and I have written to the Montreal and Ottawa papers, as well as to private friends, on the subject, and after Mr. Joyce's first question in the House I wrote him on the subject, and the following is his reply:—

"Many thanks for yours of yesterday. I am going to ask the question, *re* Mr. Abbott, this afternoon, but the action of any member will be of little avail unless the papers write up the matter. What a value you would be as secretary to a delegation from New Zealand, to meet Mr. Abbott in Australia, for the whole question of Canadian reciprocity, and the line of route of the Canadian Pacific service will be settled before Mr. Abbott comes to New Zealand."

You will notice that Mr. Joyce fears that Mr. Abbott will settle all with Australia without reference to New Zealand. With this fear I do not agree. I believe that all the Australasian Colonies will be consulted before any definite or semi-definite action is taken. If it is not so, and New Zealand is left out in the cold, the Canadian Government will make a terrible mistake. All are looking forward to the visit of Mr. Abbott, feeling sure satisfactory tariff and mail arrangements can be made. Therefore, I feel sure Mr. Abbott's mission will be fruitful of good to both Canada and Australasia. I will only add that I hope the Canadian Government will alter their proposal that a branch boat should run from one of the islands in the Pacific to New Zealand, for the Premier said in the session of 1888 that "the Government could not entertain such a proposition. If there was to be a mail at all by this route New Zealand must have the main boat." This will show you what the feeling is.

With regard to Mr. Parkin's visit there can only be one opinion, and that is, that his mission has been most successful, for had it not been for his visit branches would not have been formed in either New Zealand or Tasmania.

We had a discussion in a literary society here on the subject "Is Imperial Federation Desirable, and if Desirable is it Practical?" Imperial Federation won by one vote, but I must add that some twenty Federationists left before the vote was taken, as we were led to believe the discussion was to be adjourned. I was one who left, and I was terribly annoyed when I saw the vote had been taken, and let them know it. Another thing I must tell you. I have been asked to read a short paper on Imperial Federation before the "Industrial Association of Canterbury," and I have consented to do so.

We all liked Mr. Parkin and were sorry we could not manage another lecture from him. Until he arrived Imperial Federation was never even spoken of. You may feel quite certain that no stone will be left unturned to bring about trading between Canada and Australasia on a sound and equitable basis. I am looking forward to the arrival of Mr. Abbott, whom I knew in Montreal sixteen or seventeen years ago, for I feel we shall receive a great impetus by his visit in every way.

Can you send me anything showing the output annually of the principal manufactures in Canada, such as woollen goods, agricultural machinery, &c. &c.? This is a question I have been asked very often, and I am under the impression you have a bureau of manufactures.

We are progressing slowly but steadily. The Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops have joined, and this will be a great help to us. We are having a committee meeting next week, which will be followed by a general meeting of the public, when we shall no doubt increase our numbers considerably.—I remain, yours faithfully,

DAVID BELLHOUSE.

To perpetuate the memory of Mr. W. E. Forster, a Memorial Hall was opened on January 21st at his birthplace, Bradpole, Dorset, by Mr. J. M. P. Montagu. A library forms part of the memorial, over which are placed bronze and other medallions illustrating the life and works of the deceased statesman.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

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Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

FEBRUARY 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Lands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A BODY with the breadth of sympathy and catholicity of spirit which characterises the League, could scarcely expect to escape the influence of the universal complaint. It can be no news to our readers that our deputation to the PREMIER had to be postponed because LORD SALISBURY was suffering from a severe attack of influenza. While condoling with him on his illness, and regretting on our own account that a matter of such vital importance has had to wait, we yet hope that good may come out of evil. When Parliament is in session, there will be less difficulty in securing the attendance at the Foreign Office of members who are favourable to our cause; and strong though the list of our speakers and the numbers and weight of our deputation would have been on January 10th, we sincerely trust that they will be still stronger when the meeting does actually take place. Moreover, the splendid success that MR. PARKIN has met with in the interval in great cities like Leeds and Liverpool can hardly be without their effect on the mind of the Government.

AMONG the pronouncements of public men on recent occasions having reference to the cause of Imperial Federation, few are to our mind more significant or more gratifying than that of MR. DEAKIN, delivered at Dunedin, the substance of which will be found in another column. Such an unqualified and whole-hearted confession of faith in our cause from this source is a welcome sign. Not because we ever had any doubt as to MR. DEAKIN's personal views on the subject, but because the Victorian Chief Secretary has hitherto been somewhat chary, at any rate on his own side of the globe, of committing himself absolutely on the subject in his public utterances. This last outspoken avowal from an Australian native of the natives, the founder of the society bearing those names as its title, which has since been wrested to the furtherance of other aims foreign to the objects of its originators, and from one who, being all that, holds also such a commanding position in the councils not only of his own Colony, but of all Australia, is a matter

of sincere congratulation. It certainly should give pause to those who regard the present federal movement in Australia as a premeditated step towards ultimate independence.

THE "cable fiend" of whose exploits we have usually had to complain has been an American; but this month his Australian brother has run him hard. The Sydney public have been informed by the *Daily Telegraph*—in the same issue, by-the-by, in which the remarkable fact is mentioned that MR. PARNELL's wife is starving—that LORD ROSEBURY at the Mansion House meeting advocated the admission of Colonists to the House of Lords, to the House of Commons, and to the Privy Council. It is also, we believe, to the refractive power of the same correspondent's intelligence that the newspapers throughout Australia are indebted for the information, which some of them of course have received with huge delight, that "ROSEBURY has smashed the League." Considering the vastness of the programme which he is stated to have laid down for our organisation, he certainly seems to have chosen on odd time for the operation. We need say no more except that we are entirely satisfied with the pace with which our cause is advancing at present. Whether it is towards destruction or in the opposite direction, is a question of which constant readers of this journal are perhaps the best judges.

WE owe it to the official position of the CHIEF JUSTICE of Queensland, if not to the material value of the document itself, to give SIR CHARLES LILLEY's letter a place in our columns. It was written, our readers will notice, nearly a year ago; perhaps SIR CHARLES has seen since then reasons to regret it, at least we can hardly think that he now regards with satisfaction the spectacle of a CHIEF JUSTICE publicly supporting a serious argument on the most momentous political issue which this generation has had to face by means of an inferior pun. If we correctly understand the meaning of his phrase "fetteration," it should imply the binding of that which was previously free. How this applies to the case of Queensland, which at present is in bondage to its master, the British Parliament, but which under any scheme of federation would take a freeman's share in the formation of the Imperial policy, we must confess ourselves at a loss to conceive.

WHEN SIR CHARLES LILLEY bids us cease prating about the passionate loyalty of Australia, we reply that no one at home, whose opinion is of any value, doubts that in Australia there is a certain amount of active disloyalty and a still larger proportion of indifference. Assuming his account of the position to be true as regards Queensland—and it by no means tallies with other equally trustworthy information, or even with the fact of the inauguration of a branch at Rockhampton, which we announce this month—we should only reply to him in the words of Lancelot:—

"You think the rustic cackle of your burg
The rumour of the world."

Queensland is not Australasia, nor even a very important part of it. The Victorian CHIEF SECRETARY is a much more prominent figure in Australian political life than the Queensland CHIEF JUSTICE, and what MR. DEAKIN thinks our readers may see elsewhere. Still less is Queensland the British Empire. Canada alone is five times as large, and a dozen times as populous and as important; and in Canada the sentiments of SIR CHARLES LILLEY would be scouted all along the 3,000 miles of the "QUEEN'S Highway," from Halifax to Vancouver.

ONE word more. "Already some foolish Englishmen," said SIR CHARLES, "talk of keeping us 'by shot and steel.' The answer to that has been 'The sooner you try the better. It may save you much more disastrous consequences hereafter.'" SIR CHARLES is mistaken. No mere Englishman, foolish or otherwise, has, as far as we are aware, said anything of the kind. Two men have said it recently, but the one is an Australasian ex-PREMIER, and the other an Australasian Agent-General. But we at home know our place better. We are quite aware what would happen to the thirty-six millions of "sensual British

aristocrats" if they attempted an "insolent interference"—we should explain that the phraseology is not that of Sir CHARLES himself but of his enthusiastic supporter, the *Boomerang*—with the 360,000 "honest white workers who are the back-bone of Queensland . . . whose pick and shovel dug Australia from the infamous past, and uncovered her face to the rising sun." It has, however, sometimes been suggested that, if the older Colonies failed to keep their ebullient young sister in order, it might be desirable to suspend for a time the advance of any more British capital to Queensland undertakings, whether public or private. Some people perhaps would go further, and suggest a refusal to discount Queensland bills. But a step which would send every firm in the Colony into bankruptcy in six months, and leave the honest white workers to starve in the midst of warehouses overflowing with wool and sugar, would be too serious a penalty to inflict because a portion of the inhabitants of this youthful Colony have had their heads turned by exuberant and unchecked prosperity.

In a leading article professing to be about "The Marriage Laws and the Empire," but really concerning only Divorce legislation in the Colonies, the *St. James's Gazette* is pleased to be sarcastic at the expense of the League, which it calls (and here is where the cleverness comes in) a society "which is never tired of getting itself assembled in public meeting" for the purpose of amplifying certain sentiments and "feverish desires." "At the same time," we are told, "it is curious how little knowledge of matters really important in the Colonies there is among us." Quite so. That is a frank confession on the part of the *St. James's Gazette*, and affirms unfortunately an undoubted truth. But it is for the very purpose, among others, of dispelling this admitted ignorance that the League exists and "assembles itself in public meeting," and issues this Journal, which (if the occasion may justify the egotism of saying so) is reported by a well-known Colonial contemporary to afford a better *résumé* of Colonial matters than any other paper. By public meetings as aforesaid, and through this Journal, the League has done its best to remove a great deal of the ignorance and apathy concerning Imperial affairs beyond the four seas, of which so much nevertheless still remains.

If the *St. James's Gazette* continues to have so "little knowledge of matters really important in the Colonies," the fault is certainly not on our side. On this very question of the new Victorian Divorce Law which has begun to exercise our contemporary in January, we published a leading article on the first day of last October. It is a pity that the *St. James's* should think it necessary to indulge in the bad habit of sneering, because its general attitude towards Imperial Federation is evidently well meant, and in some respects it is to be regarded as an avowed friend of the cause we have in hand. It only wants a little more study and knowledge of the whole question.

THE writer, for instance, of the article referred to, pointing to the difficulty the Imperial Government would have in continuing to veto this legislation if repeatedly sent up, says he would like to draw from this a moral favourable to Imperial Federation, but cannot. We will give him one, and it is this. His argument is, that if the Australians will not in such a matter endure the veto of the Crown, they would not be likely to respect an adverse decision of a Cabinet or Parliament representative of the whole Empire. But they would themselves be represented in those councils, and would have had a voice in forming the general legislation to which they might be asked to conform. And if that general authority had decided, in framing its federal constitution, that the laws of marriage and divorce should be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, there is no reason to suppose that a minority would rebel against the consequences in this more than in any other particular. It might be that such matters as divorce would be left to the State legislatures—then in any case we should know where we stood. That is just what we do not know now, and this is just the mischief that a system of Federation would remedy.

THE question of the partition of Queensland has entered upon a new phase. The movement hitherto has been directed towards the separation of North Queensland as a whole from South Queensland as a whole. Now, however, we read of a new suggestion for a further tripartite division which, if carried out, would place Queensland in the proud position of emulating the geographical constitution of ancient Gaul. It is now proposed to erect central Queensland into a separate Colony, with a capital presumably at Rockhampton, where the idea appears to have originated. It is not for us to express any opinion as to the necessity or political wisdom of this or any other proposal for sub-division. The matter, however, has a peculiar interest for us at the present moment, since it is at Rockhampton that we have the satisfaction of chronicling in another column the formation of a new branch of the League, the first established in the Colony of Queensland. Perhaps we may deduce from this circumstance the conclusion that whatever grounds the people of Rockhampton may have for being desirous of separation from other parts of the Colony, it is not likely to be the mere spirit of Separatism *per se*.

MEMBERS of the League in Canada will be especially interested in a resolution recently passed in the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. At a meeting in December the circular addressed by the Council of the League to the various Chambers of Commerce was considered by the Council of the Birmingham Chamber, and the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That whilst the Council approve of the objects of the Imperial Federation League as set forth in their circular of November 13th last, they are of opinion that the primary essential condition of Imperial Federation is a Customs union of the Empire." This view expressed by such a body confirms and gives an added significance to the strong opinion on the subject expressed in the resolution of the Council of the League in Canada (reported in our last issue), which went so far as to regret the holding of any Conference "at which the question of inter-Imperial and Colonial trade would not be deemed a question of first-class importance." However prickly a subject, it looks as if there was no likelihood that it would be left untouched in the next Conference for lack of some one bold enough to grasp the nettle.

It is always satisfactory to see the heaven working, and especially interesting when its action seems unsuspected by the human dough which it is converting into good wholesome bread. Here is Mr. BOWKER, of Somerset East, Cape Colony, who has been writing to the South African Press in a sense antagonistic to the ultimate aims of Imperial Federation, yet recognising the desirability of one of the most useful and practical of measures, both in itself and as a step towards further union. MR. BOWKER, as we gather, does not believe in the advantages of an advisory or legislative body representing all the Colonies, but he does believe in the propriety of the Colonists of South Africa having a proper understanding with the Imperial Government as to the former assisting the latter in the naval defence of the Colonial ports and trade. Very good. The germ of the idea has been carried from Australia to the Cape and is sure to spread still further. If MR. BOWKER and those who think with him will begin with "a proper understanding for naval defence," we shall not despair of seeing them by-and-by permeated throughout by the federal heaven.

"WE have little hesitation in saying that, so far as regards the Southern Colonies of the Empire, emigration proper is a thing of the past, and so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, and, further, so far as the Colonies of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand are concerned, it is perfectly inconsequent." So speaks a publication called *The Australian Trading World*. The latter portion of the sentence is a hard saying, and certainly is in its own language "perfectly inconsequent." This oracular deliverance is based upon a comparison of the emigration figures for 1888 and 1889, showing a decrease in the latter year of 35,834. On the strength of this we are solemnly told that we have got to the end of the emigration chapter—"absolutely to the end." We may observe in passing that

an almost identical diminution showed itself between 1885 and 1886, and yet the next year the figures went up to the highest point, with one exception, ever attained; the fluctuations being due of course to various partial causes, such as the general prosperity and the state of the labour market at home. But such considerations are doubtless beneath the notice of this oracle of Australian commerce. Seriously we should be extremely sorry, in the interests of the Colonies, to believe that emigration was declining; for the one paramount requirement of all of them is increased population settled on the land to increase production—we might say also, to increase the demand for local manufactures—without which many of those best qualified to judge fail to see how the present prosperity is to continue.

CANADA, which is wise enough to encourage productive settlers, takes means also of letting intending emigrants know the advantages she has to offer. *The Empire* publishes some telling figures having reference especially to the superior claims upon the emigrant's attention of the Province of Ontario. It draws what it rightly calls a "significant comparison" between the productiveness and value of the soil and most important crops in that Province, and in the nine great agricultural States in the neighbouring republic. The tables are made up from the reports of the Department of Agriculture at Washington and the Canadian Bureau of Industries over the last six years. In all respects the advantage is greatly on the side of Ontario. In actual land value per acre Ontario excels the average of the nine States by as much as 45·75 per cent.

GETTING ON. The complaint that we and others have had to make for so long and so often of the neglect of Colonial news by the great London dailies bids fair to become unnecessary. The *Daily Chronicle* has made a departure which deserves the highest commendation of all persons interested in seeing the horizon of the average British reader enlarged. Following a partial lead given by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which was good as far as it went, but did not go far enough, the *Chronicle* has started a regular column of general Colonial news, by telegraph and mail, under the admirable heading of "Greater Britain." For this we owe our warmest thanks. It has been our constant endeavour to induce the English papers, not only to give more attention to Colonial news, but to give point and consistency to it by collecting it under one heading; and additional point and significance is given when the heading is so well chosen as the one we are referring to. In the issue of the *Chronicle* now before us, there is a good column and a half of matter from Colonies large and small, Parliamentary and Crown, all the world over. We are glad to notice, too, that the Crown Colonies are well represented. It is sometimes made a matter of expostulation with ourselves that we have so little to say about them. The fact is that with general news as such we, not being a newspaper in the strict sense, have nothing to do. And with our special subject in its present development the affairs of the Crown Colonies can seldom, from the nature of the case, have any very special connection.

LOOKERS-ON see most of the game, and the London correspondents of the New York papers are beginning to think Imperial Federation quite worth their notice. Our readers will remember the circular which MR. BLAKELY HALL, of the *Sun*, sent out not so long since, and the opinions which he elicited from a few distinguished and not a few undistinguished persons in reply. Here is what MR. SMALLEY telegraphed to the *Tribune* as to our recent Mansion House meeting:—

The Imperial Federation League have made a fresh start by organising a City branch and holding a great meeting in the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding. Lord Rosebery made the speech of the day, and for the first time suggested something like a practical programme for a movement heretofore more passionate than practical. He proposes that the Federation Conference of 1887 should be renewed periodically. Lord Salisbury's Government summoned that Conference; one of its few good acts, thinks Lord Rosebery. All the most eminent Colonials available assembled. Let them assemble regularly and talk things over, and Imperial Federation will be the result. Nay, that is Imperial Federation, says its most enthusiastic advocate. If this have a meaning which is not rhetorical, it must be that such Conferences are sooner or later to constitute a Federal Parliament for the British Empire.

ON the whole it is as well not to throw stones in this world, as most of us have a good deal of glass in our own houses. Here is what the *Globe* wrote a short time back:—"A terrible charge of plagiarism was brought by a Queens-land paper a short time ago against the Governor. LORD KINTORE had made a speech on some public occasion or other which the editor triumphantly proved, by the parallel column method, to be taken word for word from a speech delivered in London some years before by LORD INVERURIE! They do not seem to be very well posted "in the mysteries of the British peerage in Queensland." Now, should we be wronging the writer of the paragraph if we said that he evidently thinks that LORD KINTORE is Governor of Queensland? And if not, is there much to choose between the Brisbane six and the London half dozen?

WE publish elsewhere a report of the debate in the French Chamber on the Newfoundland question, which we are glad to think seems at length to have attracted general attention both in France and England. Perhaps, considering the eminently temperate and reasonable attitude of the FRENCH MINISTER, it would hardly be too much to say that the question is in a more hopeful position than it has occupied at any time since the Treaty of Utrecht. It is reported also that the Behring Sea difficulty is in process of settlement. Altogether, though Canada seems to have mistaken its seasons and lost its accustomed winter altogether, the New Year has opened hopefully for our North American Colonies.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the League is fixed for THURSDAY, MAY 22.

GENERAL EDWARDS INTERVIEWED.

IN view of the question which so many people are now asking as to whether Australian Federation is the more likely to lead to Imperial Federation or to independence, the following passage from a report in the *Brisbane Courier* of an interview with General Edwards will be read with interest. The General had expressed his belief both in the desirability and probable realisation of complete Australian Federation. Asked then as to Imperial Federation:—

"Oh, that," said the Major-General, "is a matter which may or may not be developed. I believe in a Federation for mutual support in time of war. Now, what would you do here in the event of your being left to your own resources? I say in my report on the general question of organising the forces of Australia, that if the Australian Colonies had to rely at any time solely on their own resources, they would offer such a rich and tempting prize that they would certainly be called upon to fight for their independence, and isolated as Australia would be, without a proper supply of arms and ammunition, and with only partly trained forces, the position would be one of great danger. Now that is so. If Australia had not the ships of Great Britain to help her, what would she do in case of a war with a strong naval Power? What would there be to prevent, say, China sending down a few ironclads and 20,000 or 30,000 men; or what would there be to prevent—(mentioning a large European Power) forcing herself upon you? I believe in forming an Australian nation and joining Great Britain for mutual support. You must be ready for war in any case, whether you are a part of the Empire or not. Suppose Great Britain got a smack in the eye in the Channel, or met with any other very serious reverse, you would have to look after yourselves and help her. Suppose you were attacked by a naval Power, what would you do without the ships of the Australian squadron? You have no navy, and could not get one for some years."

"How do you mean we could help Great Britain?" said the interviewer.

"In this way. It might be that all our available forces would be wanted on the Indian frontier, then an Australian contingent might be sent to Hong Kong, Singapore, and other places to garrison them and let the troops there be drawn away to where they would be required. I have a great belief in the assistance Australia could give in that respect. I was in the Soudan when the New South Wales contingent arrived, and I believe the despatch of the troops had a greater effect than most people think. It showed that Australia was able to join in a system of mutual help."

"Do you think Australia would be wise to continue the risk of being embroiled in a war between Great Britain and a European Power?" was asked.

"I think Australia is not safe without the help of Great Britain on the seas. Of course, your remark implies cutting the painter. That may come; but meanwhile I see no reason to doubt that Australia would willingly take her share of the responsibilities of the Empire. I don't want to talk about the 'silken bonds' and that sort of thing; but I believe that when Australian Federation takes place, and the country is a nation, the desire for mutual support will continue. I know there are some, and a small minority, who look for Australian independence; but I believe the feeling will be served when the Dominion of Australia takes an important part in the affairs of the Empire."

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE import trade of December contrasts unfavourably with that of November, and the export trade favourably, as will be seen in the annexed Readings.

DECEMBER, 1889, COMPARED WITH DECEMBER, 1888.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
2,314,000 ... to ... 2,387,000 = 3·6 per cent.
2. Value of imports has increased from—
£37,941,000 ... to ... £38,268,000 = 0·9 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£16 8s. ... to ... £16 = 2·4 per cent.

B. Exports.

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has decreased from—
2,609,000 ... to ... 2,585,000 = 0·9 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£23,953,000 ... to ... £26,711,000 = 11·5 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£9 4s. ... to ... £10 6s. = 12·0 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,231,000 ... to ... 2,237,000 tons = 0·3 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
9s. 2d. ... to ... 11s. 1d. = 20·9 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 14·2 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has decreased from—
1,122,000 ... to ... 1,093,000 = 2·5 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£22,926,000 ... to ... £25,466,000 = 10·8 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£20 8s. ... to ... £23 6s. = 14·3 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF DECEMBER.

1. Although the volume of imports, measured by the tonnage employed, has increased 3·6 per cent., the value has increased less than 1 per cent. (0·9), owing to a decrease in the average value, which figures as 2·4 per cent.
2. In November the volume showed an increase of 8·0 per cent., the value of 17·2 per cent., and the price of 8·1 per cent.
3. The volume of exports, exclusive of coal, has decreased 2·5 per cent., but the value has increased 10·8 per cent., owing to an advance in price of 14·3 per cent. This is quite exceptional. In January and March there was an increase of 12·3 and 12·4 per cent.; in four other months, it varied from 2·0 to 7·3 per cent.; and in five, including the three preceding December, there was a decrease varying from 0·4 to 6·7 per cent.

YEAR 1889 COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1888.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
27,077,000 ... to ... 28,518,000 = 5·0 per cent.
2. Value of Imports has increased from—
£386,582,000 ... to ... £427,211,000 = 10·5 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£14 6s. ... to ... £14 18s. = 4·2 per cent.

B. Exports.

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from the United Kingdom has increased from—
31,664,000 ... to ... 33,049,000 = 4·3 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£297,885,000 ... to ... £313,031,000 = 5·1 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has remained stationary at £9 8s.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
26,970,000 ... to ... 28,974,000 tons = 7·4 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
8s. 5d. ... to ... 10s. 2d. = 21·3 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 8·6 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
13,684,000 ... to ... 13,732,000 = 0·3 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£286,540,000 ... to ... £298,238,000 = 4·1 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£20 18s. ... to ... £21 14s. = 3·9 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE YEAR 1889 COMPARED WITH 1888.

1. The character of the year 1889 is one of uniformly moderate increase, with the exception of
 - (a) Price of coal, which has advanced 21·3 per cent.
 - (b) Price of gross exports, which has remained stationary.
 - (c) Tonnage of exports, exclusive of coals, which is almost the same.
2. Imports have increased in volume 5·0 per cent.
" " value 10·5 "
" " price 4·2 "
3. Total exports have increased in volume 4·3 per cent.
" " in value 5·1 "
" " have remained in price stationary.
4. Tonnage employed in the export of coal formed 58·4 per cent. of the total tonnage cleared; in 1888 it formed 56·8 per cent. The quantity of coal exported showed an increase of 7·4 per cent. compared with an increase of 10·2 per cent. in 1888. The increase in the first five months was sixfold

that in the last seven. There has thus been a check to the previous rapid increase of this exportation.

5. The quantity of bunker coal showed an increase of 8·6 per cent. This affords some (a minimum) measure of the increase in the tonnage of steam—compared with sailing—vessels which cleared in 1889, as the increase of total tonnage clearing was only one-half—viz., 4·3 per cent.

6. The increased price of coal advanced 21·3 per cent., but this affected the total value of exports by less than 1 per cent.

7. The tonnage clearing with exports, exclusive of coal, increased only 0·3 per cent., but the value of exports increased 4·1 per cent., which was caused by an advance in price, which figures as 3·9 per cent.

8. The value of United Kingdom produce exported increased 6·5 per cent.; that of foreign and colonial merchandise, 1·4 per cent.

AS REGARDS MONTHLY FLUCTUATIONS.

1. Imports showed a very uniform increase as regards tonnage, value, and price, except in June, which showed a decrease in all three factors, and in December, which showed a decrease in price.

2. The total exports varied considerably. Tonnage and value showed a decrease in June, corresponding with imports, and in August and September, the period of the London dock strike. Price showed a decrease in January, February, July, August, and September; no change in April and June; increases of 3·9, 0·7, and 2·0 per cent. in March, October, and June, and of 8·6 and 12·0 per cent. in May and December respectively.

3. Exclusive of coal, the exports showed for tonnage an increase from January to March, a decrease from May to September, a large increase in October and November, and a decrease in December; for value they showed an increase in each month, varying from 0·9 to 15·3 per cent., and averaging 6 per cent. except in June, August, and September, corresponding thus with imports; and for price, a large increase in January and March, with a small decrease in February, a diminishing increase in April and May, a small decrease in June, a moderate increase in July and August, a moderate decrease in September to November, and a large increase in December.

4. The first four months and the last three have been the periods of greatest activity in the export trade both of British, and foreign and Colonial merchandise.

EXPORTS IN 1889 COMPARED WITH 1888.

	British.	Foreign and Colonial.
January to April ...	Increase, 8·4 per cent.	Increase, 16·8 per cent.
May to September ...	" 2·0 "	Decrease, 16·9 "
October to December ...	" 11·1 "	Increase, 11·6 "

AS REGARDS DESCRIPTION OF MERCHANDISE.

1. Of the ten groups of imports, as classified by the Board of Trade, all have increased except metals. This is shown in the following table, in which the groups are arranged according to the proportionate importance of each:—

Imports in 1889.			
	Proportion of total value, per cent.	Increase in value of each group, per cent.	
1. Articles of food and drink...	37·7	...	7·9
2. Raw materials for textiles...	21·4	...	13·4
3. Manufactured articles ...	15·3	...	11·2
4. Raw materials, other than above	10·2	...	19·0
		Decrease.	
5. Metals ...	5·0	...	5·0
		Increase.	
6. Miscellaneous articles ...	3·4	...	4·8
7. Animals, living, for food ...	2·4	...	34·0
8. Chemicals ...	2·0	...	6·4
9. Oils ...	1·7	...	10·7
10. Tobacco ...	0·9	...	40·8
Total ...	100·0	...	10·5

2. Of the ten groups of exports all have increased, as shown in a similar manner in the following table:—

		Exports in 1889.	
		Proportion of total value per cent.	Increase in value of each group per cent.
PRODUCE OF UNITED KINGDOM :			
1.	Yarns and textile fabrics	35·2 ...	1·2
2.	Metals and manufactures thereof, except machinery, &c. ...	13·1 ...	10·2
3.	Miscellaneous manufactures ...	10·5 ...	6·6
4.	Raw materials (chiefly coal) ...	5·5 ...	24·1
5.	Machinery and millwork... ..	5·0 ...	17·9
6.	Apparel, &c.	3·7 ...	2·0
7.	Articles of food and drink... ..	3·4 ...	4·7
8.	Chemicals	2·5 ...	6·7
9.	Animals, living	0·4 ...	12·6
		79·3	6·5
10.	Foreign and Colonial	20·7 ...	1·4
		100·0 ...	5·1

3. The increase under the head of raw materials is confined to coals, which constituted 85·2 per cent. of the total amount; in the other articles of this group, viz., sheep's-wool and unenumerated articles, there was a decrease. It thus appears that the large increase in the export of metals and manufactures of metals, and of machinery has been mainly the cause of raising the small increase of 1·2 per cent. on yarns and textile fabrics to an average of 6·5 per cent. for all British produce. The small increase in the re-exports is noteworthy. These and other previous details are confirmed by the following particulars:—

(a) The quantities of all piece goods except silk, viz., cotton, jute, linen, and woollen exported have increased only 0·1 per cent., and their price 1·5 per cent.

(b) The quantities of yarn and twist of the same materials have increased 1·7 per cent.; their price has increased 1·0 per cent.

(c) The quantities of iron and steel exported, exclusive of machinery and mill-work, have increased 5·5 per cent., and their price 4·5 per cent. The value of machinery and mill-work exported has increased 17·9 per cent. There are no means of measuring the quantity.

(d) The exports of other metals—viz., brass, copper, lead, tin, and

zinc—have increased 45·7 per cent. in quantity, and decreased 26·6 per cent. in price.

(4) In conclusion, it must be observed that in considering the importance of the improvement above shown in the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, it should be borne in mind that it affords as regards exports a very imperfect criterion of the improvement which may have taken place in the production, home consumption, and home prices, of native manufactures.

IMPORTANT MEETINGS AT LEEDS.

PUBLIC MEETING.

On 20th Jan. Mr. G. R. Parkin addressed a meeting in the Philosophical Hall, Leeds, on the subject of Imperial Federation. There was a numerous and influential attendance. The Mayor (Ald. Emsley) presided, and amongst others present were Mr. John Barran, M.P., Mr. Reginald Wigram, Mr. T. Marshall, Mr. R. Benson Jowitt, Mr. J. W. Willans, Mr. A. G. Legard, Professor Bodington, Mr. Hubbersty, Mr. C. E. Bousfield, Mr. C. Pebody, Dr. Edisson, Dr. Churton, Dr. Chadwick, Mr. C. Lupton, Mr. Geo. Irwin, Mr. Alfred Morris, Mr. W. Ferguson, Mr. M. Zossenheim, Mr. E. Butler, Mr. T. W. Harding, Mr. W. Warren, Mr. James Walker, Councillors Tweedale and Wainman, Mr. W. Marston, Mr. W. Paterson (Ossett), Mr. H. Simpson, Mr. W. Town, Mr. John Wood, Mr. F. H. Millard, Mr. R. Steele, Mr. S. R. Nicholson, Mr. Dodgshun, Mr. Pryce Davies, Mr. J. E. Whiting, Mr. C. Braim, Mr. Leyland, Mr. T. Trevor, Mr. Overend, Mr. R. K. Calvert, Mr. G. E. Bulmer, Mr. S. E. Smith, the Rev. J. J. Bynner, Mr. Arthur Baines, and Mr. Talbot Baines.

The MAYOR, who was received with applause, said they were met upon a question which had no connection with party politics. They were met to gather information from a gentleman who was eminently fitted to give it, and he was sure they were all glad to have secured the presence of Mr. Parkin amongst them. The subject of Imperial Federation—or, in other words, what we were to do with our Colonies—had not received the attention which in a very short time, he believed, it would demand. The increase of trade and intercourse with our Colonies, and especially with regard to Australia, was surprising to those who had read much on the subject. The population of Australia was only about three and a half millions; the export per annum from that country was about twenty-five millions, an average of £7 per head for every man, woman, and child in the country. To have this interfered with would be a serious thing. Mr. Froude, in his book "Oceana," said that when he visited Australia in 1884, patriotism was not a sentiment but an actual passion, and the worst thing that could be suggested to the Colonists was that England and Australia would have to be separated. About fifteen months ago Lord Rosebery declared to a meeting of manufacturers and merchants in Leeds that Imperial Federation was the passion of his public life, that it demanded all the enthusiasm and energy which a man could give, and that it was a cause for which any one might be content to live and content to die. That was an enthusiasm which he (the Mayor) appreciated, and they were sentiments with which he himself was partly imbued. Other countries were seeing the importance of Colonisation, and they were bringing competition to bear upon us not only in this respect, but in the matter of technical education. He trusted that, after hearing Mr. Parkin, they would be satisfied that the question was one which demanded more serious attention than it had hitherto received. (Applause.)

After Mr. Parkin had delivered one of his most exhaustive addresses questions were invited, and in reply to Mr. Alf. Morris (Conservative candidate for Halifax), Mr. Parkin said that although, perhaps, 50 plans had been submitted to the Imperial Federation League in Canada, no plan had been recognised as the one adopted by the League. Some time ago the League as a body suggested that the question of the trade relations of the Empire should be discussed in any meeting of Colonial statesmen in considering any policy of the League. Last year the Federation League in Canada sent a communication to the League in London saying that it would be useful to the cause if a commercial union were adopted as a distinct plank in the platform. He had said that safe trade was more important than Free Trade, having often met gentlemen who said, "Give us Free Trade and then we will Federate." Mr. Abbott had been appointed by the Canadian Government to study the commercial relations between Australia and Canada, but that was scarcely in harmony with the belief that Canadian delegates were going next month to attend a conference in one of the Australian towns, to consider the advisability of commercial union between Canada and Australia, to the exclusion of the Mother Country.

MR. BARRAN, M.P., moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin for his lecture. If we could have a system of Free Trade between the Mother Country and the Colonies, then there might not be much difficulty in working out the Federation scheme. It was clear that the Colonies would not consent to be taxed without representation. A fair representation would tend to the consolidation of our own position. A combination of the Anglo-Saxon races, too, would exert a powerful influence in the interests of peace. While he felt he must wait before he could give adhesion to the system foreshadowed, he was under an obligation to Mr. Parkin for his eloquent words, and for the spirit in which they had been conveyed.

MR. REGINALD WIGRAM seconded the vote of thanks. It was, he said, always pleasing to hear from Colonists of the good-will that existed amongst them towards the Mother Country. No doubt the pleasant places and excellent positions we had seized upon would render us open to attack from those not so fortunately placed. That in itself constituted one of our weaknesses. Discussion between representatives of the English-speaking races of the world must necessarily be a desirable thing, since it must draw them closer together, and tend to keep up the kindly feeling which now existed. Naturally the Colonists would be sensitive on the question of Federation, and any attempt at it must come from the Colonists themselves. Hence we should always welcome representatives of the Colonists who spoke on the subject. There were difficulties

about Federation; but difficulties were only made to be overcome. It was cheering to see how Australia had risen to our aid in the presence of a supposed military difficulty, and we might take it as an indication of the assistance which would be given by the Colonies in the hour of need. He therefore counselled not only the study of the question, but also full attention being given to anything coming from Colonial sources.

Upon putting the resolution to the vote, the Mayor stated that he had omitted to announce letters had been received regretting inability to attend from Mr. W. L. Jackson, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Conder, and Mr. W. Beckworth. The motion was then very cordially adopted.

The meeting was well reported in the local press, *The Leeds Mercury* in particular devoting a large portion of its space to an unusually full report of Mr. Parkin's address. That paper also, amongst others, devoted its first leader to the subject of the address, in which the following passages occur:—

"We cannot but believe that any moderate amount of reflection upon the considerations thus indicated will convince almost all thoughtful Englishmen that neither in theory nor in practice can any defence be set up for the refusal or the neglect to face the position taken by the supporters of Imperial Federation. That position is, first, that if an effective constitutional system of Imperial co-operation, duly balanced and adjusted with reference to the importance of the varied interests concerned, is not brought about, an irresistible tendency will speedily be set in operation towards the disintegration of the Empire; and, secondly, that such disintegration would be fraught with so much injury to the power, the interests, the credit, and the possible usefulness to mankind of the Anglo-Saxon communities throughout the world, that it ought by all means and by every patriotic citizen to be earnestly striven against.

"In development of this position Mr. Parkin argued with great force and with abundance of illustration. In our judgment, he established in outline an unanswerable case. He showed, for example, by a striking reference to the Lancashire cotton famine, what might be expected in this country if we were cut off in the event of war following on a separatist current of policy from the Australian continent, from which we draw in this neighbourhood almost the whole of our wool supply. He showed how essential to the maintenance of the naval power of England, both in the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, is the retention of Canada, with its great ports on either ocean, and its wonderful coal supplies in close neighbourhood to them or in connection with them by railway. And, as it seems to us, this line of argument, as Mr. Parkin carried it out, shows that alike to the power and influence and to the prosperity of England the maintenance of close and intimate relations with the great Colonies is absolutely indispensable.

"The question of a Federation scheme was very wisely dealt with by our Canadian visitor. The day of such schemes is not just yet. When public sentiment calls with a clear voice for Imperial unity, English statesmen here and in the Colonies may be trusted to find out the means of meeting the demand. In the meantime the policy of calling together the leading statesmen of the Colonies for the discussion of such practical questions as have arisen, and for the consideration of better modes of co-operation against common difficulties and dangers in future, cannot but be calculated to quicken the sentiment making for effective unity; and we are sincerely glad that on this point Mr. Wigram last night, amid many manifestations of approval, gave a general support to the principle of the representations which the Imperial Federation League desire to lay before the Government."

The Yorkshire Post also treats of the same subject in its leading article on the day following the meeting. We extract the following passages:—

"If the people of Great Britain were polled upon this question tomorrow, independently of all party considerations, we should probably find that nineteen-twentieths of them were in favour of the principle which Mr. Parkin is visiting Yorkshire to advocate; and in speaking, therefore, in Leeds in favour of doing something to secure, if possible, the permanent unity of the Empire, he was practically preaching to the converted.

"It is a big question, a very big question, a very complicated question; but it is a question that we shall not only have to face, but a question which we cannot face too soon, and it is, happily, one of the few questions which have not yet, at all events, been appropriated by party. It is emphatically a National question, a question concerning equally Great Britain and Greater Britain.

"The question is then asked, 'Is Federation possible except on the basis of Commercial Union? And if it is, what form is that Federation to take? If Federation is only possible upon the basis of Commercial Union, how is that union to be secured? Are we to take our commercial policy from the Colonies, or the Colonies from us?' And the answer is that without Commercial Union of some sort Federation is not possible.

"Free Trade, of course, is the breath of our nostrils as a manufacturing country, and if we could only secure Free Trade we might, with our capital, skill, and industry, command all the markets in the world. But the next best thing to universal Free Trade is, we need hardly say, Free Trade within the limits of the British Empire, Free Trade between England and Canada, Free Trade between England and Australia, Free Trade between England and New Zealand, Free Trade between England and South Africa. There never was an Empire in the world which possessed the self-sustaining power of that over which the authority of the Queen extends. We possess every variety of

climate, every variety of soil, every variety of market. We have continents of corn, continents of cattle, continents of gold. But is it possible, out of all this, to form a single commercial State, an English commercial league, and, if it is not, how is Imperial Federation, or Federation of any kind, to be brought about?"

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

ON the afternoon of Wednesday, January 22nd, Mr. Parkin addressed a meeting, convened by the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, on the commercial aspect of Imperial Federation, in the Philosophical Hall, Leeds. Mr. T. D. Yates, President of the Chamber, occupied the chair, and amongst others present were Ald. Tatham, Mr. F. Baines, Mr. T. R. Harding, Mr. T. W. Harding, Mr. Wm. Beckworth, Rev. Dr. Conder, Rev. C. Hargrove, Rev. H. A. Powys, Mr. J. W. Willans, Mr. C. E. Bousfield, Mr. R. Humble, Mr. Benson Jowitt, Mr. Jonathan Peate, Mr. T. Crossley, Mr. Zossenheim, Mr. A. Campbell, Dr. Eddison, Mr. C. Pebody, Mr. R. Slade, Mr. Edward Butler, Mr. J. Redmayne, Mr. J. Hepworth, Mr. Kettlewell, Mr. P. Laycock, Mr. Lee Hardwick, Mr. S. W. Smith, Mr. E. C. Midgley, Mr. James Buckley, Mr. R. K. Calvert, Mr. Price Davis, Mr. Burrows, and Mr. Talbot Baines.

The Chairman believed, judging from the address given by Mr. Parkin on Monday evening, that they were likely to have from that gentleman an instructive and interesting discourse, and to have it also at an opportune time. It was desirable that they should be enlightened on the subject as to whether anything could be done to strengthen the bond between the Mother Country and the Colonies. It was our duty to try to strengthen that bond. No nation had what he might call such a number of keys to other parts of the world as had Great Britain. Our forefathers seem to have planted the British flag on every point of land of value, and we in this day should not wish to be less active than they, especially as none would admit that the value of the race was less now than it was centuries ago—(applause)—though, of course, we had conditions to face which had not formerly to be encountered. At one time we were masters of the commerce of the world, but we should be indeed foolish if we thought that was now the case. We could not ignore the rapid, and in some cases the prodigious, progress made by other countries. Still, our position was unique—in that we had so many of our own kith and kin all over the world ready to hold out the hand of friendship to us in the Mother Country, and, if possible, to join hands with us. It now became a question whether the Mother Country should show herself ready to do all she could to bind her family to her. Perhaps not one person present would object to the formation of such a united family. Under such conditions of unity we should have nothing to fear. They well knew that trade with the continent of Europe had dwindled very considerably, and they would be unwise if they expected that it would again rise to the extent attained twenty or thirty years ago. But there were other markets, and if the English-speaking peoples—he meant outside the United States, of course—joined hands, we should have there at once an almost unlimited market for all our productions, and also be ready to receive pretty nearly all the Colonies could send us. From a commercial point of view, therefore, there was every reason for them to do what they could to forward the Federation question, and to learn all they could from such authorities as Mr. Parkin upon it. He need not say that their patriotism would inspire them with a desire to listen carefully to what that gentleman might put before them. (Applause.)

In the course of his address Mr. Parkin took occasion to answer an objection raised to a point in his speech at the public meeting. He said:—Another gentleman present on Monday evening thought he had used an unfair argument in presenting the commercial relations of the Colonies with this country as compared with those of other countries. He then said he thought it would be for the interest of this country in directing emigration to send men who could produce, and capital, which enabled them to produce, to the great Colonies rather than to the United States, the South American Republics, or any other country. He claimed that this would keep men and capital within the Empire, and add to the Imperial strength, since, by the adoption of this plan, the Colonies must form for the Home Country better markets than other parts could supply. For instance, the Canadians used four times more per head of British manufactures than the Americans, while the Australians used sixteen times more per head. The gentleman referred to thought his argument false, in the sense that the United States had a highly-developed manufacturing system, while some places like the Argentine Republic would have been better placed, for the purposes of comparison, alongside Australia. Taking up "Whitaker" that morning, he found, in spite of the enormous development of the Argentine Republic, that Republic, with a population of 3,926,000, only imported a little over £6,000,000 worth of British goods, while Australia, with a population of 3,223,000 people, imported no less than £26,000,000 worth of British goods, or four times as much per head of the population. This took place, too, at a time when the Argentine Republic was in an inflated condition, and while the Australian demand was perfectly normal.

In concluding, he dealt with the question of fiscal union as follows:—Was a common fiscal policy essential to Imperial Federation—to national unity? Looking at the matter from a Colonial point of view, he did not believe it was. It was, on the other hand, necessary that each country should contribute in some way its share to the maintenance of the national dignity and strength. Each part of the Empire should be allowed to do this in its own way. Some plan for bringing about the means of common defence, common safety, and of giving common strength, could be reached along some other lines if people would bring their minds to the consideration of the problem. Some such questions had to be dealt with in the Federation of Canada. The great idea of national unity involved consequences so vast that the question of a common fiscal system need not necessarily be dealt with to begin with, though they might hope that in the ultimate development of the growth of the Colonies the fiscal matter might be assimilated, and then it would

perhaps cause very much less friction. Many, he knew, believed that fiscal relations of the closest kind were necessary; but he considered that somewhat of a fallacy, thinking that if they looked into the matter they would find that there were features which raised Imperial Federation far above this consideration, though it ought not to be above the capacity of British and Colonial statesmanship to deal with the Federation question even upon the basis of fiscal relationship. (Loud applause.)

Mr. W. Beckworth proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin for his address. They were indebted to Mr. Parkin for his visit, and to the gentlemen who had interested themselves in getting him to come. (Applause.) Most of them were ready to be instructed on the question. No doubt Britain would be forced to face the alternative of being either the mother of free nations all over the world or of becoming the head of one great Empire. (Hear, hear.) Some had thought this was a question for the next generation, but events ripened fast, and they would have to make up their minds sooner than they had anticipated. Hence it became necessary, as Mr. Parkin said, to think fundamentally upon the question. Personally he would not coerce the Colonies into Federation, nor into remaining associated with Britain under present conditions. The solution of the question would rest very much with the Colonies, and he was glad to hear, therefore, of the state of feeling both in Australia and Canada. Though trading with the Colonies, as a rule they knew little of what the Colonists thought and felt. It did them good to hear of a prevailing affection for the Old Country. The question presented itself to him in this form—Britain was the head of a large firm, and there were applicants for junior partnerships. The Colonists came forward in this relationship. . . . Personally, he saw not much of a difficulty about the fiscal policy of the different portions of the Empire. He yielded to none in his conviction that Free Trade was the best for Britain, but that did not hinder him from seeing that under certain conditions for a new country Free Trade might not be the best. Therefore he would say, "Give them time to grow and to develop their resources, and they will see it is as much to their interest then as to ours now to be Free Traders." He would not make it a *sine quid non* of Federation that the Colonies should see with the Mother Country in regard to their fiscal policy.

This meeting, in which Mr. Parkin naturally addressed himself specially to the commercial aspects of the question, was evidently of a most useful nature. Mr. Parkin's visit to Leeds altogether is spoken of by those on the spot as a "triumphant success."

The *Leeds Mercury* of January 23rd contains the following:—"The two speeches which have been made this week in Leeds upon Imperial Federation by Mr. G. R. Parkin must have established in the mind of everyone who had the good fortune to listen to them both the right of the speaker to take very high rank indeed among living masters of persuasive oratory. The address delivered yesterday, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, was in our judgment one of the most striking examples of lucid exposition applied to a great and complex public question that have been heard in England for many years. Leeds audiences are not easily moved, and are generally not a little reserved in their manifestations of approval towards a speaker who is a stranger to them, upon subjects with which they possess comparatively little knowledge. But it was evident yesterday afternoon that Mr. Parkin engaged the confidence of his hearers, and enlisted their sympathy from the outset. For the moment we reserve extended comment upon the general result of the two addresses, which, taken together, have afforded a singularly comprehensive view of a subject of the first magnitude; but we urge our readers to observe and weigh with care the remarks towards the close of his speech yesterday, in which Mr. Parkin was evidently influenced by the desire expressed by some of those who feel and avow general sympathy with his principles, for some indication of the lines on which Imperial Federationists desire to proceed for the furtherance of the great ends they have in view. We cannot but think that though he still puts forward no scheme, his references to that subject will lessen the difficulty felt by not a few patriotic citizens in giving their adhesion to the Imperial Federation movement. Mr. Parkin's observations upon the question whether Imperial Federation necessarily involves a common fiscal system—a question which he answers in the negative—were eminently judicious; and the result of his development of his case will not fail, we think, to be a general feeling in this part of the country that that case cannot possibly be ignored, and must either be accepted with all its consequences, or answered—which last enterprise will not be lightly undertaken by many."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on Thursday, January 23rd, at noon, the President of the League, the Earl of Rosebery, being in the chair.

The Secretary's report for the month was received. From this it appeared that the arrangements for the deputation had included addresses from the President, the Lord Mayor, the Earl of Carnarvon, and Sir Charles Tupper. Also that it had been suggested that the deputation should be received by one of the Ministers on Lord Salisbury's behalf; but that the committee charged with the arrangements had concluded to wait until the health of the Prime Minister should permit of the fulfilment of his engagement.

The formation of branches of the League at Adelaide, South Australia, and Rockhampton, Queensland, was reported.

The annual meeting of the League was ordered to be held on Thursday, May 22nd.

On the motion of Sir Frederick Young, seconded by Mr. E. A. Arnold, Mr. S. B. Boulton was elected a member of the Executive Committee, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Ohlson.

Mr. George Howell, M.P., was elected a member of the Council, being proposed by the Hon. T. A. Brassey, and seconded by Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.

A FOOL'S PARADISE.

THE following letter, written by Sir Charles Lilley, Chief Justice of Queensland, to a friend, was published in the Brisbane press of November 21st. What comments we have to offer will be found elsewhere.

SUPREME COURT HOUSE, BRISBANE,
18th March, 1889.

MY DEAR STIRLING,—I have read your article in the December *Fortnightly* on the political outlook in Queensland, and I do not believe your two main proposals would be seriously disputed by any one who knows the true state of political thought and feeling in Australia—namely, that “as a matter of fact the Colonies are not frantically loyal to the idea of Imperial Federation, which is not only scouted by serious politicians, but finds no support among the mass of the people;” and that probably the most striking and remarkable fact in Colonial politics is the steady and quiet growth of the national or independent spirit. You are in error, however, in saying that in 1882 “to have suggested the eventual separation would have been dangerous in a mixed assembly.” I have always been able to express my candid opinion on that subject. Indeed, since 1856, and probably before that time, there has been a strong democratic and republican element in these communities which is steadily growing, and every serious thinker and the great body of working men—who are, if they will, the real rulers of the land—look steadily to the inevitable and noble outcome of an Australian Republic. The wise among us regard the Imperial Federation League as an important ally of the republicans, because it has aroused the just and vigilant suspicion of people, that it and similar enterprises are intended to impede and defeat the national aspirations for independence. In all this there is nothing of unfriendliness to the Old Land. Independence may some day be secured by Australian arms unless she violate theirs and make the parting unfriendly or mutilate it [*sic* in original]. A league of security may arise, but legal Federation would, if ever created, be the beginning of the end, a separation inevitably violent and an unfriendly rupture, because all experience shows that Britain would then endeavour to maintain the legal bond by military coercion, and with that show of right which legality gives to do wrong. Already some foolish Englishmen talk of keeping us “by shot and steel.” The answer to that has been, “The sooner you try the better. It may save you much more disastrous consequences hereafter.” In truth, Australian Independence is in the air and in the hearts of men, and although no man can foretell the hour of its birth, its advent sooner or later is sure. No less important a sign of the coming time is the fact that at festive gatherings of labour organisations, whilst the toast of the Queen is courteously honoured, the assemblage frequently breaks up with “three cheers for the Australian Republic.” There is no delusion so easy and pleasant as self-delusion, and if Englishmen like to live in a fool's paradise of their own making, Australians will not complain. The connection will be all the more agreeable while it lasts. Lord Salisbury sagely said he regarded Imperial Federation as no more than the letters that spelt it. It is not that with us. We spell it “federation.” Something worse. My advice to my English countrymen has been to “Let well alone. Cease prating about our devoted, our ardent, our passionate loyalty. If you are so sure of it, why twaddle about it?” Many of us love the Old Land, but it by no means follows that we adore modern Englishmen; and Australians desire above all things to work out the principles of freedom in their own way. With very kind regards to all, believe me, yours truly,

CHARLES LILLEY.

A PROPHET IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

From the *Hobart Mercury*.

CHIEF JUSTICE LILLEY, of Queensland, has just written a letter in which he declares that Imperial Federation can never be, as the spirit of independence is growing every day, leaving no room for any other sentiment, especially that of exuberant loyalty to the Queen and to British institutions. We go with Mr. Justice Lilley so far as to share his contempt for, and to admire his rebuke of, those foolish writers and speakers in England who ascribe to these Colonies a servile loyalty to royalty, such as causes a smile half of contempt and half of pity to sensible men all the world over. No doubt, snobbery in these Colonies, as in England, is very much in evidence when the least occasion serves, grovelling at the feet of royalty or aristocracy in a fashion which proclaims the colonial snob and snobbery to be the champion of the world. For they exemplify fully Thackeray's definition of a snob, namely, “one who meanly does a mean thing.” But to class these few as the representatives of the sturdy intelligence and manliness of the Colonies is absurd, so absurd that we can only wonder that Mr. Justice Lilley took the trouble to notice this development of foolishness in any way. He, however, as it seems to us, makes a grave mistake when he assumes, as he tacitly does assume, that there are only two classes in these Colonies—the snobs and

the Nationalists (for we believe that is the name which the new party gives itself in Queensland, where it is in the habit of using very strong language, and being rude as well as independent). We opine that there is a third party, or a third section of these communities, which has not already discounted the future, and which believes that a new development is possible.

We have many times stated what we believe to be the only possible basis on which national unity can ever be possible. We have said that we hold that Adam Smith has exhausted this subject in dealing with the American Colonies, as he has so many others, and that nothing has been added to what he has said in all the discussions which have taken place. So far, all British writers and speakers have carefully avoided his conclusions, apparently because they are, like many salutary truths, unpleasant; but such avoidance will not alter the conclusions, which must be accepted if the thing is to exist at all. Those conclusions mean the consolidation of the whole Empire, and the representation of all its parts in a great central Legislature, which, as Adam Smith points out, need not necessarily sit in England. The idea of such a Legislature, which is the very basis of the whole case, is generally so startling as to frighten all who may hear it mentioned; and this seems to be the reason why it has been rarely referred to, and then with bated breath, as something that is, like the things which Tam o'Shanter saw on the table in Kirk Alloway, both “horrible and awful.” Yet the enormous value of such a Legislature would be, that it would leave all the Colonies absolutely independent, as independent as they now are, and quite as independent as they could possibly be, even if Australasia was to declare itself a Republic, and refuse to have anything to do with Great Britain or even Europe.

And, on this subject of independence, it appears to us that a very great deal of pure nonsense is talked and written. What is meant by it? What do these loud-mouthed folks in Queensland expect that they are going to get? The north of that Colony wants to be independent of the south at this very time, and yet the very persons who rave about independence in the south will not listen to what is demanded. Again, how would Queensland be more independent in an Australasian Legislature than in a National Legislature? She would have to yield to the majority in any case, so that there would be no more independence in the one instance than in the other. Are the States of America independent? The Southern States sought to be, and were coerced by the force of arms, and State rights vanished with the assumed independence. Other illustrations of the nonsense talked might be found in abundance, but what we have said will suffice, and we may leave the cant about independence as being both foolish and offensive, as all cant is. The sole point worthy of attention is, whether these Colonies would be better as parts of a great Empire, which would be invulnerable as against the world, than as a probable Republic, or possible number of Republics. To our mind, the gain from National Unity seems to be so overwhelming that we hold that no pains should be spared to bring it about, even though it may seem a task far beyond our powers. Such unity may be a dream, but it is one of those dreams that we shall be all the better for trying to make a reality, and which may, for aught we know, not prove to be so far off the truth as is supposed.

OUR NEW CONTEMPORARIES.

JANUARY has added to the periodical press of London three new publications—a daily, a weekly, and a monthly—the *Daily Graphic*, the *Speaker*, and the *Review of Reviews*; and it is satisfactory to find in each of them questions of Imperial and Colonial interest being brought to the fore. From the *Daily Graphic* we reprint in our present issue a long article from the pen of the Marquis of Lorne on Imperial Federation, which appeared in one of the very first numbers. The same paper contains the following, as well as other references to the same class of questions, but not having the same direct bearing on our own particular work:—

Lord Salisbury has never expressed himself very cordially on the rising question of Imperial Federation. He has not made it clear whether he expects the Colonies and the Mother Country to be much the better for the declaration of a more binding union between them. Lord Rosebery, on the contrary, is unflagging in his enthusiasm for it, and proposes to renew his argument with the Prime Minister on Friday, if the latter can see him. Probably there is no essential difference between their views, except that the younger statesman is militant, and the older receptive with regard to the subject. Lord Rosebery's speech will be well-timed for the Melbourne Conference of Colonists, which is to be attended by all the prominent communities in the South Pacific. Undoubtedly there is a tendency in Australia to look into the question on its merits. The local jealousies, however, of the different Colonies, and their disagreement upon the application of the principle of tariffs, may keep them longer apart and away from the idea than the well-wishers to Imperial Federation expect. It is not an easy question to grasp just at once; but that it is a great, fruitful, and constructive one is certain. In the words of Lord Lorne, in another column, “Our Empire can be organised as a grand mutual insurance company.”

The weekly *Speaker* devotes several columns to a review of Sir George Bowen's "Thirty Years of Colonial Government" (noticed at length in these columns last month), and of Mr. Raleigh's "Irish Politics" (also noticed by us last month for its chapter on Imperial Federation). The *Speaker* does not write hopefully of our prospects. At the same time there is that in the following excerpt from its review of Sir George Bowen's book which shows a certain appreciation of at least one aspect of the question:—

The editor tells us that above all this book will have attained its object if it assists the cause of Imperial Federation. In our view no book has ever been written which shows more clearly the difficulties in the way of any practicable scheme of Federation. In an appendix to his book Sir George publishes an address of his before the Royal Colonial Institute on this subject. There he points out that the initial movement must first come from the Colonies themselves. We have all been interested in reading the recent speeches of Sir Henry Parkes, the premier of New South Wales, in advocacy of a Federated Australia. That we think we are likely enough some time to see. But we are sceptical as to the possibility of an Imperial Federation until our statesmen see fit to adapt the foreign policy of this country rather to the necessities of the Empire at large than to the wishes or feelings of England alone. The Colonies having no interest in dynastic squabbles, they do not care for the integrity of Belgium, nor are they interested in our perpetual interference with the affairs of Eastern Europe. If the Empire is to be federated, England must be content to regard herself as merely one of the great English-speaking family of nations. We do not believe that many of our statesmen are prepared to accept this view, nor do we think Englishmen as a whole are ready to withdraw from the councils of Europe. Till they are, Federation must remain a dream of the distant future.

Referring to Mr. Raleigh's chapter on Imperial Federation the *Speaker* says:—

The chapter on Imperial Federation, though not exactly out of place, is not very directly connected with the immediate topic of the little book; and, in fact, Imperial Federation may well be considered to have receded into dim distance since Lord Rosebery's declaration that it only means the very sensible device of occasional Colonial conferences.

The misapprehension of the effect of Lord Rosebery's declaration may be set off against the approbation expressed for the "sensible device" of what, by another misapprehension, are spoken of as "occasional" Conferences—which, by the way, would hardly be worth calling a "device" and be only indifferently "sensible."

In the monthly *Review of Reviews* the amount of original matter is not large. Nevertheless, the introduction, addressed "to all English-speaking folk," contains some more or less direct references to the subject of Imperial Federation. Here is one pointed paragraph:—

To make the Englishman worthy of his immense vocation, and at the same time to help to hold together and strengthen the political ties which at present link all English-speaking communities, save one, in a union which banishes all dread of internecine war, to promote by every means a fraternal union with the American Republic, to work for the Empire, to seek to strengthen it, to develop it, and, when necessary, to extend it, these will be our plainest duties. But how? Not, be it said at once, by any attempts to interfere with the liberties already conceded to our Colonies, or by indulging any wild aspiration after an impossible centralisation.

On the whole we may certainly congratulate ourselves that three new publications of such importance recognise, as fully as these do, the space which questions of Colonial and Imperial interest are beginning to occupy in the public mind. It is a sign of the times. We shall look forward in the future to the publication by our new contemporaries of much matter of interest and even of positive and avowed assistance to the cause of Imperial Federation.

DUNEDIN EXHIBITION BANQUET.

From the *Otago Daily Times*.

A banquet was given in the dining-rooms, on November 28, by the President and Commissioners, to celebrate the opening of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, and was attended by about 200 gentlemen. The President (Mr. J. Roberts), who occupied the chair, was supported on the right by his Excellency the Earl of Onslow, the Hon. G. D. Langridge (President of the Victorian Commission), Mr. Justice Deniston, the Mayor of Ballarat (Mr. Meakin), and the Minister of Mines (the Hon. T. Fergus); and on the left by Captain Bosanquet, R.N., Mr. Oscar Meyer (commissioner for New South Wales), the Minister for Native Affairs (the Hon. E. Mitchelson), Mr. H. J. Scott (commissioner for South Australia), and Mr. Justice Williams. The executive commissioner (Mr. R. E. N. Twopeny) was vice-chairman, and among others present were the Defence Minister (the Hon. Captain Russell), the Hon. E. C. J. Stevens, the Hon. G. M'Lean, the Hon. R. Pharazyn, the Hon. W. H. Reynolds, the Hon. J. M'Kean (Victoria), the Hon. E. Vickery (New South Wales), Dr. Newman, Dr. Fitchett, Messrs. D. H. Macarthur, J. Kerr, T. Y. Duncan, J. Allen, A. I. M'Gregor, J. Joyce, H. S. Fitzherbert, A. E. G. Rhodes, H. S. Valentine, A. H. Ross, H. S. Fish, W. D. Stewart, M.H.R.'s, Sir Robert Stout, Commander Pelley, R.N., Mr. A. Fletcher (Victoria), the majority of the commissioners and of the City Council.

His Excellency's health having been drunk in bumpers, with musical enthusiasm,

The EARL OF ONSLOW replied as follows:—Mr. President and gentlemen,—You have spoken, sir, in terms far too favourable of my poor qualifications for the office which I have the honour to hold. If I have had the privilege of taking a humble part in the administration of the government of the Empire, I do not on that account consider that I am qualified to judge what are the requirements and the aspirations of New Zealand better than those who, by the vote of the people of New Zealand, have been called upon to advise me in the administration of the government. If the experience which I have gained of the machinery of government at home, and the knowledge which I possess of the policy of her Majesty's present Ministers, can at any time be of service in guiding the relation between this Colony and England, I am ever prepared to place them at the disposal of and to consult with Sir Harry Atkinson. (Applause.) It is not the person, but the office, which you respect in your Governor. First, because he represents a blameless monarch—(applause)—and, secondly, because he embodies the people of New Zealand. Why is it that every citizen of New Zealand of whatever political or religious opinion, whether a native of Great Britain or New Zealand, obeys cheerfully the Orders-in-Council signed "Onslow, Governor"? Not because he believes that the orders of the said Onslow, Governor, are wiser than the orders of any other individual, but because he recognises in that title the executive power carried out on the advice of responsible representatives of the electors of the Colony. The people of New Zealand may thus take as great a

PRIDE IN THE LIBERTY WHICH THEY ENJOY

under that signature as ever did the Romans under the proud title "*Senatus populusque Romanus*." (Applause.) It is more difficult, sir, adequately to represent a sovereign whose life, conduct, and accomplishments have been the admiration of all contemporary sovereigns, and a subject of envy and reproach to all republics. It is now ten years since I first had the honour of serving her Majesty, and since I first had the opportunity of studying her wonderful acquaintance with the politics of all Europe and the growth and constant change of her Colonial and Indian Empire. In her retirement she has probably more leisure to indulge in that careful study of all that is going on around us than would be the case were the splendour of her court greater or the ceremonials more frequent. I recollect an incident in the life of the late Mr. Bright which some of you may also remember. At a meeting at which he presided, one of the speakers referred to the Queen's retirement, and before the proceedings terminated, Mr. Bright rose and said:—"I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns, but I could not sit and hear the observation without a sensation of wonder and pain. I think there has been by many persons a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position, and I venture to say this, that a woman—be she the queen of a great realm or the wife of one of your labouring men—who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you." (Loud applause.) It is not easy, I say, to represent such a sovereign; and, therefore, I have to beg the people of New Zealand to look with indulgence on the faults and the errors of her representative in this Colony. But there is yet a third thing which I think your Governor should remind you of, and that is of the

EXTENT AND POWER OF IMPERIAL ENGLAND,

of that Empire which possesses the most extensive territory, and the largest population in the world, the greatest wealth and the greatest commerce of modern times; an Empire which conducts under one flag one-third of the trade of the globe, and which waves that flag over every sea, and one-eighth of its dry land; while the Queen's sceptre rules over one-fifth of the peoples of the earth; and yet an Empire held together by bonds looser than any that bind together the other empires of to-day, or that have ever united an empire in the past—bonds which can hardly be defined, and which depend almost entirely on sentiment, with a dash of self-interest. (Applause.) No observer of the events going on around us can fail to see that the maxim *L'union fait la force* is gradually sinking into the minds alike of statesmen and of people. The English people have recently spoken with no uncertain voice in this direction. The statesmen of Australia are seeking to feel the public pulse on this momentous question, and New Zealand has been invited to express her opinion. Whatever may be her decision, I trust she will not allow any unworthy prejudice as to what Colony or to what statesman is due the credit of the inception of this idea; that she will not refuse to hear and discuss all that may be advanced both for and against this proposal—(applause)—and may God guide her statesmen to a right judgment on the issue. (Loud and continued applause.) Sir, we are celebrating this week the great carnival of labour. We are demonstrating to the world what a young, free, and democratic country can do when called upon to bestow its labour on the gifts with which Nature has so lavishly endowed this country; and it is a fitting moment to contemplate the respect now paid to labour and the dignity with which it has invested itself compared with its condition fifty years ago. No one, I think, who has read of the self-restraint, the steadfastness of purpose, and the final triumph of the recent great labour movement at home can fail to see that labour is destined to be the great social and political force with which we have to reckon in the near future. (Applause.) I rejoice to think that the aid which Australasia has given has largely contributed to the success of that movement; and for this reason, that I have noticed a lamentable ignorance and indifference among the working classes of England to the great progress and importance of these Colonies to the Empire, which I believe this timely aid will largely tend to remove. If, as seems to me probable, at some future time England is called upon to make some

SACRIFICE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF HER CONNECTION

with this part of her Empire, that sacrifice will fall in great part upon the working classes, and the vote which decides it will lie with those

classes. I venture to hope, sir, when that day comes that the representatives of English labour will not be unmindful of the timely aid which they received from Australia in 1889, and they in their turn will make some sacrifice to continue that union which all hope to see strengthened and maintained for ever. (Applause.) England and her Colonies remind me of some great man-of-war equipped with her full complement of boats, each able to take the sea independently of the great ironclad, but lacking the belted protection, the powerful defensive force, and the heavy armaments of the great ship, yet each boat is manned with stout hearts drawn from the parent crew. There is this difference, however, in my analogy, that whereas the size of the boats is fixed and unalterable, the Colonies of Great Britain are growing in importance at such a rate that some day they will form not a complement of boats but a great fleet. The time is not yet, but in the distant future lies a parting of the waters when we shall have to decide whether each of these ships shall depart on a cruise of her own or whether all shall sail together, one fleet under one admiral and one flag, irresistible in their force, mistress of the seas, supreme in all waters, and invincible on her own shores. (Loud applause.) Sir, every great drama in the world's history has been played in scenes and in acts. I fervently pray, sir, that we may be witnessing to-day the opening scenes in a great drama, the final tableaux of which shall present that great Empire united into one homogeneous whole, every part of which shall be possessed of its own autonomy.—(Loud and continued applause.)

MR. DEAKIN SPEAKS OUT.

In the telegraphic news of the Melbourne *Argus*, of later date than our files of New Zealand papers, we find what may be regarded as a most satisfactory statement of his views of the Hon. Alfred Deakin, Chief Secretary of Victoria. At a subsequent banquet given on 11th December, by the Victorian Commissioners to the Exhibition, Mr. Deakin, after dealing with questions of Colonial Federation, is reported to have spoken as follows:—

"I believe that when we have settled the municipal governments and the central government upon a proper basis, we shall then, and not till then, be faced with the last problem, which will be to combine in one the dominions of the British race all the world over. These then are the problems before us if we aim, as I believe we do, at reaching the highest political organisation which it is possible for us to have, and so to found an Empire the like of which has never been seen in the world before. But if the Empire is thus to be cemented it is absolutely essential that the Colonies shall prove themselves sufficiently farseeing to be able to make concessions to each other."

RECEPTION OF SIR HENRY LOCH AT CAPE TOWN.

ALL classes and all races united to give a hearty and enthusiastic welcome to Sir Henry Loch, on December 10th, upon his arrival to take up the post of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa. Addresses were presented by the Corporations and the Chambers of Commerce of the principal towns in Cape Colony, as well as by other bodies, including committees representing the Malay and Moslem communities respectively. The addresses, which were of the kind usual on such occasions, had nevertheless a special interest in the prominence given to the aspirations of the various states of South Africa towards closer relations, commercially and otherwise.

On the 21st of the same month a large and most successful banquet was given in honour of the new Governor and Lady Loch. The chair was occupied by the Mayor of Cape Town (Mr. D. C. de Waal, M.L.A.), having on his right His Excellency Sir Henry Brougham Loch, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., and a large number of distinguished guests were present.

The Mayor, in proposing the toast of the evening, spoke of the future of South Africa in the following terms: This Colony is undoubtedly one of the most important in Her Majesty's dominions. (Cheers.) Whatever argument may be raised against it, the fact remains that the Colony is rich, fertile, and fast advancing. This cannot be gainsaid even by its greatest opponents. It is true that we have progressed very slowly in the past—it is true that we stand to-day on a far better footing than hitherto—but at the same time it must not be forgotten that the Colony had to contend with many border wars up to 1881. Since that period peace has been established, and step by step the Colony has advanced, and is now on a flourishing footing. No other Colony can surpass it in its mineral and other wealth; but in order that it should advance under responsible government, it is necessary that a good feeling should exist between the Governor and the people, and race hatred should cease to hold a place. (Cheers.) . . . If this Colony is to flourish it should live in peace and work in harmony with the sister States. (Cheers.) With the Free State, I am glad to say, we live on the very best footing, and I hope that friendly feeling will continue, I was almost going to say, for ever. (Cheers.) I have every reason to believe, also, that ere long we shall be able to say the same of the Transvaal. (Cheers.) May all these States one day be formed into the United States of South Africa. By that I mean each State under its own flag. The toast having been heartily responded to,

His Excellency, who was received with enthusiastic and long-continued applause, said:—"Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, let me thank you most sincerely for the kindly and cordial way in which you received the toast of Lady Loch and my health, and I also thank the Mayor for the kind terms in which he has been so good as to refer to me. Let me take this occasion to express publicly my thanks for the very cordial reception we have met with from the very first day of our landing in this Colony. (Cheers.) We came among you as strangers; you have received us as friends. Although I may perhaps hope and

believe that some portion of that reception was given to us individually, I feel it was an expression on the part of the people of this great country of loyalty to the Empire—(loud cheers)—and devotion to the Queen, who is regarded not only by her own subjects, but by the whole civilised world, in the highest and truest sense as the representative of social and material greatness. . . . We have the distinguished gentleman here to-night who fills the high, honourable, and important position of President of the Orange Free State. (Cheers.) I am sure I am but expressing the views of those present—and not only of those present, but of the whole Colony—when I wish him a most cordial and hearty welcome; and I may assure him, as also those gentlemen who are here to-night from the South African Republic, that we view with pleasure, and rejoice at the progressive prosperity which distinguishes the growth of those two important and friendly States. Gentlemen, I venture to think what are termed Imperial and Colonial interests should go hand in hand with each other. I have always deprecated the idea that Colonial interests are not Imperial, or that Imperial interests are other than what can best conduce to the welfare and well-being of the Colonies. (Cheers.) Increase in the wealth and prosperity of the Colonies, and their expansion, commercially and politically, must be of advantage both directly and indirectly to the Empire at large. (Cheers.) Therefore in serving the Colony, and doing my utmost to promote and advance its prosperity, I am at the same time doing my utmost to advance the interests of the Empire at large. (Cheers.) . . . My best energies will be directed to the discharge of the duties of my high office in a way to strengthen and consolidate the unity of the Empire, and advance in the highest and truest sense the just aspirations and desires of the people of this Colony. (Cheers.) I hope, as time wears on, you will find that the confidence which you have been so generous as to extend to us on trust has not been misplaced, and you will find that our hearts and sympathies are with you in all undertakings calculated to promote the happiness of the people and advance the interests of the Colony. (Loud cheers.) One of the highest and greatest duties which will devolve upon me will be to maintain and guard those great African interests in the maintenance of which the future prosperity of this Colony so greatly depends, and with which the Empire itself is inseparably connected.

FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND QUEENSLAND.

ADELAIDE.

A MEETING convened by Mr. C. H. Goode was held in the Mayor's parlour on Monday, November 18th, to support the Imperial Federation movement. The attendance comprised His Honour the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the House of Assembly (Hon. J. C. Bray), the Mayor of Adelaide (Mr. J. Shaw), the Hon. A. Hay, Dr. Campbell, W. A. E. West-Erskine, and R. C. Baker, M.L.C.'s, Major-General Downes, the Revs. Dr. Paton, W. R. Fletcher, and F. Hastings, Messrs. S. Good, C. H. Goode, J. L. Bonython, G. C. Gurr, H. Kelly, A. Boulton, T. S. Reed, and J. J. Virgo. The Mayor was appointed Chairman.

MR. GOODE explained that the meeting had been called to follow up the public gatherings at which Mr. Parkin had given lectures, and which passed resolutions favouring the objects of the League. He regretted that the term "Imperial" had been adopted, and thought "National" would be far better. (Hear, hear.) However, if a branch was to be formed in affiliation with the Imperial Federation League, it must be called by the same name. He had received apologies from Mr. Justice Boucaut, Sir S. Davenport, and others, for non-attendance; and also letters from the Rev. R. M. Hunter and the Hon. Dr. Magarey, M.L.C., taking exception to the movement. He was sure that National Federation would be a good thing for the Colonies. Some persons desired separation from the Mother Country, but he would like to know how in that case we should be able to manage if a big war occurred? (Hear, hear.)

THE CHIEF JUSTICE paid a tribute to the Mayor for his services to the city, and his readiness to assist any cause having in view the common welfare. The meeting was not called for the purpose of listening to exhaustive speeches. The subject had been well threshed out

IN MR. PARKIN'S ADMIRABLE LECTURES.

It had been intended to form a branch of the League during Mr. Parkin's visit, but the second meeting at which he lectured was too protracted to allow of the necessary steps being taken. The League had been in existence five years, and though its name might be criticised, no one could take exception to its objects, which were purely patriotic, and to preserve for ourselves the benefit of that union and combined action which were necessary for the maintenance and prestige of the British Empire. Lord Rosebery was the president, and Mr. Stanhope the vice-president, and the League comprised men of all parties. It was strongly supported in Canada, and a branch had been formed in Melbourne. After explaining the objects of the League as defined by its constitution, His Honour concluded by moving that a branch of the League be formed in Adelaide.

THE HON. J. C. BRAY seconded. He did not suppose that any such Society would at the present time take any active steps, but that it would be of a watchful character, and devote itself to the getting of information. (Hear, hear.) He was inclined to believe that we must first of all take some decisive step towards Australian Federation before we could develop anything like Imperial Federation. (Applause.) Still, there is no reason why they should not

HAVE IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN VIEW ALL THE TIME.

He would be glad to become a member of the branch, but not to take an active part in it.

The motion was carried unanimously, and it was agreed that the minimum registration-fee for members should be one shilling per annum, members to be invited in order to become entitled to receive all the publications of the League to pay an annual fee of £1 1s.

The Chief Justice was unanimously appointed president, and Mr. C. H. Goode vice-president, on the motion of the HON. J. C. BRAY, seconded by MR. REED.

The Hon. A. Hay was appointed hon. treasurer, and Mr. A. Bault hon. secretary. The following were appointed a General Committee, with power to add to their number: The Hons. R. C. Baker, West-Erskine, and Dr. Campbell, the Revs. W. R. Fletcher, Dr. Paton, and F. Hastings, the Mayor (Mr. J. Shaw), Messrs. S. Good, H. Kelly, C. G. Gurr, J. L. Bonython, and T. S. Reed, in addition to the president and officers. The power to add to the number of the committee was reserved, at the President's suggestion, so as to give the branch an opportunity of being represented at the Central Council of the League by gentlemen who might be visiting London from the Colony, and who sympathised with the movement.

ROCKHAMPTON.

The Mayor presided at a meeting held on December 4, for the purpose of forming a local branch of the Imperial Federation League. There was a good attendance. Mr. A. Archer, M.L.A., moved the first resolution, "That it was desirable to form such a branch," and eventually the motion was carried by 16 votes to 8. Mr. G. S. Curtis moved as an amendment, "That the time had not yet arrived for such an establishment." Mr. Curtis, who spoke on behalf of the Separationists, said he believed that Imperial Federation must be preceded by Colonial Federation, and he thought there was very little difference of opinion throughout the Colonies on that point. He was in sympathy with the movement for Imperial Federation, but it would be a great mistake to trouble themselves over it at present; when they had the Colonies federated it would be quite time enough. He also moved the amendment because public men in Rockhampton and the central district were now well up with the question of territorial separation—(hear, hear)—and in a short time there would be a strong League formed, and strong agitation in its favour. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it would be a great mistake to divert public thought to any other subject. It would be better to devote all their time, and all their thoughts, and all their energies to the task of getting separation, and when they had got that it would be time enough to go in for Federation, whether it was Imperial, or Colonial, or otherwise. The very title was likely to cause confusion, and many would be inclined to think that the movement was something opposed to separation. Mr. Archer and others denied that the Imperial Federation movement would in any way interfere with separation. Only one speaker objected on national grounds, and his remarks were superficial. Mr. Archer was elected president of the branch, and the mayor and Mr. John Murray, M.L.A., vice-presidents, and about eighty members were enrolled.

WELCOME TO LORD HOPETOUN AT MELBOURNE.

THE welcome extended to Lord Hopetoun by the Government and people of Victoria seems to have been of a most warm and gratifying nature. After the arrival of the *Britannia* with the new Governor on board at Queenscliff, the Premier with some of the members of the Cabinet went a considerable way down the bay to meet her in the P. and O. S.S. *Rome* specially chartered for the purpose. They boarded the *Britannia* and bore off Lord Hopetoun and his party to the *Rome* where a luncheon had been prepared, to which after a kind of levee had been held the hosts and their newly arrived guests sat down. The Premier, Mr. Duncan Gillies was chairman; on his right were seated His Excellency the Governor the Earl of Hopetoun, the President of the Legislative Council, Sir James McBain; and on his left the Countess of Hopetoun and the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. M. H. Davies.

The toasts of "Her Majesty the Queen," and "The Prince and Princess of Wales and Other Members of the Royal Family," having been honoured,

Mr. Gillies proposed the health of the new Governor, and in the course of his speech said:—We receive him first as Her Majesty's representative—(hear, hear)—and I feel confident from what I have been able to hear of him that we will be able to receive him still more warmly when we know him better, and then we shall receive him for himself as well as for being the representative of the Crown. It is not necessary to say that this Colony is loyal. We are all loyal in this Colony. (Hear, hear.) It is a loyalty which is not only a loyalty to the Crown, but to ourselves as a constitutionally governed people.

In the course of his reply, Lord Hopetoun spoke as follows:—I have been asked on many occasions why I have decided to come to the Colonies. Well, I think I had better be perfectly open and frank with you. (Applause.) I am an ambitious man. (Cheers.) I look upon it as the highest ambition of a man's life to serve his Queen and country—(cheers)—and I believe that in no higher manner could one's aspirations be gratified than in serving one of these great Colonies which make the British Empire what it is. (Cheers.) I know that Victoria is proverbial for her loyalty, and I know that the representative of Her Majesty, whoever he may be, would be heartily welcomed amongst you. (Applause.) And His Excellency concluded with the following eloquent peroration:—And I earnestly trust that the great Colony of Victoria may long continue to be one of the strongest and most vigorous limbs of that great organisation whose garbled trunk rises out of the Atlantic Ocean, and whose boughs and tendrils ramify through the whole world, take root in every soil and every climate, from icy Canada to torrid India—the great Empire of the Queen of the British people. (Loud and continued cheering.)

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request.

The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

HASTINGS.—In connection with the local branch of the Imperial Federation League, a meeting, attended by a fairly large audience, was held on January 13, in the Public Hall, Hastings, under the presidency of the Mayor (Councillor Stubbs), who was supported by Lord Brassey, Mr. Wilson Noble, M.P., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, the Mayoress (Mrs. Stubbs), Mr. G. R. Parkin, Mr. Dobell, Mr. Morgan, &c. Among those present were Captain Garforth, C.B., J.P., Commander Moore, Major Wilkinson, Sir F. Milner, Dr. Summerhayes (Brightling), the Rev. J. Rowe, Messrs. H. Pigg, Lydgate, F. J. Galt, M.A., B. Bickle, S. Southwaite, T. F. Cashin, P. Catt, A. F. Watson, Morgan, G. Osborne, J.P., G. Mitchell, H. J. Deacon Ancovre, J. Jenner (Battle), Austin, Lovett, F. Jones, and Harman. The Mayor, in opening the meeting, remarked that the audience would have the advantage of hearing an address from Mr. Parkin.

His Worship apologised for the absence of Lord Carnarvon, Captain the Hon. T. S. Brand, General Shirer, Mr. C. H. Robinson, a Colonist of twenty years' standing, now resident in Hastings, and others.

Mr. Parkin then addressed the meeting. To-day, he said, with five millions of people and a navy ranking fourth amongst those of the world—the Canadians had no direct voice in the affairs of the British Empire except what was accorded them by courtesy. Proceeding to answer an argument that the Colonies could not be admitted to a voice in the policy of the Empire, he said that within the next twenty-five years the population of the Colonies would exceed that of Great Britain. At present the Colonies would be liable to attack from foreign countries without having had any voice in the affairs which might have led to war. Unless there was federation there must be separation. The financial question was a most important consideration, for Britain was the greatest money-lending nation in the world, and it was essential this country should have the means of protecting the 800 millions invested in the Colonies. The industrial aspect was of still greater importance. Concluding, amidst loud applause, he said the first step towards Federation would be to have Colonial conferences at short intervals.

Lord Brassey said it was true that trade followed the flag, and it was remarkable to contrast the consumption of British goods in the Colonies to that in the United States and foreign countries. Up to the present time the Mother Country had charged herself with the responsibility of protecting the trade routes to the Colonies, but Australia had now contributed to the maintenance of the Navy. The more this precedent was followed by the Colonies, the stronger would become the claim by the Colonies for a voice in British affairs. As to the question, Was Federation politically possible? his Lordship said the League did not come before the country with a cut-and-dried scheme. But they had a specific proposal, as contained in the following resolution:—

"That, bearing in mind the complete success attending the meeting of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire in 1889, and the opinion so frequently expressed by those representatives that a series of such gatherings would greatly tend to the consolidation and welfare of the Empire, this meeting desires to convey to her Majesty's Government that no long interval should elapse before a second conference is held."

Mr. Wilson Noble, M.P., in seconding the resolution, urged that the proposals of Federation must come from the Colonies, but the conferences as proposed would afford assistance. The first conference had, he claimed, resulted in no mean advantages to the Empire in the way of naval defence.

Mr. Halley Stewart, M.P., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, and Sir Frederick Milner also spoke.

HORSHAM.—Mr. J. Stanley Little having been invited by the Horsham Literary Society to address them on Imperial Federation has arranged to do so on Monday the 17th February, at the Albion Hall, Horsham.

LEWES.—A public meeting under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League was held at the St. Anne's concert-room, Lewes, on January 18th, for the purpose of forming a branch of the League, and of hearing addresses by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., of New College, Oxford—the well-known lecturer in connection with the University Extension scheme—and Mr. B. W. Pearse (member of the Council of the League). The Hon. T. Allnutt Brassey occupied the chair, supported on the platform by Viscount Hampden (Lord Lieutenant of the County), the Mayor (Alderman White), Mr. E. C. Currey, Rev. A. P. Perfect, Mr. T. J. Monk, and Mr. J. C. Lucas. The body of the room was well filled, and the audience was a thoroughly representative and influential one. All classes were represented. The President of the Lewes Liberal Working Men's Association was not far removed from the chairman of the Conservative Association, while almost side by side with the former was a prominent Unionist.

The Mayor briefly introduced the Hon. T. A. Brassey, who proceeded to state shortly the aims and objects of the League, of which they desired to form a branch in Lewes.

Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., then addressed the meeting at length, dealing especially with the commercial aspects of Federation, and concluding with a Resolution for forming a Branch of the League at Lewes. His address was listened to with interest and greeted with loud applause.

The Mayor of Lewes seconded the Resolution.

Mr. B. W. Pearse, a member of the Council of the League, next moved :

"That in the opinion of this meeting, the efforts of the League to promote periodical conferences between the leading statesmen of Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies, with the object of discussing matters involving the welfare of the whole Empire, should be continued."

Mr. T. J. Monk seconded.

Both resolutions were carried unanimously.

Viscount Hampden moved a vote of thanks to the chairman for presiding, and to Mr. J. A. R. Marriott and Mr. B. W. Pearse for their addresses, and said if Mr. Marriott continued the work of education he had been engaged in that night in other parts he would do good service for Federation. Though he might not live long enough to see the Federation established, yet he was persuaded of this, that the young men would live to see the day when England and her Colonies were federated.

The meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—On Monday, December 23rd, a meeting was held in the Exchange under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League, when an address was delivered by Mr. G. R. Parkin, of the Imperial Federation League in Canada. Mr. A. Hickman, late M.P., presided over a large attendance. Mr. Parkin, in the course of his address, contended that the Federation movement was a real and strong one, and was beginning to take a hold of the political power of this country. Not alone in England, but in the Colonies, it was catching the best minds. The Colonies were increasing in power and strength, and to-day the British Empire had to choose between two roads—the road to separation and the road to permanent unity. It was on that idea that the Imperial Federation League was based. Australia had an enormous interest, passing through the Suez Canal, and round the Cape, and along every channel of trade. They were self-governing peoples and nations, and they had a right to be admitted into full partnership in the foreign affairs of this Empire. The speaker afterwards dilated on the advantages of Federation.—Col. Thorneycroft afterwards proposed the following resolution:—"That, bearing in mind the complete success which attended the meeting of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire at the invitation of her Majesty's Government in the year 1887, and the opinion so frequently expressed by those representatives that a series of such gatherings would greatly tend to the consolidation and welfare of the Empire at large, this meeting desires to convey to her Majesty's Government that it is undesirable that any long interval should elapse before a second conference is arranged, subject to the public convenience, and that an invitation should be issued by her Majesty's Government at an early date." Mr. E. Hopkins seconded the resolution, which was carried, and another proposition, moved by Mr. S. T. Mander, seconded by Mr. C. A. Newnham, thanking Mr. Parkin for his address, and recommending the Federation League to support, was also adopted.

AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE.

DISCUSSION ON LORD CARNARVON'S PAPER AT THE LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

WE reported last month Lord Carnarvon's paper, but were unable then to give also the discussion which followed. But some of the speeches were so important that we feel constrained to supply the omission this month. Our readers will not fail to notice the emphatic manner in which the New Zealand Agent-General endorses the opinion of the New Zealand ex-Premier, that a Colony ought not to be allowed to secede; nor will our Canadian friends be likely to overlook the very flattering testimonial to the efficiency of the Royal Military College at Kingston, which is given on the high authority of the ex-Inspector-General of Fortifications.

SIR VINCENT KENNETT BARRINGTON (Deputy Chairman of the Council of the London Chamber), in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Carnarvon for his able and interesting address, said, however much the British public and the members of the very energetic Imperial Federation League might differ as to the practicability of commercial and parliamentary federation, he thought there were no two opinions as to the absolute necessity of Imperial Federation for defence. (Hear, hear.) They could not have had an address from a more eminent authority than Lord Carnarvon, who had already given great and lasting proofs of his good judgment and statesmanship. As to the praise his lordship had given—and justly—to Victoria for its expenditure on defence works, he (Sir Vincent) thought it only just also to remember the action of the sister Colony of New South Wales in sending a contingent at her own expense in support of the Suakim Expedition. (Applause.) If anything could accelerate Imperial Federation, it was a patriotic action like that. (Hear, hear.)

MR. W. H. WILLANS (Treasurer of the London Chamber of Commerce) seconded the vote of thanks with great satisfaction, for they knew Lord Carnarvon to be above party spirit in treating questions of Imperial policy. (Hear, hear.) Both at home and throughout the Empire the matters referred to by his lordship should be considered with great care and attention. He (Mr. Willans) could not help feeling that, when the Colonies saw the increasing interest which was being taken by the Mother Country in all things which affected them, they would realise how desirable it was that they should agree amongst themselves first, and then they would receive the strong support of the British public. (Hear, hear.)

ADMIRAL SIR E. FANSHAWE expressed his great admiration of the address, and had the greatest possible pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ANDREW CLARKE, R.E., would like to emphasise one or two of the propositions laid down by Lord Carnarvon.

Thanks to the energy of the editor of an Australian paper, he had had an opportunity of seeing the report of General Edwardes to which Lord Carnarvon had referred, but before making any remarks upon it, he should say that he did so in the absence and without the knowledge of the instructions which were issued by the Mother Country to that officer, and upon which he had to act. He (Sir Andrew) regretted—whether it was omission upon the part of General Edwardes, or an omission from his instructions—that in that report—he therefore assumed also in the instructions—there was hardly one word or allusion to the Imperial Navy, upon which Australia would have to rely in case of need. Although it was desirable, no doubt, that the ports and great cities of Australia should have certain means of defence, he (Sir Andrew) had written it publicly, he had accepted the responsibility of advising it, and he had more than once—although Lord Carnarvon had given the Colony a large amount of praise—expressed his regret that the Colony of Victoria had been too lavish in her large expenditure upon fort and gun defences. He strongly deprecated any attempt to deal with the question of defence which lost sight of—what, after all, was the duty incumbent not so much upon the Colonies as upon us—of keeping open the lines of communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and that could only be done by the navy. (Applause.) Forts were limited in their power of defence, but fleets, by their mobility, might, one, three, five, or six thousand miles away from Melbourne, Sydney, or New Zealand, strike a blow at the enemies of those countries—(hear, hear)—and therefore he could not but express his approval of, and support in the strongest possible way the allusion that Lord Carnarvon had made to the true patriotism and far-seeing statesmanship of the Australian Ministers, who, when attending the conference in this country, at once acceded to the principle of making the navies of Australia as mobile as they could possibly be. (Hear, hear.) There was one other point that he wished to most earnestly press upon his Australian friends, as he had already done officially in times past, and that was the creation of a military college common to the whole Australian group. (Hear, hear.) He looked upon that as absolutely essential, and he took the opportunity of confirming what Lord Carnarvon had stated as to the military college at Kingston in Canada. The officers who came from that college were in no way second—and, indeed, some of them had shown qualities far superior—to the officers who were trained in the colleges of this country. At the present time four or five of these young gentlemen were holding most important positions, both civil and military, under the orders of the Empire. The military education and training of the Kingston Military Training College was, he had no hesitation in saying, far and away superior to that of any civil or military engineering college in Europe. The length of training was very long, but it was thoroughly sound and good. Both from a military and economic point of view, the establishment of a military college common to the whole of Australia was of the very first importance. (Applause.)

SIR FRANCIS DILLON BELL (Agent-General for New Zealand) paid a tribute of thanks to Lord Carnarvon for the work done by the Commission; and he did not hesitate to say that, if it had not been for the invaluable work his lordship did on the Commission for the Defence of British Possessions, Australia and New Zealand would not have reached their present stage of progress in this respect. It was quite true that they were only on the threshold of the work which had to be performed, but they were taking steps which would carry into effect that union between the Imperial and Colonial Governments for common defence which it was part of the programme of the Conference of 1887 to establish. (Hear, hear.) He must differ to some extent as to what had fallen from Sir Andrew Clarke, because the part to be taken by the naval forces in Imperial defence had already been acknowledged as a fundamental principle, and he (Sir Francis) did not think General Edwardes had not fully realised it. He was sorry Lord Carnarvon had not had an opportunity of seeing the report of General Edwardes, because he would have been able to judge of the importance of it to the Colonies as a whole. The time was rapidly coming when they must face the necessity of placing all the Australian forces—which now numbered nearly 40,000 men—under one command, and subject them to one common discipline. (Hear, hear.) There was, however, the question looming before them of the Inter-Colonial Federation of the Australian Colonies; but that was not yet accomplished, nor did he think, if he might venture to differ from his noble friend, they were so near to it as his lordship appeared to anticipate. For his own part, he had always held the opinion that before they could see a federation between the Colonies, they must abolish those inter-provincial differences in regard to matters of trade, which lay at the foundation of the difficulties which existed. (Hear, hear.) There was another question for all Englishmen to consider, whether at home or in the Colonies, and that was: If there were to be real union between the Imperial and Colonial Governments for purposes of common defence, must it not be founded upon a firm union of the whole Empire, in which they should not suffer any change to take place? He knew it had been said they were approaching the first stages of Republicanism in Australia; even an expression had been given to a desire to separate Australia from the Mother Country. Far be it from him to say that such a desire was spreading; but they must not shut their eyes to this: that anything done for the defence of that portion of the Empire ought to rest upon the firm determination on the part of England that she would not suffer the Colonies to separate from her, and on the part of the Colonies themselves that they would not allow anything to grow into secession from the Empire. (Applause.) Let them suppose that this work of common defence which Lord Carnarvon had been the first to enforce, reached that point when there would be a complete defence of the Australian harbours; let them also suppose—which Heaven forbid!—that there should come a time when one of the Colonies would wish to separate from the Empire; could it be said that such a Colony was free to secede? Could it for a moment be said that if Queensland or New South Wales ever wished to secede, Victoria had not a perfect right to demand that no flag but the flag of England should fly on Australian soil? Then we ought to be sure, as a preliminary condition between the Colonies

and the Mother Country, that the partnership to which Lord Carnarvon had alluded, if it became such in real earnest, should remain for ever, and we ought not, as subjects of the Queen, to allow anything to grow up, either there or here, which would lead to the supposition that, after entering into that partnership, there should be a possibility in the future of a division among ourselves, or any secession from that Imperial union which was at the present moment our great pride and strength. (Loud applause.)

MAJOR GENERAL J. W. LAURIE (a Canadian Member of Parliament) said the people of Canada were more ready to accept than the Government were ready to propose any increase of duty or responsibility which must necessarily devolve upon them in connection with Imperial defence.

LORD BRASSEY AT LIVERPOOL.

ON January 23rd, Lord Brassey presided at a meeting held in Hope Hall, Liverpool, when an address was delivered by Mr. Parkin. Letters of apology for absence were read from Lord Derby, Mr. E. Whitley, M.P., Sir G. Baden-Powell, M.P., Mr. R. Neville, M.P., Mr. W. P. Sinclair, M.P., and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P.

LORD BRASSEY, who was warmly cheered, first referred to considerations appreciated by men of business. Trade, he said, followed the flag. The value of our over-sea Imperial trade was computed at 1,200 millions a year. One-third of that total was carried on between the Colonies and India and the Mother Country. Of our export in manufactured goods—the most important branch of our trade, because it gave employment to the teeming millions of our industrial population—one-half was consigned to the Colonies. It was justly remarked in a recent article in *The Times*, "We are proud of being partners in a business of dimensions without parallel and difficult to realise, and we are resolved to keep whole and undivided the family that has created it, and in whose hands it is desirable that the business should remain." (Cheers.) It was obvious that to the Colonies separation would mean a higher charge for those abundant supplies of capital raised in London almost as cheaply by Colonial Governments as by that of the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) That money had been usefully spent in the Colonies in the construction of 15,000 miles of railways, in forming canals, in waterworks, schools, public buildings, defences, and harbours. Consolidation on the basis of a common nationality had been in active progress in recent years in all parts of Europe. If they were to hold their own against the fleets and armies of powerful neighbours, the British nation must remain undivided. (Cheers.) Was the time ripe for action on that great question? Were they ready at home for Imperial Federation? Were they ready to accept the conditions on which Imperial Federation depended? Were they ready to admit the Colonies to a voice in the direction of those affairs of foreign policy in which they had a common interest with themselves? It was certain that they could not always remain where they were. (Hear hear.) As the Colonies grew in wealth, in population, in commerce, we could not bear the sole responsibility of defence, even though the task were limited to the naval defence of the Empire. The appeal already made and promptly answered by Australia for contribution towards the charge for the naval forces in their waters must some day be renewed. With larger contributions to the expenditure would come the stronger claim to representation. We did already in effect consult and consider the views and interests of the Colonists with more solicitude than before. There was a growing anxiety in Downing Street to avoid commitments which would not be approved by Colonial opinion. It would be a step further in the same direction to create a council of advice in which the Colonies would be represented, and to which, as to the Senate of the United States, the consideration of foreign relations would be especially intrusted. Various proposals had been put forward. Earl Grey suggested the appointment of a Federal Committee, selected from the Privy Council, representation being given to every part of the Empire in proportion to the several contributions to the expenses of Imperial defence. It was not the business of the League to formulate schemes of Federation. When public opinion was ripe, it would be for responsible statesmen to exchange views and to arrive at a settlement. (Hear, hear.) Lord Rosebery had not gone further as yet than the enunciation of general principles. "The Federation they aimed at," he said, "was the closest possible union of the various self-governing States ruled by the British Crown consistently with that free development which was the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence." Lord Rosebery would limit the direct action of the Imperial Government for the present to conferences summoned at frequent intervals. The task of those conferences would be, not legislation, but the free and full discussion of common interests. He himself had lately been much engaged in dealing with labour disputes, and his experience had taught him to appreciate even more highly than before the exceeding virtues of a court of conciliation. Unrestrained discussion between the representatives of conflicting interests prevented strikes and lock-outs. The frequent meetings of the representatives of the Mother Country and the Colonies would prevent the dismemberment of the Empire. (Cheers.) He desired, in conclusion, to express the deep conviction that Federation under a well-considered and statesmanlike scheme, should not be condemned as an impracticable dream. The mechanical improvements of the age in which they lived were potent factors in Imperial Federation. The Colonies and the Mother Country were bound by the closest ties. Facility of intercourse was making England more and more the intellectual centre of the Empire; their ancient Universities were thronged with Colonial students; the decisions of their courts of law were everywhere accepted as precedents to be followed in the courts of the Colonies; the bonds of unity were cemented by those old memories and traditions which made every Colonist speak of the Mother Country as home, and which filled us in the Old Country with pride as we watched the splendid growth and enterprise of the Colonies. It might be that, in ordinary times, unity would chiefly consist in the external forms throughout the

Empire, and all Governments would be carried on under one flag and in the name of the same Sovereign. But even so, they would, every one of them, be the greater individually by remaining citizens of an Empire on which the sun never sets, and when the hour of trial came, if ever it did come, their unity would be more than an idea; it would be a league of mutual defence against external foes. (Cheers.)

NOT DEAD YET.

THE following comments of the *Northern Daily Mail*, an evening paper published at Hartlepool, on a portion of Mr. Parkin's public address at Leeds may perhaps be read with advantage by some of those people in the Colonies, who are apt to look down from the disdainful height of their own (prospective) grandeur upon the effete condition of the Mother Country, and to regard her as suing to them for their kind recognition and support in the hour of her approaching decadence. Here is what our spirited little northern contemporary has to say:—

We are not greatly terrified by the dreary picture of the fate in store for us if Imperial Federation do not become a fact. It may be that the United States are destined to become the head of a mighty Confederation embracing every acre of the American continents. It is conceivable that Russia may one day realise her Panslavic dreams and become the leader of a vast Confederation in Europe, and the ruler of vast possessions in Asia. But we do not think it probable that under any circumstances England will drop to the level of "a Spain, a Portugal, or a Holland." The power and industrial greatness of this country have not been nourished by our Colonies. On the contrary, our foreign dominions which have representative institutions have been all too prone to treat us as the kindly father, upon whose resources they have not scrupled to make large claims. We have had to compete for Colonial custom as severely as for trade with foreign nations, and we do not see that we could ever have to fight under worse conditions. It is impossible to effectually boycott English goods. Napoleon tried the plan by his famous Continental System under which our merchandise was to be excluded from the whole of the Continent. Self-interest, however, defeated the grand plan, as it would defeat any other plan of the kind in the future. If, however, the time should ever come when our Colonies and Dominions should be ready to fulfil the conditions of Imperial Federation it will be the duty of England to enter into the closer alliance. Otherwise we can but bow to the natural decree that when a clever young man attains his majority he shall assume full freedom, and either enter into partnership with his father or into competition with him, as legitimate self-interest may decide. In the latter event, the grand old business of John Bull will be carried on with the usual energy and enterprise.

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
 That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
 That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
 That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
 That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
 That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
 That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
 That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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Imperial Federation.

MARCH 1, 1890.

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE.

It is impossible for us to refrain from commenting on the remarkable events that have occurred in Canada in the past few weeks; but it is equally impossible to imagine that any words of ours can add to the intrinsic weight of those events themselves. They have had one remarkable effect on English public opinion already. They have induced the *Spectator*, one of our most consistent though not always most reasonable opponents, to print a long and carefully-written article, pointing out in general that the evidence in favour of the loyalty of Canada is overwhelming, and in particular that Professor Goldwin Smith does not "in the smallest degree represent Colonial feeling." His extraordinary utterance in New York, which we reproduce in summary elsewhere, will certainly, if that be possible, add to "the reputation for 'crankiness' and wrong-headedness" which, says our contemporary, "that able historical writer has gained in British North America." As the *Spectator* clearly shows, to say that the separation between the States and the Dominion is the result of a "historical accident" is precisely as accurate as to assign that cause "for the separation between France and Germany, or between Germany and Italy." We will add and illustrate one point more. The Professor declares that the "social movements" of Canada and the States are "the same." The two chief cities of the respective countries, which owe their importance and their prosperity to the magnificent opportunities of internal commerce afforded by the Great Lakes, are Chicago and Toronto. In Chicago the theatres are open on Sunday; in Toronto the tram-cars are only allowed to run on that day during the time that they are required to convey the inhabitants to and from their places of worship. Here we may leave the Professor, satisfied to know that henceforward the most insular-minded organ of English public opinion will scarcely invite him to act as interpreter of Canadian feeling, except it be after prefixing to his admirably rounded periods a headnote to the effect that his remarks are to be taken according to what used to be called in our nursery days, "the rules of contrâry."

But the resolution of the Dominion House of Commons, by 161 votes to 0, that "the people of Canada . . . are devotedly attached to the political union existing between Canada and the rest of the British Empire, and earnestly desire its continuance," is a hard fact that cannot be so easily got rid of. In the face of it, it will be difficult for the most unscrupulous of our opponents, whether in the States or in Australia, to reassert that Canada is ripe either for independence or for annexation. It is equally significant, whether we understand it to imply that Sir Richard Cartwright and the numerous Liberals who supported his motion not long since for the concession of the right to make independent treaties really meant nothing more than they said, instead of looking (as it was asserted at the time in too many home journals) to ultimate independence; or whether, on the other hand, we take it to show (as some would have it) that the politicians have discovered that they have gone too far, and that public opinion is not with them, and are beating a hasty retreat from an untenable position. For, be it observed, the vote was unanimous. The *Canadian Gazette* gives a full analysis of the list—we can hardly call it the division list—and adds a satisfactory reason for the absence of 49 out of the 54 absentees, among whom we may mention are to be found several well-known friends of our cause, such as Messrs. Cockburn, Skinner, and Weldon, Sir D. A. Smith, and General Laurie. The *Gazette* states that "a feature in the division was the fact that Mr. Ellis, of St. John [the proprietor of the *Globe*, who has always passed for an annexationist, *sans phrase*] was made to cast his vote in favour of the British connection. This action was loudly applauded, "but the applause," adds one writer, "evidently did not compensate for the discomfort of the member for St. John." Where the whole house was unanimous, it seems almost superfluous to add that the resolution was moved by a "Grit," seconded by a French-

Canadian, and supported both by the Premier and the leader of the Opposition.

And now to turn to our own more especial business, the annual meeting at Ottawa of the Canadian League. Last April, the American public was informed by a Canadian, Mr. Lugin, in the pages of the *Century* magazine, that "it would be difficult to discover in Canada any active interest in Imperial Federation. I do not recall the name of a prominent public man who favours the project." To a Canadian who makes such an assertion in future, the only possible reply will be that he has deliberately and intentionally stated what is not the fact. As now organised, the League in Canada has six vice-presidents; four of them are the lieutenant-governors of their respective Provinces, a fifth is an archbishop. The branches of the League have increased in number to twenty-six, and now stretch across the whole 3,000 miles' breadth of the country, from Halifax to Vancouver. So much for our progress in the past, and now for our hopes for the future. The thanks of friends of our cause all over the world are, we think, due to the Canadian League for the patriotic manner in which they strive to keep step with the Central Council. If Canada could act entirely for herself, it is, we think, evident that Imperial Reciprocity would be put forward as the main plank in her platform. But the Canadians have recognised that it is well to move along the line of least resistance, that, in the words of our President, "the doctrines of Free Trade are far too deeply rooted in this country" for such a policy to be practicable in the immediate future—though, for our own part, we confess to thinking that on this latter point opinion at home is changing remarkably fast—and they have declined to commit themselves to any positive course of action in the matter at present. On two other points, where opposition is less to be feared, they have made a judicious and timely move. They have declared in favour of an Imperial penny postage, a measure which unquestionably would be most popular here, and which, judging from the liberal attitude the Canadian Government have always taken up upon postal matters, is hardly likely to be opposed there. Further, they have protested against the preposterous provisions in certain treaties, more especially those with Germany and Belgium, which, as shown in Mr. Howard Vincent's valuable return, prevent the different portions of the British Empire from arranging as they think best their own internal *octroi* duties. After expressing the hearty thanks of every patriotic Briton throughout the world to the Imperial Federationists of Canada for the rapid and gratifying progress that has been secured by their energetic and self-sacrificing efforts, it only remains to add one word more. Our friends in Australia are wont from time to time to bid us moderate our pace. Australia, they tell us, is not yet ripe; but, as we have had occasion to reply to them more than once, Australia is not the Empire. Canada, the elder sister, the superior of Australia both in area and population, is, as they may see for themselves, more than ripe. Instead of bidding us hang back and await what an indefinitely distant future may bring, it would perhaps be more to the purpose if they would put their own shoulders to the wheel and force forward the chariot of Australian progress into line with that of Canada.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

THE speedy agreement arrived at by the recent Federation Conference at Melbourne, though it comes as a surprise to many, will be welcomed by all. The fact of the Conference meeting at all must be ascribed to a large-minded and statesmanlike attitude on the part of political leaders for which they are not always given credit; and the conclusions arrived at display an approach to unanimity, on broad principles at any rate, for which many observers at home and in the Colonies were scarcely prepared. We are well aware, of course, that the threshold only has been passed as yet; but, as the old saw puts it, "Well begun is half done," and the spirit that has manifested itself at the outset, and the considerable space already covered by the consensus of opinion, augur well for the ultimate issue of the momentous undertaking to which Australian statesmen now stand committed. We do not expect to see so great and difficult a work

completed in a day. The legislatures of the various Colonies may not at once consent to send representatives with constituent powers to the proposed formal Convention. And when that body does meet, whether sooner or later, wide diversities of opinion may be expected to manifest themselves on many most crucial points. But, as we have said, the auguries at present are favourable; and the spirit of compromise already evinced, the readiness to subordinate small matters to great, and, above all, the willingness of the representatives of New South Wales to sink (what is left of) the Free Trade policy of their Colony, if need be, and of other representatives to leave, for the present, the great *crux* of the tariffs on one side altogether, rather than lose the opportunity of federating as to other matters—all these considerations point in the direction of ultimate agreement.

The reports that have yet reached us, being but telegraphic summaries, do not afford a sufficient basis for any critical examination of the actual views expressed by the representatives of the different Colonies in points of detail. There are, however, even in these brief recapitulations, indications of some of the points which will be subjects of much ultimate discussion. Fiscal matters apart, the fundamental difficulty of all Federal institutions, namely, the balancing of the central and the provincial authorities—the centripetal and centrifugal forces—naturally made itself felt, even at this preliminary discussion. While Sir Henry Parkes had proposed the Canadian Federal Constitution as a model, where power is very highly centralised, one of the Tasmanian representatives expressed a preference for the Constitution of the United States of America, where (from historical causes not present in the case of Australia) the principle of “State Rights” flourishes to the detriment of the authority of the Federal Legislature, and Mr. Playford declared roundly that South Australia would never agree to federation on the lines of Canada. The other great constitutional question in the formation of Federal institutions also received some notice at this early stage; the second representative of the small Colony of Tasmania naturally enough being the advocate of equal representation of the constituent Colonies, irrespective of area and population. The solution of the inevitable antagonism between the large and the small members of the Federation on this point will, we have little doubt, be found in the representation of population as such in a Lower House, and of “States” as such in an Upper Chamber. New Zealand was not prepared for any immediate action in the direction of joining the proposed Federation, though her representatives expressed the sympathy of their Colony for the movement, and the attitude of New Zealand was defined by the motion which was carried providing for the admission into the Union of the more remote Australasian Colonies at such times and under such conditions as may hereafter be agreed upon. It is still a matter of doubt whether New Zealand will ever see her way to enter into the full Federal tie with the Colonies of Australia proper. Another difficulty connected with the more distant Colonies will probably arise also in the case of Fiji, New Guinea, and if there should be any other tropical Colonies, seeing that such must apparently always remain in some form or other Crown Colonies, and therefore scarcely in a position to form units in a Free Federation. The absolute inadmissibility of the principle of their inclusion was formerly urged most strongly by Sir Henry Parkes as an objection to the Federal Council Act.

The proceedings of the Conference have been watched with more serious interest than—more’s the pity—is usually extended in the Mother Country to matters of Colonial politics, however important they may be alike to the Colonies concerned and the Empire at large. The Queen’s Speech contained an appropriate reference to the Conference, which was actually sitting at the time of its delivery; and Lords Knutsford and Granville paid graceful tribute to the tact and judgment of the Australasian statesmen having this great matter in hand. We observe, by the way, that the Colonial Secretary throughout spoke of the proposed Convention, which, as we understand, it is intended shall be a Constituent Assembly, by the same name, “Conference,” as is applied, rightly, to the body which has just closed its session. The movement has, moreover, received expressions

of sympathy from the whole body of the Press throughout the United Kingdom; while the sympathy of all who are interested in the larger ultimate federation of the Empire has been expressed wherever the opportunity has offered itself, as at the meetings of the League that have been held in Canada, and in the Edinburgh letter of our own President. Some foolish and ignorant writers in an unimportant section of the Australian press believe, or affect to believe, that Imperial Federationists are hostile to intercolonial union. The 1887 Conference, we are told, was a “dodge” to burke Australian Federation (at that time, however, in a very quiescent state), and the proposal to hold a second Conference this year is ascribed to the same motive, and is described as a countermove to check the impetus given to Australasian union by Sir Henry Parkes’ *coup de théâtre*. It is a little unfortunate for this view that the proposal for another Imperial Conference preceded by some months the movement it was intended to thwart. But it is wasting words to combat such a preposterous idea. Lord Rosebery expressed the views of all Federationists when he said that, at the moment, the main interest of those who cared for the cause of Imperial Federation lay in the Congress then being held at Melbourne, and that all such would cordially welcome the formation of a Dominion of Australia.

Of course, the idea underlying a belief, real or assumed, that the consummation of Australian unity is not favourably regarded by us, is connected with the supposition that Australian Federation is a step in the direction of independence. That it is so regarded in some quarters we are aware; and if we shared that opinion we might have ground for opposition. But our belief is that, so far from that view being correct, the Federation of the Colonies of Australia will tend more than any other step that could be taken to the maintenance of national unity; and we hold, and always have held, that local grouping is a most important, if not an indispensable, preliminary to the larger scheme. As to the views of the leading statesmen of Australia to-day upon the meaning and effect of their present great act, their speeches, happily, leave no room whatever for doubt. Sir Henry Parkes, Sir Samuel Griffith, Mr. Gillies, and Mr. Deakin, have all—either at, or in immediate connection with, the Conference—expressed in the most thorough-going and uncompromising terms the views they hold as to the continued unity of the Empire. As the *Times* puts it, the matter “could not be approached in a spirit of more ardent attachment to the British connection.” We share the belief lately expressed by Mr. Deakin, that when the Federation of the groups is complete we shall be face to face with “the last problem, which will be to combine in one the dominions of the British race all the world over.”

SIR CHARLES DILKE’S VIEWS.

THE appearance of Sir Charles Dilke’s promised work is an event of signal interest to all students of Imperial and Colonial politics. To the book itself we shall recur again in detail; but the first question which most of us will ask is as to the views expressed by its author on Imperial Federation—how far is he in agreement with us? In what respects is he opposed, what position does he take as an outside critic of our aims and work? And it is to these questions that we propose to confine ourselves at the present moment. Perhaps the first reflection to occur to one as he rises from a perusal of those portions of the book most closely bearing on this subject, is that they show what a long way we all, and Sir Charles Dilke not the least, have travelled since the publication of “Greater Britain,” in 1867. For the short answer to the question, how far the author goes with us? must be that in essentials, in spirit, in the objects aimed at, and in many respects also in the choice of means to attain those objects, he goes with us very far. Indeed, if we compare the general conclusions arrived at with the programme of those whom Sir Charles himself speaks of as the “moderates” among ourselves—that is to say, with what is the official attitude of the League, approved by the Executive and the Council, and publicly enunciated by the President—we shall find few divergences of any material character. On two points in particular, and those the very foremost

and the most essential in the programme of the League, the author is altogether with us; these are the Conference scheme, and the paramount importance of Imperial Defence on federal principles as the first step. On this latter point he is most emphatic; indeed, it may be said to be the one great lesson of the book. "The danger in our path," he says in the Introduction, "is that the enormous forces of European militarism may crush the Old Country, and destroy the integrity of our Empire, before the growth of the newer communities that it contains has made it too strong for the attack." And again, "such is the one great danger which threatens the fabric of that splendid Empire which I now attempt to describe." This, then, he says, is the first and most difficult subject to be treated at all Conferences. Nor is Sir Charles Dilke less in line with the views of those who give official stamp to the policy of the League in regarding a Customs Union, which, he says, is the *crux* of the question, as outside the immediate range of vision. Going on, he speaks of the present as a "Federal Age," and recognises, as we do, the enormous advantages of local Federation, and the tendency of that movement towards continued Imperial Union. And while upon this subject he throws out a suggestion, affording some matter for consideration, that the periodical conferences of the future, to which we are looking, would be more likely to be warmly adopted by the Colonies and more prolific in results, if and when the various groups composing the Empire had been previously federated.

But while we may thus fairly claim Sir Charles Dilke as a general ally, seeing that he practically endorses our policy in its most essential developments, there are, on the other hand, some points on which he does not see eye to eye with the League; as might indeed be expected, considering that within the League itself great differences of opinion, at any rate as to methods, are recognised as existing. Perhaps the most important of these is in connection with the Conference scheme, the full bearing of which Sir Charles Dilke, though, as we have seen, entirely agreeing as to the practical value of such meetings, seems scarcely to appreciate. In the first place, he makes little of the difference between a conference from which the subject of Imperial Federation was expressly excluded, as in 1887, and another from which it should not be excluded, seeming to regard the concession as a very negative affair, of no great moment one way or the other. This, we need scarcely say, is not our view; as we believe that, if not formally excluded, the subject would most certainly be introduced and discussed, though it is quite possible that many delegates might not be in a position to commit themselves very deeply on it. But this is not the chief part of the point we wish to make. Sir Charles Dilke goes on to say, "No doubt a further conference might be called, especially if Australian Federation had become complete in the meantime—a conference which might lead to useful common legislation, and even possibly, though that is far more doubtful, to such a discussion upon the general future relations of the Empire as might clear the air." Now, as it seems from this, Sir Charles Dilke does not fully appreciate the policy of the League as to future conferences. The object of instituting a series of periodical conferences is not only, and not so much in the hope of raising a "discussion" on the general future relations of the Empire, as with the view that the very existence of such conferences in itself would be the actual means of laying down and forming "the general future relations of the Empire"—would in fact be in itself a form, elementary, it is true, but still a form of Imperial Federation, having within it the germs of evolution. *Solvitur ambulando.* While people are telling us Federation is a dream and an impossibility, we have begun by means of the Conference of 1887, and hope to go on further, to show the thing itself being gradually worked out in practice and in fact.

There are other minor points, more in some cases as to matters of opinion than such as concern the policy of the League, on which we find ourselves unable to agree with our author. We can scarcely go with him, for instance, when he says, in approving some form of financial federation of the debts of the whole Empire, that the credit of the United Kingdom rests upon a less sure basis as regards the future than that of many of the Colonies. Nor can we allow

the statement to pass unchallenged that the Mother Country has the fewest public assets to show for her heavy debt; because, though perhaps technically true, it has been shown often enough that what we have to show for our public debt is the whole of our Colonial and Indian Empire—a fifth of the habitable globe, including, as Mr. Parkin, following Professor Seeley, has been recently bringing home to objectors of this class, Australia which we have given to the Australians, and Canada to the Canadians. No means, Sir Charles Dilke says, could be found of popularising in the Colonies the connection with the Mother Country so sure as giving them cheap money by some such federation of debts. No doubt. But, as has lately been so well pointed out by Lord Rosebery in an analogous matter, federation of other kinds should come at the same time. As the author himself points out in another place, the vast sums already privately invested in the Colonies are lent at a comparatively low rate of interest, largely on account of the political connection that exists; and when there is talk of pledging the public credit for the benefit of the Colonies, the people of the United Kingdom may not unnaturally look for some guarantee of the permanence of the connection.

Sir Charles Dilke would seem to have been led to attach an erroneous significance to the use of the term "nationality," in speaking of Canadians and Australians, by certain Viceroy's and Governors and other persons of note, as though it implied a recognition on their part of a forthcoming distinct nationality in a political sense. But surely this is a blunder? Not only would those personages not have used such an expression if they had regarded it as committing them to any opinion of the kind, but the word is constantly used to cover that which inhabitants of large but separated quarters of the Empire have in common; it is of frequent use, for instance, as applied to their own people by the most loyal of Canadians. The true use of this expression is consistent with the closest political connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country, though it emphasises that feeling of complete local autonomy whereby each branch of the race may work out its own social and local, or "national," political problems in its own way. It is consistent either with the present or with closer Federal relations, or, on the other hand, with that laxer union which Sir Charles Dilke, perhaps, inclines on the whole to regard as the most probable relationship between the different parts of the Empire in the near future. With his own words, in which this view is hinted at, we will conclude our brief examination of the coincidence, or divergence, of his views from our own, only pausing to point out that even here there is not a thought or a wish to which the most orthodox of us may not say "Amen." The passage is as follows:—"If the future of the Empire lies only in the close alliance of three or four Federations having 'no cause of quarrel that can be as yet discerned, that alliance may long endure. But it is at least possible that 'the association of the various British Federations for 'common defence, and the interest which they will possess 'in the peaceful government of all portions of the Empire, 'and especially of India and of the Cape, may lead to closer 'ties being voluntarily undertaken by the powerful Federal 'groups.'"

LORD ROSEBERY'S EDINBURGH LETTER.

THE following is the text of the letter addressed by the Earl of Rosebery, President of the Imperial Federation League, to the Secretary of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch, and read at the great meeting held at Edinburgh on February 12th.

38, BERKELEY SQUARE, W.

February 11, 1890.

Sir,—I am very sorry that I cannot be with you to-morrow night.

The cause of the Federation of the British Empire is one which is moving apace, although it assumes different aspects from time to time. At the present moment the main interest of those who care for the cause lies in the Congress now being held at Melbourne. It is not possible to predict the result of that gathering—whether it succeed or fail in producing an agreement. But of this we may be sure,

that if the Dominion of Australia be formed, it will be cordially welcomed by all our race, not least by those who advocate the cause of Federation. Another phase in which the question presents itself just now is this: The Government are credited with the intention of enabling trustees to invest in Colonial stocks. This implies a belief, which I share, of the constant cohesion of the British Empire as it now exists—(applause)—but it suggests a question whether such a proposition does not offer a desirable opportunity for examining the basis on which the unity of the Empire rests, and on which it may best be promoted, nay, if it does not indeed involve such an investigation.

In the meantime our cause is visibly and hourly growing, and I cannot doubt that your great meeting to-morrow night will lend a significant assistance to its development. (Loud applause)—I am, yours faithfully,

(Signed) ROSEBERY.

James Simpson, Esq.

*** *In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

FEDERATION AND FOREIGN ANTI-FEDERATION.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—The main basis of Federation is the unity of language among the English-speaking communities. It is nevertheless to be observed that this subject is left to take care of itself, and no measures have been adopted for the extension or preservation of the English language. In India for a long while the English language was discouraged, and Persian, a language foreign to the country, was patronised. Now the number of people learning English in the schools is so large that there is a probability of some ten millions of people being added to the number of English-speaking natives.

While we have been negligent, others have not. The Alliance Française is not unknown to some of us. This association only seeks a subscription of about 4s. or a dollar, and already disposes of large means. These are devoted to the spread of the French language and influence in every direction, within our own Empire and without. Its operations may be well enough understood by a long account, in the *Times* of the 3rd, of a large meeting held in Paris on the 1st inst., to hear addresses on the French-Americans or French-Canadians. In Canada there is a large branch of the Alliance, and it was represented by Monseigneur Labelle, "Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture to the Quebec Government." The whole report is very salutary reading. M. Foncin, General Secretary of the Alliance, stated that he had succeeded in diverting the current of emigration from Lower Canada and the United States to the forests on the northern frontier, where he had already sent 40,000 of his "French-Canadian Colonists." This is pleasant for Manitoba, and will lay the foundation for another internecine war. It is pleasant likewise for our friends in the United States to know that this large hostile and alien community is being built up on their frontier.

It is really time something should be done, and we should be aroused from our lethargy. The St. George's Society of London addressed a letter to each Colonial mayor in the Empire, urging the necessity of organisation, and of the formation of national societies. The Hon. Secretary did not receive one acknowledgment. On the 23rd of April is St. George's Day, and perhaps the St. George's Club will celebrate it. It cannot do so better than by co-operation in this important matter.—Yours, &c.,

HYDE CLARKE.

32, St. George's Square, S.W.

Lord Wolseley says:—"I do not profess to enter upon the strength of the military forces maintained by Canada, Australia, and our other Colonies, but they are of great importance. Their importance will be fully recognised by the world whenever God in His mercy is pleased to send us a statesman wise enough and great enough to federate and consolidate into one united British Empire all the many lands and Provinces which acknowledge Queen Victoria as their Sovereign."—*Lord Wolseley in "Harper's Magazine."*

Should England's commercial supremacy depart, should India by any great internal convulsion or the King's enemies be wrested from the Empire, or Australasia set up as an independent nation, there will still remain to the Empire the better half of the North American continent, seated on three great oceans, with inexhaustible fisheries, vast coal deposits and petroleum fields, mountains of iron, and copper, and gold, and silver, with illimitable prairies and the grandest forests, and a merchant marine that even to-day ranks fifth in the world—a country in which sixty millions of British subjects may live in comfort and peace.—*Canadian Gazette.*

THE NEXT STEP.

BY OSCAR BOULTON.

SINCE I last had the privilege of laying before the readers of this journal certain pressing considerations with regard to the conduct of the great cause which it represents, an event has occurred in an important portion of the Empire which has rendered, in my opinion, even more imperative than before the adoption of a definite and active policy which I then advocated. I refer to the movement which has been initiated in New South Wales for the federative unity of the Queen's Australasian dominions. Now it is, I notice, a commonplace practice of that portion of the English press which faintly and fitfully favours the notion of a united Empire to treat the consummation of a federated Australia as a preliminary and assisting operation to the larger union which is desired by the Imperial Federation League. No conclusion, in my opinion, could be at once more erroneous, or more dangerous and destructive to the cause we have at heart. To create and develop the attachment of the Colonist of New South Wales or Victoria to an Australian national ideal is surely not exactly the way to foster his allegiance to another national ideal which is to represent, as we hope, the union of the entire Empire. When the respective Colonies have so far consented to lay aside their provincial jealousies and antagonisms as to take part in a government which is to embrace such a vast area as Australasia, and when they have become duly imbued with the reflections of pride and grandeur which such participation must evoke, the difficulty must obviously be very great of inducing them once more to readjust the balance of their enthusiasm, and to reduce their new-fledged satisfaction at United Australia to a purely provincial and subordinate level. In Canada, it is true, where Colonial Federation has been accomplished, the advocacy of the Imperial idea has not been destroyed by the process. But it must be remembered that the political conditions in United Canada are vastly different to those which would exist in a United Australia. In Canada, various accidental causes, such as contiguity to the United States, distinctions of race and creed, and the existence of a strong Conservative sentiment in the community, have tended more or less to preserve the sentiment of Imperial allegiance. But in the case of Australia, its insular and self-contained position, the homogeneity of its inhabitants, and its strong democratic proclivities, would be more than likely to foster in a short time the notion of independence. Let me hasten, however, to add that I have no desire to assume an attitude of insult or hostility to the legitimate aspirations of Australia, or to recommend that proposals of Colonial Federation should be resisted by the Home Government. My contention now merely is that when we see suggestions of such a nature being seriously entertained by our Colonial brethren, we should more than ever hasten to place before them in some definite shape our own much grander and wider project of Federation, and so anticipate while there is yet time the danger of independence likely to accrue from the existence of a United Australia within a disunited Empire. The question then of course arises, and it is a question which I am pledged in some sense to answer, What is to be the first step in the active policy which I have recommended to the Federation League? In the first place, then, I entirely dissent from the persons who maintain that the first proposals of Imperial Federation must come from the Colonies themselves. Surely it is from Great Britain as the head and centre of the Empire that must come at any rate the invitation to discuss the question. Nor in my opinion ought such a discussion to be much longer delayed. There is, however, one preliminary to this discussion—whether it is conducted by a Colonial Conference in London, or a roving commission in the Colonies—which should be at once adopted by the Imperial Federation League. They must draw up some programme, however indefinite and liable to alteration, of the proposals which they are prepared to recommend to the Colonies, and on which they are themselves more or less agreed. The early promulgation, in a tentative manner, by the League of some sort of a programme of their principles and proposals would do much, even before the meeting of a Colonial Conference, to accustom the minds of the electorate throughout the Empire as to what in reality Imperial Federation implies; and would serve also to demonstrate how many of those persons who now coquet with the movement as a picturesque but impractical idea could really be depended upon to assist its actual realisation. For it is not impossible that, if the movement is to succeed, a strong and united party will have to be formed of men who are willing, heartily and unselfishly, to devote themselves to this one political object, and ready, if necessary, as patriotic statesmen have been before, to sacrifice all considerations of office and party allegiance to carry it to a successful issue. A distinguished adherent of the Federation movement has eloquently described it as a cause worthy, in his opinion, "to live and even to die for." It is not probable that the supporters of Federation will ever be called upon to submit to the latter sacrifice, though they may be summoned to put aside for the cause many considerations which, to a party politician, are almost dearer than life. If they prove themselves ready to make this sacrifice with only half the cheerfulness and self-abnegation

with which men for far less cause have laid down their lives, the most ardent and independent advocates of a united Empire will, I think, express themselves well contented. So long, however, as Imperial Federation is without a programme, it would be unreasonable to expect that many statesmen of rank and reputation should be induced to set aside in its favour the ordinary aspirations and contentions of domestic politics, or to create it into a movement such as to determine, apart from party rivalry, the rise and fall of Ministries. I have now to attempt an answer to the question how and when is this programme to be decided upon? I should advocate then that as soon as practicable, a representative conference should be summoned of the supporters of the League throughout the Empire wherein they may come to some agreement upon the basis of the great constitutional reform which they desire. Few probably who have not specially given their attention to the contingency can adequately realise the difficulties and disagreements which must inevitably arise when the question of framing the outline of an Imperial constitution which may satisfy the Colonies comes to be discussed before such a conference. If these disagreements and difficulties are left untouched until the time comes to discuss the question in Parliament, it is easy to see the confusion which must be caused by the want of unanimity on the part of Federationists. It is, therefore, imperative that, as soon as possible, it should be discovered what are the particular points in this policy which we in England are willing to urge upon our rulers, if the consent of the Colonies is gained to their adoption. It is not difficult to picture the altered aspect which would be presented both to the authorities at home and to the Colonies by the Imperial Federation League, armed at last with a definite and intelligible programme, and proving to the world that Federation is no longer merely "a word of ten letters," but a living and practical scheme with which a powerful organisation is determined to appeal continually for the support of the masses, until the day comes when it, or something founded upon it, is carried into actual effect. I am perfectly aware that suggestions such as I have made will be received with positive horror by that large number of persons who, though nominally supporters of Federation, express the strongest disinclination to its open advocacy as yet as a question of practical politics. To such persons I can only refer to the urgent reasons which in a former article¹ I adduced for considering that now is the time to take the matter boldly in hand, and to prevent the disaster which would accrue to the cause from its being relegated too long to the position of a visionary idea. I hope in a future article to point out some of the difficulties which will have to be confronted by a conference such as I have suggested in its attempts to frame a rough scheme for the consideration of the public, and the means by which they may be surmounted.

THE NEW AUSTRALIAN CRUISER "PERSIAN."

WE take the following report of the launch of the *Persian*, and of Sir Graham Berry's important speech on the occasion, from the *Times* of February 6th:—

Yesterday there was launched from the shipyard of Armstrong, Mitchell & Co., at Elswick, Newcastle-on-Tyne, the cruiser *Persian*, one of five vessels being built for the Australian Colonies, and intended for the protection of the commerce of Great Britain and the Colonies in Antipodean waters. There was a very large assemblage at the ceremony, amongst those present being Sir Graham Berry, Agent-General for Victoria, Lady Berry, Captain Hamilton, of the Australian navy, Colonel Swan, Mr. Westmacott, Mrs. Mitchell, Mr. P. Watts, Mrs. Watts, the Mayoress of Newcastle, and the French Consul, M. Barry. The religious ceremony was performed by Canon Lintoff, and the ceremony of naming the vessel was performed by Lady Berry. The *Persian* is one of the five protected cruisers now being constructed for the Australian Colonies from designs prepared by Mr. W. H. White, the Director of Construction of the British Admiralty. The new cruiser is 265 ft. between the perpendiculars, her extreme breadth is 31 ft., and with a mean draught of 15½ ft. her displacement will be 2,575 tons. She will be fitted with twin screws and vertical triple expansion machinery capable of developing 7,500 horse-power when the stokeholds are closed down and are put under forced draught, and 4,500 indicated horse-power when the boilers are worked with open stokeholds. This machinery is being manufactured by Messrs. Hawthorn, Leslie & Co., Limited, Newcastle-on-Tyne. The ship will, it is anticipated, realise a speed somewhat exceeding nineteen knots during a continuous trial of four hours' duration, and with 4,500 indicated horse-power a speed of about 17¼ knots during a twelve hours' trial. She will carry 300 tons of coal, which will enable her to steam 6,000 knots at ten-knot speed. Her armament will consist of eight 12-centimetre quick-firing guns, eight 3-pounder quick-firing guns, one 7-pounder boat and field gun, two Nordenfolt machine guns, and four torpedo tubes. The machinery and all the vital parts of the ship will be protected

by an armoured deck extending from end to end of the ship, the sloping parts of which will be 2½ in. and 2 in. thick and the horizontal portion 1 in. thick. The vessel is provided with a strong conning tower standing on the forecastle. Like her sister ships, the *Persian* is provided with a balanced rudder to allow of rapid manœuvring in action, and is also provided with a strong steel under-water spur for efficient use in ramming.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY, speaking subsequently, said that the launch, in his opinion, was the partial realisation of the thorough union of the Colonies with the Empire. He thought they must all know that it was in the minds of men at the present time that by some means or other a closer union—a union that would give a greater assurance of permanency—should be brought about in the near future than had existed in the past between the Colonies and the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) They had taken part in a function that day which was a very important step in the direction of complete Federation of the Empire. (Cheers.) It was no more than two years ago that the Imperial Government asked the various Colonies of the Empire to assemble by their representatives in London. That meeting was known as the Colonial Conference, and it attracted at the time considerable attention. He ventured to say, however, that the people of Great Britain could not give greater attention to it than it deserved. (Hear, hear.) It was a national movement broader than ever took place before, and fraught in its partial success, and hopes of greater in the future, with all those hopes which should be perennial in the breasts of Britons, that the Empire should never decrease in strength and area, but should go on consolidating its strength and binding in a closer union all the parts of that great Empire. (Cheers.) Among the other work done at that time was the arrangement that there should be a fleet, for the first time maintained jointly between Great Britain and the Australian Colonies. The ships were built by the Home Government, but the expense of them was contributed by the various Australian Colonies. For the first time they saw the Colonies in conjunction through the pocket—which was always a very strong motive, perhaps the strongest. (Laughter.) They saw them banded together in mutual expense for the protection of the commerce in the distant portions of the Empire. (Cheers.) It might be reasonably hoped that the vessel, which they were told was the third of a series for that purpose, would within a year be in Australian waters. These vessels then would form a fleet in addition to the Imperial fleet, which would give double assurance, both to the people at home and the dwellers in Australia, that the great commercial interests of Great Britain and the Colonies would be well defended in these distant seas. He had always been as a colonist anxious for the Federation of the Empire. It might not be possible—he did not think it was possible—in the present generation to formulate a system definite and binding which would do that work, but it was being done day by day, month by month, year by year, by those various events which were taking place, one of which they celebrated that day. They constantly found they were being drawn closer into union with the Mother Country. The interests of the great Colonies with the Mother Country were more intimately bound up than ever they had been before, and the Mother Country had a great interest in knowing that those distant communities, weak and sparsely populated as they were twenty years ago, were now the nucleus of great nations, able to defend themselves, and, he hoped, if ever the occasion should arise in the future, capable of rendering material help to the Mother Country. To-morrow, he believed, in the Antipodes, in the city of Melbourne, the statesmen of Australia would meet for the purpose of endeavouring to federate all the Australian Colonies in one dominion. If that succeeded it would be another great step towards the Federation of the Empire, to which he thought all practical men who desired to see the continuance and the safety of Great Britain should always look. He hoped that conference of Colonial statesmen would altogether succeed. If it was not altogether successful, he knew it would be partially successful. It would result in a Federation for mutual defence, which would render that portion of the Empire safer in the future than ever it had been in the past, and whoever might come let them always understand and remember and know this—that, whether there was a perfect confederation of the Empire by a set document or not, the growth of our Colonies, the Dominion of Canada, the great progress made in South Africa, and the progress made in Australia, were giving strength to the Mother Country to an extent never contemplated before, which was at once the envy of all foreign nations and should be the pride of Britons. (Cheers.) He hoped that the ship they had seen so successfully launched, if she was ever called upon to depart from her peaceful career and carry out that function which was the ultimate function of vessels such as she, would be a credit to her builders and would always hold up and maintain the flag that had "braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze." (Cheers.)

The fiscal difficulty is by far the greatest of the obstacles in the way, but after all it does not amount to a great deal.—*Bradford Daily Telegraph*.

¹ "The Crisis of Empire," in the August number, 1889, of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

THE Imperial Federation League in Canada commenced its annual sessions at Ottawa on the 30th of January. Mr. Dalton McCarthy, M.P., president, occupied the chair. Among those present were:—Sir Adams Archibald, Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., Colonel Tyrwhitt, M.P., Rev. Father Dawson, Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Denison (Toronto), Mr. Cockburn, M.P., Colonel Tisdale, M.P., Colonel F. C. Denison, M.P., Mr. Thomas MacFarlane, W. Hamilton Merritt, Toronto; R. R. Dobell, Quebec; John T. Small, Toronto; Captain M. P. McElhinny, Ottawa; John Farley, St. Thomas; M. A. Gilbert, St. Thomas; W. McArthur, D. Donaldson, Dr. R. W. Powell, James Clarke, Paul M. Robins, Dr. R. J. Wicksteed, Ottawa; Josiah Wood, M.P., R. Nettle, Ottawa; J. M. Clark, W. G. Dunn, G. H. Bradbury, F. J. Alexander, Senator Botsford, A. McGoun, Montreal; R. C. Dickson, and J. C. Hopkins.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The secretary, Mr. Dickson, read the annual report, which stated that since the last annual meeting the progress of the League had been most gratifying, as evidenced in the increase in the number of branches in all parts of the Empire. They had now no less than twenty-six branch Leagues in Canada, the latest additions being those at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia; Hamilton, Barrie; St. Mary's, Ontario; and Vancouver, British Columbia.

After referring at length to communications with the Central League in London on the subject of the proposed Conference, with which readers of this Journal are already familiar, and other matters, the report goes on to express a hope that the appointment of the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott as Canadian Commissioner to Australia would result in the establishment of closer trade and social relations between these two great countries. The visit of Mr. G. R. Parkin had resulted in two more branches in Australia being formed at Christ Church (New Zealand) and Adelaide (South Australia), in addition to the ones already existing at Melbourne (Victoria) and Hobart (Tasmania). The visits of Sir Fred. Young and of Major-General Strange to South Africa had also been productive of beneficial results. Views have been exchanged by the leading statesmen of the various Colonies, and it was expected that a convention would shortly be held to settle the details of a union. They might feel satisfied at the progress which their principles had made. Throughout the whole Empire the movement was rapidly spreading and gaining strength, and the principle that the affairs of the Empire should be managed by the people of the whole Empire was fast taking root in men's minds. They might look with pardonable pride to their past record, and might with confidence claim that the future's promise was most favourable and encouraging.

The Chairman briefly moved the adoption of the report.

Mr. McNeill, M.P., seconded the motion, and said it was very gratifying to see the progress the League was making. The report was then adopted.

The treasurer presented a report which showed that there was a balance brought forward from 1888 of 179 dols. The total receipts of 1889 were 537 dols. This, with balance brought forward, made 717 dols. The disbursements amounted to 461 dols., including 356 dols. sent to England. The balance carried forward to next year was 255 dols. The amount raised for defraying Mr. Parkin's expenses was 297 dols., and the disbursements had been 250 dols.

The President, having to attend the Supreme Court, withdrew, and Vice-President McNeill took the chair.

The following cablegram, received by the President from London, England, was afterwards read:—

The National Fair Trade League congratulates the Imperial Federation League of Canada on its annual meeting, and submits that preferential inter-British trade relations afford the only possible basis for real Federation. (Applause.)

A brief discussion took place as to the advisability of proceeding with the discussion on the Trade Question, and it was finally decided to go on.

MOTION BY MR. MACFARLANE.

Mr. Thomas MacFarlane had given notice of the following motion:—

1. That in order to provide a fund for the naval defence of the Empire, for its diplomatic and consular service, for more closely connecting its various ports by submarine cables and first-class steamship lines, and in order also to establish preferential inter-British trade relations, this council is of opinion that an Imperial revenue duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* over and above all local tariffs should be levied at every port in the Empire on all foreign importations.

2. That since, according to the English constitution, the British Parliament is supreme, this council is of opinion that the first step for federating the Empire should be taken by the Home Government, and a Bill introduced into Parliament for the imposition of such Imperial revenue duty, leaving its provisions open to acceptance by the other parts of the Empire up to a certain date, after which those not accepting would be treated, so far as regards this duty, like foreign countries.

Mr. MacFarlane observed that he did not insist that the resolution should be discussed then, but that it should be brought forward in order that it might receive due consideration. He explained that it was somewhat similar to the resolution introduced by Mr. Hofmeyer, of Cape Colony, at the Colonial Conference in 1887, and he thought they should line up with their South African cousins.

MR. HAMILTON MERRITT'S RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Hamilton Merritt, Toronto, said he also had a resolution to submit, based on the Hofmeyer scheme, but perhaps Mr. MacFarlane and himself might come to some arrangement as to what particular form of resolution would be preferable. The resolution was to the effect:—

That the Imperial Federation League in Canada make it one of the objects of their organisation to advocate a trade policy between Great Britain and her Colonies, by means of which a discrimination in the exchange of natural and manufactured products will be made in favour of one another

and against foreign nations, and that their friends in Parliament be called upon to move in support of this policy at the earliest possible moment.

That the Imperial Federation League in Canada recommends to the careful consideration of the League in England, as a right step and to all interested in the subject in other parts of the Empire, the proposition brought before the Colonial Conference of 1887, by Mr. Hofmeyer, of Cape Colony, to promote a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial tariff of customs, to be levied independently of the duties payable under existing tariffs on goods entering the Empire from abroad, the revenue derived from such tariff to be devoted to the general defence of the Empire.

That the Imperial Federation League in Canada is further of opinion that the cause of Imperial Federation would be advanced by bringing the principle of the Hofmeyer scheme more prominently before the people of the Empire, and especially of the United Kingdom, as tending towards inter-Imperial discrimination, and that a sub-committee be appointed for the purpose of raising a special fund for this purpose, and acting in such a manner as to gain adherents to the principle of Mr. Hofmeyer's proposition.

Mr. Merritt declared that Imperial Federation would not obtain support in this country without discrimination. The people of Canada did not want to contribute towards the armies and navies of the Mother Country exclusively, but they wanted some reciprocal benefit. He proposed that his resolution should stand as a notice of motion for next year.

Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Denison agreed with the last speaker, as he knew what was most likely to make Imperial Federation take with the people. The people looked at the question from a different standpoint from those in England. The people in England wanted money placed in their hands for defence purposes. They did not want any trade relations, and did not care whether Canada made a cent out of it so long as she contributed a certain amount of money to go towards the army and navy. Canada wanted to get some advantages out of the bargain. If they were to make a bargain, each party must clearly put before the other what they wanted.

AMENDMENT BY MR. CASIMIR DICKSON.

Mr. Casimir Dickson said he would propose the following as an amendment to Mr. MacFarlane's resolution:—

That the League in Canada deems it inadvisable to adopt a detailed policy with regard to inter-Imperial trade relations at the present time, and is further of opinion that any such scheme should emanate from such periodical conferences of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire as the League has resolved should be its first aim to establish, and not from the League.

Mr. R. R. Dobell, of Quebec, urged that in the first place an effort should be made to influence public opinion in England; and if it were found that for the present nothing could be done, the next step would be to endeavour to secure reciprocal trade relations with the Australasian and South African Colonies. Reciprocity of that kind would certainly have a wonderful effect on public opinion in England; and even if the proposal for a change in England's fiscal policy were ridiculed at first, he had no fear but eventually the desired end could be attained.

MR. MACFARLANE'S MOTION AND AMENDMENT WITHDRAWN.

After further discussion the sense of the meeting appeared to be in favour of Mr. Merritt's motion being pressed at once, and accordingly Mr. MacFarlane's motion and the amendment thereto were withdrawn, and Mr. Merritt's motion was the only one before the chair.

MR. MERRITT'S MOTION DISCUSSED.

In speaking to the motion, Mr. Merritt said he believed if it were adopted there would be something practical before the people of Canada, and instead of having to send our organisers throughout Canada, the League would be enabled to send them to England, as it was there the missionary work would have to be done.

Mr. MacFarlane said it behoved the members of the Canadian League to give expression to the faith that was in them. An Imperial revenue was absolutely necessary to carry out such schemes as cable communication, Imperial penny postage, etc., and if there was no outlook like trade discrimination then the Canadian League had better disband. Of course Canadians might continue membership, solely to advocate the permanent unity of the Empire, but as to bringing the various parts of the Empire closer together, that could not be done, except by trade discrimination. (Applause.)

Mr. Cockburn, M.P., said he thought it was unnecessary for the Canadian League to step out of the broad lines it had hitherto taken. He believed they were going out of their way to attempt to sketch a detailed method of Federation. Let there be full confidence in the men Canada was sending to England. Let not the League tie their hands, but let the delegates go to London prepared to work harmoniously for the general welfare of the Empire. Lord Rosebery had said it was impossible to carry out Federation on any lines which would upset England's Free Trade policy, and he (Mr. Cockburn) would remind the gathering that Lord Salisbury had spoken recently to the same effect. He had found every disposition among the English members of the League to act in a broad and liberal spirit towards the Colonies.

Mr. Gilbert, of St. Thomas, concurred in the observations of Mr. Cockburn. He thought Canadians could rely upon the parent League to deal with the whole Empire fairly, and not act solely for England's benefit.

Mr. A. McGoun (Montreal) said the policy of the Canadian League should be to send delegates to England to promote the gospel of commercial unity of the Empire. He believed it should be the policy of all the members of the League to work together, instead of endeavouring to secure special advantages for one section.

Mr. F. J. Alexander, of Ottawa, advocated that the Canadian League should take a bold stand on this trade question. He believed that the matter should be continually pressed on the attention of the League in England.

The meeting took recess till evening.

Upon resuming, the resolution of Mr. Merritt was taken up, a suggestion of Mr. McCarthy, Mr. MacFarlane, and Colonel Denison, it was withdrawn, the ground being taken that this was one of the matters to be taken up at a conference in England, and any action now would be premature.

VOTE OF THANKS TO MR. MULOCK.

A motion of Mr. Sandford Fleming, seconded by Mr. Cockburn, M.P., was carried, expressing thanks to Mr. Mulock for bringing up in the House of Commons a resolution in favour of the maintenance of British connection, and gratification at the unanimous vote on that resolution. Mr. Cockburn explained that he was pleased to second this resolution as a means of answering the charge made in an Ottawa evening paper that he had shirked the vote in the House.

THE OTTAWA BRANCH.

Mr. Sandford Fleming, as president of the Ottawa branch of the League, laid on the table a series of questions adopted by his branch to be submitted to the people of Canada, upon which he desired the opinion of the Canadian League.

On the motion of Colonel G. T. Denison, seconded by Mr. Alexander MacNeill, M.P., the meeting concurred in the series of questions.

The seconder explained that these questions would lead to the Canadian League obtaining a great deal of most valuable information.

A GENERAL PENNY POST.

The President explained that there were two important matters to be brought before the meeting, and asked some of the gentlemen present to move regarding them. With regard to the postal matter, he thought they should ask that it be pressed upon the House of Commons for a regular system of postage, practically a penny post, extending to all parts of the Empire, so that when they sent a letter to Australia or any other part of the British Empire they would only have to pay two cents. He thought there was nothing which would more practically bring about the idea that they really belonged to one great country and one great Empire than the fact that they had a uniform rate of postal communication, notwithstanding what the distance might be. The matter ought, he thought, to be brought before the House at the present Session.

Mr. MacFarlane had no objection to the suggestion, but the whole matter had been discussed at the Colonial Conference in 1887, fully and thoroughly, and the reason why the scheme for penny postage was not adopted was that the scheme would not pay, because the subsidies paid to the steamship companies were charged to the post-office account. It would be utterly impossible to carry out the scheme until there was what was called an Imperial revenue. There was no way to introduce the penny postage except by the Hofmeyer scheme, which had received such scurvy treatment at the hands of this League.

Mr. Hopkins thought that if this resolution was passed by the House of Commons, it would have a more powerful effect in England than in any other way.

Mr. Cockburn believed that revenue could be created. The difficulty now was that the British postal system was a source of large revenue.

Colonel G. T. Denison moved: That this League wishes to urge on the Government the importance of taking immediate steps to secure a universal rate of penny postage for the Empire.

Mr. McNeill believed that the thing most necessary was pressure on the authorities.

Mr. MacFarlane asked how many of the members had read the proceedings of the Colonial Conference.

Mr. Hopkins had read the discussion carefully, and regarded as the chief obstacle the fact of the postal system of Great Britain being a money-making institution.

Mr. Alexander said no Colonial representative had been at the Conference to present the views of Colonies.

The resolution was carried.

INTERNATIONAL TREATIES.

Mr. R. C. Dickson then introduced the following resolution:

That in view of the termination of commercial treaties between Great Britain and European States in 1892, and of the fact that certain of these treaties, notably that with Belgium in 1862, and the States of the Zollverein in 1865, exclude the right of Great Britain and her Colonies of discriminating in favour of one another and against foreign nations, the Imperial Federation League of Canada protests against such stipulation in the treaties bringing about that result, and in order that no obstacle may stand in the way of adopting such a policy as the interests of the Empire may render needful, it trusts that any commercial treaties affecting fiscal matters shall not contain the proviso that the favoured nation clause shall not apply to any preferential arrangement made between the different parts of the Empire.

Mr. MacFarlane seconded.

Mr. McCarthy explained that Lord Carnarvon, in 1878, in his despatch stated that in future any treaty made with foreign countries regarding trade relations would be made with the consent of Canada. The treaties spoken of were made prior to that despatch, and attention to the matter was only drawn to the British House of Commons in 1888.

Mr. Dickson's motion was then adopted.

AUSTRALIAN TRADE.

Mr. Hopkins then moved:

That this meeting desires to express its warmest appreciation of the fact that the Australian Colonies are now taking steps to bring about a Federal Union of those parts of the Empire, and urge upon the attention of the Government that this is a suitable time for pressing for closer commercial relations between this country and Australasia.

The resolution, seconded by Mr. Dobell, was adopted.

On the motion of Mr. McNeill, seconded by Mr. Clark, it was decided

to have one president for Canada and one vice-president for each Province of the Dominion.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

President—Mr. Dalton McCarthy.

Vice-presidents—Ontario, Mr. McNeill, M.P.; Nova Scotia, His Grace Archbishop O'Brien; New Brunswick, Sir Leonard Tilley; Prince Edward Island, Lieut.-Governor Carvell; British Columbia, Lieut.-Governor Nelson; Manitoba, Lieut.-Governor Schultz.

Secretary—R. Casimir Dickson, Toronto.

Treasurer—Mr. Lyman, Montreal.

Members of Executive in England—Sir A. T. Galt, Colonel F. C. Denison, Mr. A. McGoun and Mr. Sandford Fleming.

Members of Council—Messrs. J. Herbert Mason, Toronto, and W. Hamilton Merritt, Toronto.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Messrs. McGoun and Hopkins for their services to the League, and the meeting then adjourned.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL AT EDINBURGH.

UNDER the auspices of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch of the Imperial Federation League, a public meeting was held on February 12th in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, under the presidency of the Duke of Argyll. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen. Among those who accompanied his Grace to the platform were the Earl of Glasgow, the Master of Polwarth, Sir Thomas Clark, Bart.; Principal Sir William Muir, chairman of the branch; the Rev. Principal Rainy, the Rev. Dr. MacGregor, Mr. G. R. Parkin, of New Brunswick; Sir Charles J. Pearson, Emeritus-Professor Blackie, Mr. John Kerr, LL.D., H.M. Inspector of Schools; Colonel Malcolm, Royal Engineers; Brigade-Surgeon Aitchison, the Rev. George Kirkwood, Senior Chaplain to the Forces; Captain Ogilvy and Lieutenant Nevil, 13th Hussars; the Rev. W. A. Heard, Head-Master of Fettes College; the Rev. A. Wallace Williamson, the Rev. John Storr, Dr. C. E. Underhill, Dr. R. C. MacLagan, Dr. A. S. Cumming, Mr. R. Macfarlane, Dr. Hamilton Bryce, Mr. John Henry, S.S.C.; Provost Aitken, Leith; Bailie Scott, Leith; Councillors Macnaughten, Murray, James Robertson, and Robert Anderson; Mr. William Logan, Madras Civil Service; Mr. G. J. Napthine, secretary of the Australasian Club; Mr. Walter R. Brodie, Mr. James Wallace, advocate; Mr. James Currie, Leith; the Rev. John Baird, the Rev. P. Barclay, late of New Zealand; Mr. Thomas McNaught, S.S.C.; Mr. Dalziel Pearson, W.S.; Mr. C. J. Guthrie, advocate; Mr. John Usher of Norton; Mr. R. A. Macfie of Dregghorn; Mr. R. R. Simpson, W.S.; Mr. J. Galbraith Hora, advocate; Mr. A. W. Leith; Lieutenant A. Douglas-Hamilton; Mr. J. D. Sym, advocate; Surgeon Clabborn, Army Medical Staff; Mr. Henry Corbett; Mr. W. V. Jackson, Glasgow; Mr. G. W. Burnet, advocate; Mr. Walter K. Simpson; Mr. A. D. Blacklock, LL.B.; Mr. A. Orr Deas, advocate; and Mr. James Simpson, LL.B., secretary of the branch. Apologies for unavoidable absence were intimated from—The Marquis of Lorne, Earl of Rosebery, Earl of Strathmore, Earl of Haddington, Earl of Aberdeen, Earl of Stair, Viscount Wolsley, Lord Saltoun, Sir J. Don Wauchope, Bart.; Sir George Warrender, Bart.; Admiral Sir J. C. Dalrymple Hay, Bart.; Sir Archibald C. Campbell, Bart., M.P.; Sir John G. S. Kinloch, Bart., M.P.; Sir Ludovic J. Grant, Bart.; Sir Noel Paton, Hon. A. D. Elliot, M.P.; Lord Provost Boyd, Lord Provost Muir, Glasgow; the Very Rev. Dean Montgomery, Major-General Lyttelton-Annesley, Colonel R. G. Graig, Professors Nicholson, Rankine, Copeland, Calderwood, and Rutherford; Mr. Munro Ferguson, M.P.; Mr. Buchanan, M.P.; Mr. McLagan, M.P.; Bailies Russell and Steel; Rev. Dr. Whyte, Dr. Clyde, Mr. F. T. Cooper, advocate; Mr. Hugh Rose, jun.; Mr. T. Craig Brown, Selkirk; Mr. T. G. S. Roberts, Galashiels; Mr. C. Freeman Murray, Mr. W. S. Anderson, M.A.; Mr. Robert Miller, and Mr. J. Stuart Lang.

The SECRETARY read the letter from the Earl of Rosebery, President of the League, the full text of which we publish in another column.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, who was received with loud applause, said it was many years since he had stood on that platform, although in early years he was a frequent occupier of it. They came together, he said, to nourish a sentiment, to discuss and

CONSIDER A GREAT QUESTION.

(Applause.) It was now many years since this idea had been brought before him, and the air had been very much cleared by subsequent events. They were coming much nearer to something more than mere sentiment on this question. Sentiment had long existed, and, after all, sentiment, if it were deep and profound, governed the world in the long run. (Applause.) But this sentiment of the unity of the race, of their Empire and their Colonial Empire, was a sentiment which was now becoming conscious of itself. It was desirous of taking form and substance in positive institutions. Having dwelt upon the history of our Colonial Empire, he went on to say that he knew no change in public feeling and public opinion more remarkable than that which had taken place on the subject of Federation during the last thirty years. The feeling of lassitude was passing away, and now there was a

DESIRE FOR A GREAT AND PERMANENT ALLIANCE.

for mutual defence at least. (Applause.) One thing which had led to this had been the practical demonstration that although the Colonies taxed our goods as imports, our trade with them was the most important trade we had in the world. (Applause.) The trade did follow the flag in spite of any revenue raised upon it, and he, for one, must

frankly say that he did not think the Colonies were wrong, if they had to raise revenue, by raising a considerable part of it on the imports to their country. He did not blame them in the least for that. He thought they had no right to blame them. Another great part of the change of opinion to which he had referred was due to the progress of the steam-engine and to the facilities of intercourse between the Mother Country and the Colonies. (Applause.)

After giving some personal reminiscences of impressions received upon a visit to Canada, His Grace concluded his speech, which met with warm applause throughout, with the following observations:—

Now he came to

ONE PRACTICAL QUESTION

on which he desired to say a few words, and that was the question of mutual defence, and the idea of Federation in respect to peace and war. Among the papers sent to him by the secretary, he had read carefully a number of the speeches, letters, and articles which had been addressed to public bodies upon this great question, and he wished to put in a word simply of caution in regard to the difficulties which he saw in reference to that. Some of those who advocated Federation were beginning to say that when they went to war the whole Empire would be involved. "We are your Colonists, and if you go to war with a great Power, they will attack us as well as you, and our commerce as well as yours." Therefore these people were beginning to say that they must have a veto on the question of

PEACE AND WAR.

Now, he wished to say with regard to that, that as far as he could see, there were very great difficulties in the way of this taking that particular form, and he thought the Colonists might be sure of this, that the Mother Country would never engage in war except under absolute compulsion of public honour and public principle, and that they, the Colonists, ran no greater risk than the people of the United Kingdom themselves. Moreover, he begged the Colonists to remember this, that though in the distant future the people of these countries might be infinitely greater and infinitely richer than they in this country now were, yet for centuries to come, at all events for generations to come, the great heat and burden of the day in war must necessarily fall on the

TAXPAYERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Applause.) Having given this note of warning in regard to the question of peace and war, he would only say one word further, and that would be a word of warning to a particular group of our Colonies. He had said that this country was not likely ever to be engaged in war from mere ambition and aggression. He did think that they coveted more territory. Heaven knew they had enough of it already. Let them look at the map of the globe and see the vast regions that were under the British flag. (Applause.) They did not want more, but he sincerely believed that the strong feeling which now existed in this country with regard to our share in the dominion over the Dark Continent of Africa was a genuine feeling of philanthropy for the people. (Applause.) They desired in their Dominion to follow in the steps of their great countryman, David Livingstone. (Applause.) But some of the Australian Colonies, he was bound to say, under circumstances which he perfectly understood, were beginning to say that no other European Power should raise their flag over the whole of the Southern Pacific. Now, he thought, that was

RATHER A LARGE ORDER.

They could not expect the other nations of the world to submit to that doctrine. It was the old doctrine of the American Republic carried to excess. They did not realise the enormous extent of the Pacific Ocean, and he thought that they would be making a demand which was outside the boundaries of reason if they should say that no other European Power should take possession there. He thought that other nations might be allowed to take their share in the civilisation of that part of the world. (Loud applause.)

The REV. DR. MACGREGOR, St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, Edinburgh, moved—"That this meeting, recognising the position of power and responsibility held by the British Empire, and considering that a closer union of all its parts would add to its influence and security, would urge upon Her Majesty's Government to arrange for a second conference of Colonial representatives as soon as it may be opportune to do so, and to take all other expedient measures towards the attainment of the great object in view."

DR. MACGREGOR pointed out that the power and responsibility held by the British Empire constituted the great fact which underlay this whole movement of Federation. To support his statement, he brought under notice various matters, such as the extent of the British Dominion, the number of the population under British rule, and the beneficent result of British influence. He thought the brightest hope they could entertain was that of a confederation of the whole English-speaking people on the face of the earth, not for British aggrandisement, but as the highest ideal for the peace and welfare of all mankind. (Applause.)

MR. G. R. PARKIN next delivered his address.

The REV. PRINCIPAL RAINY supported the motion. He said that whatever they might state with reference to the enormous extent and wonderful progress of the Colonies, what struck one particularly with regard to them when one went there was not so much their past or present state, but it was the voice of the future that they heard calling to them. It could not but be a loss to us if we had to submit to the idea or the experience of that wonderful symbol of the expanding power of our race being palpably separated from us. They had all felt

that the existing institution of things did not express, and had not been planned to express, the actual relations. The world was governed now by opinion, but the institutions that they had were not fitted to organise the

OPINION OF THE WHOLE EMPIRE

—to weigh the opinion, and to formulate it. He quite agreed that within a definite period, not, perhaps, quite so soon as sometimes was indicated, the time must come at which if the institutions were not modified in the direction of being fitted to express better the relations and interests of the various parts of the Empire, then they would have to be modified in the other way—in the way of these communities assuming a more detached position than that which they occupied at the present time.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

SIR THOMAS CLARK moved a vote of thanks to the Duke of Argyll for presiding.

The DUKE OF ARGYLL, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said he could assure them that he had derived the greatest pleasure and the greatest instruction from the speeches which had been delivered. He had had one of the greatest pleasures in life—namely, the opportunity of hearing a great idea supported by a powerful tongue. He entirely agreed with Mr. Parkin that one of the greatest securities of the

PEACE OF THE WORLD

was the maintenance of a proper relationship with the Colonies inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon race. He was gratified to think that already to a great extent a state of circumstances such as was desired existed. They had it in spirit, and they would have it in form. He rejoiced to see the vote of the Canadian Parliament, and he hoped he might be allowed, in the name of that meeting and of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, to express their warm gratitude and hearty sympathy for the vote of the Canadian Parliament. (Loud applause.)

The meeting, which lasted two and a half hours, then concluded.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on Thursday, February the 20th, at noon, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., in the chair.

The Secretary's report for the month was received.

The report of the Special Committee on questions of organisation referred to it was received, and it was resolved that the following additions be made to the rules which now govern the formation and conduct of branches:—

"1. Where a number of branches combine to form a central organisation, as suggested in article 7, page 4, the appointment of representatives to the Council and Executive shall rest with the central organisation instead of with the individual branches."

"2. The number of representatives so appointed to the Council shall not exceed the number of branches associated and represented in that organisation."

The annual report of the Imperial Federation League in Canada was presented.

Mr. J. Parker Smith, M.P., was elected a member of the Council, proposed by Mr. H. F. Wilson, and seconded by Sir Frederick Weld, K.C.G.

Letters from the Hon. James Service, Victoria, upon the Victorian Divorce Bill and upon the proposed Conference were read.

Attention was called by Mr. Faithfull Begg to the desirability of making more use of the services of women as members of the League in the promotion of its objects and in adding to its membership. In the course of the discussion which followed, it was pointed out by Sir John Colomb that the rules of the League do not debar women from being members of the Council, or from taking any other part in the work of the League.

The Committee then adjourned.

DESTINY.

AWAKE! awake! old England,

Rise from thine island lair;

The sun of Empire dawning

Gleams on thy dew-wet hair.

Outstretch thy limbs majestic,

Peal out thy thunderous roar;

Thy lion brood will greet thee

From every sea and shore.

They share thine ancient ardour,

Proud mistress of the sea,

For truth and honest dealing,

Thy love of liberty!

And where thy sturdy offspring

Have wandered far or near,

Their British pluck and industry,

Have prospered year by year.

Until the pulsing life-blood

Of hearts so bold and free,

Begets a people yearning

For Nationality.

Temptations now beset them—

Foes from behind, before;

Her children look to England—

They wait the lion's roar;

The royal invitation

From out the lordly den,

Like sound of distant thunder,

Or tramp of armed men;

The royal invitation

To the lion brood afar,

To share the royal burden

Be it in peace or war;

To share the royal honour—

Bright guerdon of the day—

When England and her offspring

Shall join in equal sway.

Awake! awake! old England,

Rise from thine island lair;

Thy lion brood are longing

Thy destiny to share.

Toronto, 24th December, 1889.

T. E. MOBERLY.

IMPERIAL POSTAGE.

THE question of an Imperial Penny Post is evidently not going to be allowed to sleep. Since the Post Office Jubilee, referred to in our leading columns last month, and the crop of letters and articles to which it gave rise, the ball has been kept rolling pretty steadily through the month of February. To begin a day or two further back, we may note the appearance of a strong leading article in favour of "The Imperial Penny" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of January 28th, from which we cull a few passages. The *Pall Mall* says:—"The establishment of a universal penny post throughout the Empire is the first step to be taken towards that consolidation of the realm which Ministers have at heart. . . . By establishing the universal penny post throughout the whole of the Queen's dominions, he will create a new and potent bond of union among the widely scattered members of our English family. . . . To-day our duty and our interest alike point to the Imperial penny. The dream of an Imperial Zollverein has vanished. The possibility of an Imperial Postal Union, all the members of which should enjoy the same privileges as if they were English counties, is still capable of realisation. . . . Mr. Goschen has a handsome surplus. Let him devote but 2 per cent. of his four millions to the work of establishing the Imperial penny post, and the dream of the idealist would become an accomplished fact. Only 2 per cent. ! Mr. Henniker Heaton estimates it as even less than this. But if it were ten times as much the work ought to be done, and done at once. Why cannot Ministers show the reality of their zeal for the union of Greater Britain by the removal of this excessive tax on the poor man's letter? Sound State policy should facilitate the dispersion of the congested masses of our population. But one of the greatest deterrents to emigration is the interruption which it makes in human intercourse. . . . Notwithstanding Mr. Raikes's oracular dictum about the absence of 'the enormous area of productiveness,' there can be no doubt that the Imperial penny post would soon pay. . . . Water carriage is always cheaper than carriage by land. The sea, that 'incomparable road system,' as Professor Seeley calls it, affords a much more economical mode of conveying mails than the railway. Mr. Raikes by his obstinate reluctance to afford us this great boon, confirms and perpetuates Mr. Gladstone's great delusion that the sea divides. In reality it unites. That truth has still to make its way into the administration of the Post Office.

"We hope that any disposition which Mr. Goschen may have to move in this direction will be stimulated by the action of Lord Rosebery and the Imperialists who usually act with him. Mr. Henniker Heaton has made the question his own in the House of Commons. But in the House of Lords the field is clear. The question is certainly one on which the House of Lords has a right to be heard."

Sir Julius Vogel and Mr. Henniker Heaton have also been keeping up a correspondence on the subject in the *Times*. Sir Julius does not agree with Mr. Heaton's conclusions; nevertheless he concludes his second letter with the following passage:—"Will you allow me to add that if a penny postage throughout the British Empire were part of the scheme of Imperial Federation it would be a noble proposal? Its reason might be explained in a manner not dissimilar to that which justifies a uniform rate throughout the United Kingdom. If it pressed on the taxpayers they would be amply repaid in other directions. But those who, like myself, ardently desire Imperial Federation, cannot consider that it is likely to be advanced by the advantages being given without the compact being established. England's policy with the Colonies has been to make such concessions as to leave little more to offer them in exchange for what they can render."

Then, a correspondent writes to the *Daily News* from Shanghai:—"In the town where I reside stands a handsome British post office, with its pillars and verandahs, in which is established a staff of English and native assistants for the reception of letters destined for dispatch by the British and foreign mail steamers frequenting the port. Within half a mile of this imposing building are to be found the more modest offices of the French and German postal agents. At either of these latter, letters to England are received at a charge of 2½d. the ½oz. The charge for the same letter at the British post office is 5d. How much business is done by the British post office under these circumstances I leave your readers to imagine."

To which must be added that all the letters go together by the same vessel, generally a British one, which the taxpayers of the United Kingdom have to subsidise, and that nine-tenths of the letters go to England. "The British residents in Shanghai ought to have had a voice in congratulating St. Martin's-le-Grand on its jubilee."

Next, at the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Yates suggested that the question of Imperial Federation should be referred to a committee, and the President said there was one practical way in which they could help forward that very important matter, and that was by memorialising the Post Office

or the Government in favour of intercolonial penny postage. He suggested that a notice to that effect should be placed upon the agenda-paper for the next meeting.

In the *Times* of 15th February we read that a gentleman writing from Edgbaston near Birmingham to the Colonial Secretary, calling attention to the charges between this country and Australia in respect to postages and telegrams, received the following reply:—"Downing Street, January 16th. Sir,—I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., advocating the reduction of postal and telegraphic charges between this country and Australia. Lord Knutsford desires me to convey to you the expression of his thanks for your communication and to state that the questions to which you refer have of late received much attention. The cost of postal and telegraphic communication will, his lordship does not doubt, be reduced when there is any prospect of the receipts from reduced rates meeting the greater part of the very heavy expenditure caused by the great distance to be covered to the Australasian Colonies. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.—B. Cheshire, Esq."

Furthermore, a resolution in favour of an Imperial penny post was passed by the Imperial Federation League in Canada, at their annual meeting held at Ottawa on the 30th January.

Finally, Mr. Henniker Heaton is to move in the House of Commons for a Select Committee to inquire into the feasibility of Ocean Penny Postage. We sincerely trust he may get his Committee, for we believe that, if it reported in favour of the scheme, as it surely would, public opinion is now sufficiently awake on the question to insist on the matter being put through, in spite of the official *non possumus* of the Treasury.

AB HOSTE DOCERI.

THE Toronto *Empire* has an article on "Mr. Wiman and Imperial Federation," which contains the following passages. Our Canadian contemporary is quite right. We are much obliged to Mr. Wiman. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*.

"In his evidence before the United States Senate Committee on relations with Canada, Mr. Erastus Wiman touched upon one subject as to which his opinions will be learned with interest as throwing light upon some of the doings of himself and his Canadian allies. The Imperial Federationists especially will feel disposed to thank him for the help that he has unintentionally given to their cause. Mr. Wiman said, as reported in the New York *Times*:—

"The agitation in progress in favour of Imperial Federation of all the British Colonies might well engage the attention of Congress, Mr. Wiman thought. This scheme carried with it the possibility of discrimination against American commerce in the English ports and a corresponding encouragement of Canadian products. Its development would lead logically to a struggle for commercial supremacy, with England throwing all of her influence, by emigration, money and every possible material aid, in favour of Canada. Commercial union would forestall any such project, and American capital would reap the harvest of Canada's resources; but such an alliance should be projected without the least possible delay, for already, if the question of Imperial Federation or Commercial Union could be decided by the Montreal Board of Trade, Imperial Federation would undoubtedly be chosen by a substantial majority."

The growing feeling for consolidation of the British Empire apparently makes the "Americanisers" afraid that if they cannot succeed at once they will soon not have the slightest chance. . . . They seem to share the views given in evidence by Mr. Wiman that Imperial Federation, or some form of consolidation of the British Empire, is antagonistic to the proposed surrender of Canadian interests to the United States, and would block "the only right road to annexation." If this is seen to be the case, the popularity and membership of the League will be greatly increased. In spite of . . . misrepresentations to the contrary, it is largely composed of well-known Liberals, not only in the Mother Country, but in Canada; and the effect of the movement, as described by Mr. Wiman, who has taken care to inform himself on these subjects, must have a tendency to bring fresh accessions to the organisation. No advocate of Imperial Federation has given stronger reasons for supporting the movement than this opponent.

Differential encouragement of trade between the various members of the Empire, though not part of the platform of the League, which recognises the right of self-governing portions to frame their own tariffs as well as to preserve their other autonomous privileges, would undoubtedly be facilitated by Imperial Federation in any possible form."

Less Coloured.—If our American news is to come through Frisco in the future, it is to be hoped that it will be a little less coloured. It is hardly right to give such prominence to the so-called "Union" feeling in Canada. The Canadians themselves laugh at this.—*New Zealand Herald*.

SOME FRUITS OF FEDERATION.

BY SIR CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY.

(From *The Speaker*.)

THE Marquis of Hartington has more than once quoted a sentence or two of mine written forty-five years ago, in a forgotten Irish controversy, as expressing my settled judgment against the policy of a federal union between Great Britain and Ireland. If the *obiter dictum* of an immature young man on such a question were of any importance, I might show that the opinion cited was rather a counsel on what was proper to be done then and there, when two contradictory policies were proffered to Ireland, than an abstract declaration of principle. But I have handled public affairs for nearly half a century since that time, and have sometimes mixed in debate where constitutional questions of this character were carefully considered; and if the noble marquis does me the honour to regard my opinion as of any value, it is very much at his service. I believe that the Federation of Great Britain and Ireland alone is an undertaking surrounded by difficulties which it would require extraordinary judgment and foresight to overcome, but that the Federation of the entire Empire is a wise and salutary design, open to no serious objection, and marvellous in its simplicity and integrity.

It is instructive, by the way, to note how many difficulties which perplex the Marquis of Hartington, and other gentlemen of his opinions, would entirely disappear if the design of organising the Empire were frankly faced. I shrink from debating the question in its larger issues—what the Empire would gain, for example, by Federation, and what it may lose in some unlucky hour by the want of it; but a great design, whether it be good or bad, has commonly unexpected results of a kindred character, and I will venture to run over a few smaller and secondary gains we should all obtain, in dealing with current politics, if England, like Prussia, agreed to accept the primacy of a great organised Empire in lieu of an incongruous system in which European and parochial politics are treated by the same men, on the same scale, and often in the same narrow spirit.

One of the difficulties Lord Hartington has sometimes foreshadowed is a contest with the House of Lords over Home Rule. The peers, he is persuaded, will stand a siege longer than that of Troy or Sebastopol; and it may be so, but will it not terminate some day or other like these memorable exemplars—in a complete surrender? No one will dispute that the exact limit of the veto which the Upper House is entitled to exercise in legislation is a critical and imminent question; and if it be fiercely fought out, it may seem easier to dispense with the Second Chamber than to bring it into permanent harmony with the one which has been reformed. What a discreet statesman fears in such a contest, I fancy, is not that it will be long and doubtful, but that the victory when it comes will be too complete. For few statesmen are prepared to withdraw the serviceable check of a Second Chamber from legislation, or leave angry questions to the sudden impulse or unbridled will of a single assembly. But mark how Federation might solve this difficulty. A Federal Senate would probably be recruited to a considerable extent from the House of Lords, and when Imperial questions were transferred to the Federal Legislature, the people of England—of whom the peers would remain, I presume, the Upper House—might reform that chamber or leave it unreformed, at their discretion. If there were no new provocation, it is not improbable that it would remain unaltered for many a day; but, in any case, its reform would be a purely local question, with which Ireland, Scotland, or Wales would no longer have any right to interfere. It would provoke no fierce passions, and might be settled as tranquilly as the essentially kindred question of substituting County Councils for the hereditary gentry in local affairs.

Lord Hartington is troubled over the powers which ought to be conferred on an Irish legislature, if an Irish legislature should come. His policy seems to be to give as little as possible—a sure method, by the way, to rob a boon of all grace and to keep the old wounds green and open. This policy is naturally met by a determination on the other side to get as much as possible, irrespective of any consideration of proportion or fitness. What endless controversy and conflict will gather round this question! But Federation would free us of the whole coil of perplexing details at a stroke. What are the powers which ought to be conferred on the Irish legislature under a federal system? Why, exactly those conferred on the local legislatures of England, Scotland, and Wales. No more, certainly—and no less, certainly. Their functions might be considered as dispassionately as a Railway Bill. The question would excite no national animosities, for the powers would belong to each member of the confederacy alike. We know what questions Prussia, Belgium, Switzerland, and the United States reserve for their supreme legislature, and what questions they devolve upon the local bodies. We have more than a

century's experience of the working of this system; and if there have been mistakes or omissions, let our statesmen amend them.

Happily this is the shortest road not only to the present but to the permanent pacification of Ireland. From the native patriotism fostered by local institutions would finally grow a patriotism extending to the whole Empire. Why not, indeed? Irishmen have had their full share in the battles with enemies, and the conflict with nature and circumstances, by which the Empire was founded, and they will be proud to recall that honourable share when the love which always begins with the family, the clan, and the nation, is no longer denied its natural gratification.

The party of which Lord Hartington is the banner-bearer have sometimes felt alarmed lest the power conferred on the democracy should be exercised rashly or wantonly on the questions of higher politics of which they have slight knowledge or experience. If this danger exists, here again federalism is the remedy; for foreign politics, national defences, and probably tariffs would belong exclusively to the Federal Parliament. And the Upper House in federal constitutions is commonly protected against this identical risk by double election or some more stringent precaution. The United States senators are chosen by both Houses of the State legislatures, and the senators of France in a large degree by the departmental councils. Is it too heavy a strain on public faith to assume that double election, which the two great republics find sufficient to exclude crude theories and angry prejudices from their senate in countries where crude theories grow in extraordinary abundance, would be as effectual in Westminster as it is in Washington or Paris?

Lord Salisbury recently bade us note the tendency in our times for neighbouring nations to get more and more massed into prodigious empires. The tendency not only exists, but is perhaps the most formidable and menacing fact in contemporary history; for with great States come not alone great armies and immense resources, but the constant temptation to employ them in some brilliant aggression. It depends just now on a young man still intoxicated by a premature rise to supreme power, and a middle-aged man disturbed by the constant fear of assassination, to let loose on modern civilisation armies such as were never before mustered on the earth. But surely the moral which Lord Salisbury draws from these facts is not the natural one. If the world is to groan under the burthen of great empires, it is the statesman's business to strive that his empire shall not be merely a bloated frame, but a vivid organisation. Is not Federation the remedy? Would it not awaken as nothing else can local vigilance and local patriotism within an area which they could adequately guard and tend? Was it not States smaller than Scotland or Wales, but distinct divisions of a great people, who bequeathed to the world the arts, literature, and science which it cherishes most? and when these boons of heaven were submerged under the barbarism of great empires, was it not other such States which revived and restored them? For it is local patriotism which doubles and quadruples the numerical force of a people.

Lord Hartington in one of his latest speeches drew a lively sketch of the Irish members deciding the public policy of their country in a Dublin Parliament, free from all English interference, and then rushing to Westminster to decide the policy of England in total disregard of the wishes of the English people. This is a fancy picture, but here again is not the remedy Federation? Whatever difficulties surround the retention of Irish members in the House of Commons will entirely disappear if they are only retained in a federal parliament fairly representing the three kingdoms and forty Colonies which constitute the Empire. They will have nothing to do with the special policy of England, but only with the general policy of the Empire of which their country is an integral part.

There is no need that such a body should be numerous—it only need be proportionate. And Colonial representatives who would be lost among six hundred and seventy members of the House of Commons would have their just share of power in such a legislature. The supremacy to which her population and history entitle England would naturally be maintained, as it is maintained for Prussia in the Imperial Reichstag, while proportionate justice, we may hope, would be secured for every member of the confederacy. "But," cries the vestryman in the House of Commons, "we don't want Colonial representatives; we will never permit Montreal or Melbourne to determine the policy of England." Brave words, in sooth; but how long, O legislative vestryman, will Montreal and Melbourne allow you to dictate their policy in peace and war in complete ignorance of their interests and wishes?

I will not say that this is my confession of faith on Imperial Federation, for the most important considerations have not been touched on at all; but it suggests some of the reasons which forbid me to fall into the category where Lord Hartington would place me. I am for confederation of the Empire, and as speedily as possible, under the strong conviction that if it be postponed till after a foreign fleet has bombarded Sydney, Melbourne, and Cape Town, there will be only broken fragments of our Colonial possessions left to federate.

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Imperial Federation.

MARCH 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enbiable heighth, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE past month has been rife with events of the first importance in the history of Federation and the progress of our cause. Two events that may claim to be historical are the Federation Conference at Melbourne, and the appearance of "Problems of Greater Britain," though the former of these of course stands upon a higher political plane than the latter. To these must be added the remarkable manifestation—or manifesto, as it might be not inaptly called—of loyalty to the Crown and the British connection, embodied in the address to the QUEEN passed by the unanimous vote of the Commons House of the Dominion Parliament of Canada. Of more ordinary events we chronicle the annual meeting of the League in Canada, where most important resolutions were discussed; the great meeting at Edinburgh, with LORD ROSEBURY'S letter and the DUKE OF ARGYLL'S two speeches, the latter of which, it was observed by those present—though this, unfortunately, scarcely comes out in the newspaper reports—was far warmer and more sanguine in tone than his opening one; and the concluding meeting of MR. PARKIN'S most successful "progress" through the large and important county of York.

THE rapidity with which events move in Australia is a little perplexing to people not living on the spot, and even to Australians themselves it appears to make political forecasts rather hazardous. Even the last files of Australian papers that have come to hand contain prognostications that the Melbourne Conference would come to nothing; and, to go only a little farther back, he was a bold man who ventured to feel sure that it would even meet. SIR HENRY PARKES' unlooked-for proposal was by no means warmly received outside his own Colony; and it was only by great energy on his own part, and much forbearance and sacrifice of *amour propre* on the part of those politicians in the other Colonies who had fostered the Federal Council, that a compromise was arrived at, enabling SIR HENRY PARKES' scheme to be discussed at all. The result of the Conference, as affecting the Federal Council, appears, from the brief accounts we have

yet received of its proceedings, to be to put that never very robust body on one side altogether. It will be remembered that at the last session of the council, just a year ago, the gradual creation of a complete Federal Legislature and executive was the key-note of its proceedings. All parties therefore were aiming at the same end; the difference has been one as to means only. The consummation has certainly been precipitated, but we trust with no injurious effect, by the recent Conference.

As we have pointed out elsewhere, the Conference is but a preliminary step; nothing formal or binding can be done, nor can the great questions at issue even be closely approached until the Convention meets, the assembling of which was the decision to which the members of the Conference bound themselves, though they were not in a position to bind their legislature. It may well happen therefore—and though we should regret such a course, it would be one that could hardly be considered very surprising—that not all of the Colonies, even of the strictly Australian group, will consent to send delegates to the proposed Convention. Placed as the Australian Colonies are, they could not very well follow the precedent set by the central Provinces of Canada under like circumstances, and establish a Federation from which some of their immediate neighbours would at first be omitted. If such differences should arise, the assistance and mediation of Ministers of the Imperial Government would no doubt be sought, and would be given with the same readiness, and, it might be hoped, with the same good results, as attended the efforts made by Imperial Ministers towards bringing about the Federation of the Canadian Provinces.

If these things should happen, nothing could be more opportune than the assembling in London at such a conjuncture of the Imperial Conference, which would give the representatives of the Australian Colonies the great advantage of meeting in consultation on what may be called neutral ground, not only with one another, but with Ministers of the Crown in Great Britain, and with statesmen from Canada, whose experience and advice at such a crisis would obviously be of the highest possible value. On the other hand, a different turn of events might render it inconvenient for Australian politicians of the first rank to attend a Conference in London at the present engrossing epoch of their own political history, and an Imperial Conference, with Australia left out, would not be in a strict sense Imperial. At the same time, considering how small the space occupied at the last Conference by the affairs of other important portions of the Empire, compared with that filled by the consideration of matters solely affecting the great group in the South Pacific, it is not unreasonable to assume that another Conference would be concerned for the most part with matters more directly affecting other great groups; so that, even if Australasia were not fully represented, there would be abundant material at hand awaiting treatment, Canada alone having not a few questions of the gravest importance ready for Imperial discussion.

SIR C. GAVAN DUFFY, whose contribution to *The Speaker* on "Some Fruits of Federation" we reprint in another column, has an article in the February number of the *Contemporary Review* under the title of "The Road to Australian Federation." Perhaps the most interesting part of it is that dealing with an almost forgotten page of Colonial history—the movement, originating in Victoria, for a readjustment of the relations of the Mother Country, on the basis of the independent sovereignty of each Colony or group, but in alliance with the United Kingdom and with each other. The object of this plan was to enable the Colonies to remain neutral in case of Great Britain being involved in war, or to take part in it as they should see fit; and a Victorian Royal Commission drew up a report embodying such a scheme. But as the "alliance" was expressly made to be dropped at will at the moment of war, or the Colonies would not enjoy the neutrality which they aimed at, it is difficult to see where the use of the "alliance"

came in. However, the scheme dropped, as it deserved to, still-born; and SIR GAVAN DUFFY now admits that Imperial Federation is a wiser solution of the question.

THE fear expressed by our correspondent, MR. HYDE CLARK, lest the English language should be driven out of the field before the advance of the French tongue, is one which we ourselves do not share. That French is spreading in the Dominion of Canada is true in the sense that the French Canadians are spreading themselves over a larger area. We have before us an emigration pamphlet containing some remarks somewhat in the same sense. The power of numerical increase exhibited by the French race in Canada is a remarkable fact as to which statistics leave no room for doubt. But other careful observers of Canadian affairs do not share the apprehension of those writers, that the French people or their language are at all likely to predominate outside their original centres, but rather expect to see their racial distinctions gradually obliterated among the more scattered offshoots. As for the English language the world over, the *Alliance Française* will have to abolish rather a large number of Anglo-Saxons before it succeeds in abolishing their language.

THE Liverpool Chamber of Commerce has, we observe, forwarded to the Colonial Office a unanimous resolution to the effect that "the Government ought to exercise more direct British control in North Bechuanaland, and that that control should be extended to Swaziland and Amatongaland." On the other hand, as will be seen from our Parliamentary intelligence, the party in favour of the cession of Swaziland to the Boers of the Transvaal have been reinforced by the adhesion of MR. BAUMANN, M.P., who, as a member of that much-abused body the South African Committee, might naturally have been supposed to hold quite other views on the subject. By this time, however, it is probable that the decision of the Government on this question has been already taken, so we need not discuss it further. But as an illustration how rapidly the situation in South Africa is changing, it is worth while recording a statement which was made at the Liverpool meeting. It runs as follows:—"In the Cape Colony there are nine Englishmen to eleven Dutchmen; in the Transvaal the English greatly outnumber the Dutch."

WE have had occasion in more than one instance to differ sharply from SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, and more especially to express our absolute disagreement with his famous utterance that England has no interests north of the Limpopo—a statement which, we are glad to observe, he has of late forgotten—and on this account we are all the more pleased to welcome his weighty support in a matter in which all who care for our relations with the Colonies must feel keenly, the "penny-wise parsimony of the Treasury" in reference to the administration of newly-annexed territories. To this penny-wise parsimony, says SIR HERCULES, is in large measure to be attributed the loss of the Transvaal, "the richest territory in South Africa;" in reference to British Bechuanaland "there has been an annual contest with the Treasury for the means necessary for maintaining efficiency and decency in the administration of the country;" "under the existing system the public expenditure in the Colonies over which the Treasury has any control alternates between reckless extravagance in millions and short-sighted parsimony in pounds." It is all too true, and to our readers, at least, the moral is obvious. In the fabric of habit we have built for ourselves—to paraphrase MR. FROUDE—the British nation can exist no longer. If the Treasury, whose proper business after all it is to scrimp and save, carries the process too far in the case of Penzance or John O'Groats, those places can make their complaints heard through their Parliamentary representatives. But Bechuanaland has no representatives, and therefore the sooner its administration is transferred to a new Ministry, with Imperial ideas and Imperial responsibility, the better for all concerned.

It is not in Canada only that the question "Will England discriminate in favour of her Colonies?" is discussed with interest; there is a well-written article on the subject in the

columns of *Young Australia*, which begins, we are glad to notice, by pointing out very fairly the obstacles in the way of the Mother Country adopting outright a course which the Colonies no doubt would welcome with acclamation. The writer, however, goes on to show that, to his thinking, the balance of argument is in favour of the new departure, because thereby England would in all probability be able to secure an important contribution to the cost of defence, which at present she bears almost unaided. Further, if the discrimination in favour of the Colonies stimulated their production of the raw material of British industry; as it undoubtedly would, this would be to develop markets which are, and *ex hypothesi* are to continue to be, her own. Money or manufactures sent to foreign countries, on the other hand, "would be for the benefit of foreigners, and would liberate other money for military purposes."

FAR be it from us to deny the strength of the argument, but there is just this point which must not be lost sight of—Great Britain lives, so to speak, from hand to mouth, and cannot afford that, as the old proverb puts it, while the grass grows the steed should be starving. Supposing, for example, that Parliament discriminated to-morrow against foreign countries. In revenge the United States claps a 50 per cent. duty on cotton, on wheat, and on bacon exported to England. Lancashire would be ruined, and London itself be put on half commons. France and Germany raise their tariffs against English manufactures—it is true their own people would suffer by the action; but the Governments in both countries can carry through measures on which our own more popularly organised Government would never venture—and hundreds of thousands more are thrown out of employment. Meanwhile no doubt the Colonies would have been enabled to raise their consumption of our wares by some millions sterling, and to promise to fill the entire gap within a few years. But this would be cold comfort to the workmen who were starving in the interval. We have not, that we are aware, seen this point raised before, and therefore, not as in any way accepting our own arguments as conclusive, but rather as acting the part of *advocatus diaboli*, we put it to the professed believers of Imperial Reciprocity as one worthy of serious consideration and effective reply.

WE are very glad to see a protest in the *Cape Times* against the triviality of much of the intelligence sent abroad by the telegraphic agencies. The particular instance given, that the Cape Town public were informed by cable that three clerks in the Agent-General's office had taken influenza, but had to wait till the mail arrived to learn that the BISHOP of DURHAM, "a theologian of European reputation," was dead. The particular instance, we admit, concerns us in no way in this journal; but it does concern us very nearly that the performances of a man who wins a sculling race on the Paramatta, or even of an idiot who descends the Niagara River in a beer-barrel should be telegraphed by the column, while news of serious import is so curtailed that well-educated Englishmen are not ashamed to confess themselves ignorant of the names of the Australian Premiers, and Australians in return display an almost equally blank ignorance of English affairs. Of course, as long as cable tariffs remain at their present prohibitory figure, we can only expect that telegrams will be short; but at least the money available might be spent on objects that are worth the expenditure. But if the editor of the *Cape Times*, and his colleagues all over the world, will only speak out equally distinctly on a few more occasions, we may perhaps trust to the competition of the telegraphic agencies to do the rest.

WE have before us a copy of that most useful publication, the Periodical Circular issued by the Emigrant's information Office. The copy in question (which is of the combined Circular for Canada, Australasia, and South Africa, issued in October, 1888) comes from the Rochdale-road Branch of the Manchester Free Library, where it lay for three months—that is, no doubt, until the next quarterly issue was received; and it has been sent to us as a piece of what lawyers term "real evidence" of the utility of the

publication. And certainly the aspect of the pamphlet is more eloquent than any oral testimony could be. Owing to its compact pamphlet form and the toughness of the paper, it is not torn, as newspapers are that are much read; but the blackness of almost every page from end to end shows how diligently it has been thumbed, and proves beyond cavil the want that this official publication has supplied.

It will be remembered by readers of the report of the Leeds meeting in our last number that MR. PARKIN was "heckled" there by a MR. ALFRED MORRIS, who, as we understand, is a prominent member of the "Fair Trade" League. The apostles of what is (or rather used to be, during the short time it was talked about) called "Fair Trade" are very anxious to convert us to their views, and ask us to make an Imperial Customs Union a plank in our platform. Now at the present time we do not see our way to do this, though the question is one that is looming in the perhaps not far distant future, and the League in Canada is undoubtedly anxious to bring about a discussion of something of that nature. But even if we could at the present time adopt this principle with any hope of getting it accepted by the people of the United Kingdom, we should still ask what such a policy has to do with what used to be heard of as Fair Trade?

As pointed out by a correspondent of the *St. James's Gazette*, signing himself "Suum Cuique" (whose letter we reprint in another column with other extracts from the same paper), the idea of Fair Trade, which means—or used to mean—free trade with foreign countries which give us free trade and protection against those who protect themselves, is incompatible with an Imperial Customs Union, which necessitates more or less protection against all foreign countries. If those who were once Fair Traders now make an Imperial Customs Union their cry, why don't they say so? But while they sail under the flag of Fair Trade at the main, it is useless for them to spread their canvas to catch the favouring breeze of Imperial Federation, by hoisting the rival flag of an Imperial Customs Union at the mizen.

WE are not alone in the view we expressed in a Note last month, that MR. BOWKER, of Cape Colony, is very nearly being an Imperial Federationist without knowing it. MR. F. P. DE LANILLIERE, one of the oldest advocates of the movement and a member of the League, writing to a contemporary under the heading "A Cape Politician on Imperial Federation," says:—

No truth could be better expressed than in the words of Mr. Bowker when he says, "England and her Colonies must either sink or swim with the British fleet," and that it is "the duty of England's Colonists . . . by every means in their power to maintain its superiority." This lands us on the threshold of Imperial Federation, and shuts us up to the inevitable and most desirable conclusion, which I have thus tried to work out in my "Political Organisation of the Empire"—"Our whole subject is summed up in four sentences:—Common defence involves common expense; common expense and danger confer the right of common control of foreign affairs, from which danger may arise, and of forces required for defence; common control must be by common representation; common representation is Imperial Federation."

MR. LABILLIERE's quotation from his work may also be appropriately compared with the passage from SIR CHARLES DILKE's book with which our article on his views concludes.

"NOTHING can be more catholic," says the author of "Problems of Greater Britain," "than the tone which has 'always been exhibited by its [the League's] official organ, 'a paper which has been conducted with an impartiality 'which might with advantage be extended in political 'discussions.' *Laudari a laudatis* is always a matter of legitimate and honourable self-congratulation; and none will be found to deny that his statesmanlike qualities, and the notably impartial character of his own writings on Imperial subjects, render SIR CHARLES DILKE a person whose praise is worth having. And the special qualities which he commends in this journal are such as we are particularly gratified to have imputed to us. We have always recognised that our subject is one which needs to be looked at from all sides, and that our object should be to have all its aspects represented and considered—nay, more, we have

felt that our readers had a right to have all the factors of the case brought before them, and that among these factors not the least important were the statements, and more especially the mis-statements, of our professed opponents.

At the same time our aim must obviously be to forward the cause of Federation, and to express and support the policy of the League. And one feature in that policy has been, and is, to avoid putting forward or discussing schemes of political union. We can admit the truth, therefore, and justify the wisdom of the course which SIR CHARLES DILKE goes on to speak of. He says:—"IMPERIAL 'FEDERATION has, however (while it has always given 'fair-play to all sides), sharply criticised the writings of those 'who have asked disagreeable questions bearing upon the 'possibility of the adoption of a close union, such as the 'question how the Federation would deal with Customs; 'or, if taxation was to continue to be treated locally, with 'the refusal of a member of the Confederation at any future 'time to provide money for Imperial defence?" We take exception to the word "possibility," but that may pass. If this Journal, at the present stage of the movement, were to devote its pages to disquisitions upon these constitutional points which are always crucial in every federal polity, it would at once be called, and rightly called, academic and unpractical.

WE print elsewhere the reply of LORD KNUTSFORD to a gentleman who wrote to call attention to the high charges for letters and telegrams to Australia. His lordship does not doubt that the cost will be reduced "when there is any prospect of receipts from reduced rates meeting the greater part of the very heavy expenditure caused by the great distance to be covered to the Australasian Colonies." Now as to this we should like to enquire when and how the official mind at the Colonial and Post Offices is to have this prospect borne in upon it, so long as the public are deprived of any opportunity of showing how much the bulk of their correspondence would grow under a cheaper rate? And further, we desire to point out that the very heavy expenditure is *not* caused "by the great distance to be covered," but by the expensive means of conveyance by land transit *via* Brindisi, and by heavily subsidised steamers.

THE all-sea route need not be by any means expensive; it is speed that costs the money, and as those who demand speed will continue to use the overland system, this element has not to be paid for on the alternative route, of which cheapness is the great desideratum. But the language on which we have just been commenting tends to confirm an impression we have long had, that when the Postmaster-General assured the Conference in 1887 that a penny post to Australia would cost the Exchequer £350,000, his estimate was based on the loss that would accrue upon carrying the same number of letters as are now written under the almost prohibitive sixpenny rate, and carrying them by the same expensive route, for one penny instead of sixpence. At any rate, this, absurd as it is, seems the only possible ground upon which such a statement could have been made.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the LEAGUE is fixed for THURSDAY, MAY 22nd.

BACK NUMBERS.—The secretary will be glad to purchase from branch secretaries and agents copies of the issue of January, 1890, which is already out of print.

Of late years, especially in this country, there has been a growing desire for a closer union of all portions of the Empire. The Imperial Federation League has done much to foster this larger spirit; but, while the Australian Colonies are apparently moving in the direction of Australian Federation, and the Colonists at the Cape, with their and our immense territories being opened up, are talking of similar measures; and with Canada resting not very easily under her complex constitution, and looking on the one hand towards Great Britain and on the other towards the United States, it is evident that too much zeal can hardly be put into the propaganda of Imperial Federation.—*Manchester Examiner*.

THE MELBOURNE CONFERENCE.

WE deal in our leading columns with the subject of the Federation Conference that sat at Melbourne during the first half of February. The following is a brief summary of the proceedings taken from the telegraphic reports of the *Times* newspaper.

The Hon. Duncan Gillies, Premier of Victoria, was President of the Conference, and the first and fundamental resolution was moved by Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, in the following terms:—

"That in the opinion of this Conference the best interests and the present and future prosperity of the Australian Colonies will be promoted by an early union under the Crown, and, while fully recognising the valuable services of the members of the Convention of 1883 in founding the Federal Council, declares its opinion that the seven years which have since elapsed have developed the national life of Australasia in population, wealth, discovery, resources, and self-governing capacity to an extent which justifies the higher act, at all times contemplated, of the union of the Colonies under one Legislative and Executive Government, on principles just to the several Colonies."

Sir Henry, in a lengthy speech, urged that the federation of the Colonies early in their career would economise their resources and substitute national for local interests. "All the elements of national life are present," he proceeded, "whether in their population, their industrial productions, or their military strength, and together amply justify the creation of that national unanimity which is alone necessary to insure the accomplishment of the scheme."

The Hon. A. Deakin (Victoria) formally seconded the motion, which was supported by Sir S. W. Griffith (Queensland), who declared that the time had arrived for a complete federation. It was impossible for the individual Parliaments to adequately legislate in matters of defence. Federation even without fiscal union would be better than none, and he would be disappointed if the Conference failed to lay the foundation of a strong Federal Government. The Hon. T. Playford (South Australia) thought the motion should indicate the powers of the Federal Parliament. The Federation movement had not sprung from the people, and the fiscal question was more important than that of defence. South Australia would, he declared, never agree to Federation on the lines of Canada, where the powers of the local Legislatures were greatly limited.

The Hon. A. Deakin (Victoria), in an eloquent speech supporting the motion, said that Australia would sooner or later be forced to unite, and the difficulties would be increased by delay. Referring to the questions of the New Hebrides, Samoa, and other places in the Pacific, he said that the voice of Australia should be heard as one by the Imperial Government. He instanced the influx of inferior races, the Western Australian question, the questions relating to ocean mails and cable routes, and other subjects, as matters requiring to be dealt with by a Federal Executive. Even if the various tariffs were maintained for a period of years after Federation was established, the officers of the Federal Government should collect the Customs and control all Australian ports. It must exercise all the powers of a sovereign State, but need not impair the efficiency or value of the local Governments for local ends. The establishment of a Federal Parliament and Executive must be determined by a properly-authorised national convention.

The Hon. A. J. Clarke (Tasmania) said that the Tasmanians were ready and anxious for Federation. As to the form of government, he thought that it would be better to follow the Constitution of the United States of America than that of Canada.

Sir James Lee Steere (Western Australia) deemed Sir Henry Parkes' motion somewhat too abstract in character. He showed that the revenue from the Customs was inadequate to pay the interest upon the total public debts of all the Colonies, and urged the development and not the displacement of the Federal Council.

Captain Russell (New Zealand) said that the idea of Federation had scarcely taken root in New Zealand; nevertheless there were many points upon which New Zealand could federate, notably those of naval defence, the marriage laws, and commercial reciprocity, but New Zealand would not be benefited by a Federal army. If Sir Henry Parkes' motion was limited to Australia, he would move that the more remote Australasian Colonies be entitled to admission to the Union whenever they desired it.

The Hon. B. Cockburn (South Australia) contended that incomplete Federation was undesirable.

The Hon. W. M'Millan (New South Wales) said that the people of New South Wales were unanimously in favour of Federation, but no union would be worth calling a union unless the border duties were abolished. New South Wales by joining would make greater sacrifices than any other Colony. When they were united the financial credit of the Colonies would be greatly advanced by the Union. The debts of the Colonies were represented by substantial reproductive assets.

The Hon. B. S. Bird (Tasmania) supported the motion, and declared that there was a strong feeling of loyalty in Tasmania

and a desire for Federation, but intercolonial free trade was necessary. He advocated the equal representation of the Colonies in the Federal Parliament, and suggested that the Pacific groups should eventually come within the Union.

Sir J. Hall (New Zealand) said that New Zealand was anxious to promote Federation and deplored the difficulties at present in the way of joining the Union, the distance from Australia being the chief obstacle. He favoured the formation of a Federal navy, but hoped the Colonies would ever have the aid of the Imperial squadron.

The Hon. J. M. Macrossan (Queensland), in an eloquent speech, thoroughly approved of the motion, and favoured a complete Federation and Customs union. He disagreed with Sir James Steere's contention that the Customs revenue was insufficient.

Sir Henry Parkes, in replying upon the whole debate, said that among the great objects requiring central government, two of the most important related, first to the Asiatic races, because it was impossible to foresee what political or social changes might take place in China, and how they might affect Australia; and, secondly, to the Pacific Islands, because Australia should be mistress of the Southern seas. A Federal Government should represent the whole people, and command the respect of every nation. He proceeded to describe in eloquent terms the possibilities of Australia in regard to national influence, power, and honour. The court of the Governor-General would be as attractive as any in the world. He left the proposed Convention free to devise a scheme of Federation, and had the fullest confidence in its justice and honour. It was impossible to predict what the march of events might be, but he prayed God that Australia might always remain under the British flag. He hoped that all groups in the Colonies might continue to form part of this magnificent Empire.

The Hon. Duncan Gillies in putting the resolution said that the Conference tended to demonstrate the thorough necessity for federation in its largest sense. The time was ripe for union, and delay might cause obstacles. He would leave the proposed Convention to determine the lines of federation. Mr. Gillies admitted that there were weighty difficulties in the way, but difficulties were made to be overcome, and would be overcome. He believed the Convention would arrive at a solution satisfactory to all the Parliaments. The Constitution of Canada was the best basis for Australia, but with the necessary modification regarding the tariff. He said he felt confident that, even if the Convention were unable at once to level the Customs barriers, it would be able to arrive at a modification satisfactory to all.

The resolution, declaring that the time had come for the union of the Australian Colonies under one Government, was unanimously adopted.

A motion brought forward by Captain Russell (New Zealand), providing for the admission into the union of the more remote Australasian Colonies at such times and under such conditions as might hereafter be agreed upon, was next put and carried.

The Hon. A. Deakin (Victoria) then moved, and the Conference adopted, the following motions, after a brief discussion:—(1) That members of the Conference should take the steps necessary to induce the Legislatures of their respective Colonies to appoint, during the present year, delegates to a national Australasian Convention empowered to consider and report upon an adequate scheme for the Federal Constitution. (2) That this Convention should consist of not more than seven members from each self-governing colony and not more than four from each Crown colony.

When the Conference reassembled next day, Sir J. Hall (New Zealand) moved, and the Hon. Dr. Cockburn (South Australia) seconded, and the Conference unanimously adopted, the following address to the Queen:—

"We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, members of a Conference assembled at Melbourne to consider the question of creating for Australasia one Federal Government, and representing the Australasian Colonies, desire to approach your most gracious Majesty with renewed expressions of our devoted attachment to your Majesty's throne and person. On behalf of your Majesty's subjects throughout Australasia, we beg to express our fervent hope that your Majesty's life may be long spared to reign over a prosperous and happy people. We most respectfully inform your Majesty that after mature deliberation we have unanimously agreed to the following resolutions."

(Here follow the resolutions quoted above, proposed respectively by Sir Henry Parkes, Captain Russell, the Hon. A. Deakin, and Sir John Hall.)

The Conference then resolved that the Premier of Victoria should be empowered to convene a Convention, which will probably meet early next year.

This brought the Conference to a conclusion.

At a grand banquet given in connection with the Conference by the Hon. Duncan Gillies to Lord Hopetoun, the Governor of Victoria, and the delegates to the Conference, the Hon. James Service proposed the toast of "A United Australasia."

Sir Henry Parkes, in rising to respond, received a splendid

ovation, the whole company rising from their seats. The New South Wales Premier began by eulogising Mr. Service's speech, which he described as being worthy of their country and of their cause. The creation of national unity was an event which could never recur. They were four millions of people,

ALL OF BRITISH ORIGIN,

united to the soil by ties of birth, parentage, friendship, and love. If they were incapable of making a nation, they were hardly fit to occupy their bounteous country. It was a wise dispensation that the Colonies of Victoria and Queensland should spring into existence and work out their own prosperity independently of New South Wales, but the time had arrived when they were no longer isolated. The

CRIMSON THREAD OF KINSHIP

ran through all. Was there a man living in Australasia, continued Sir Henry, who said that it would be an advantage to the whole to remain separated? No sane man would say so. If this were admitted, then it followed that at some time or other they must unite as one great Australasian people. No advantage could arise from delay, and the difficulties would be greater as the years went on. If this reasoning were correct the Colonies had now arrived at the time when they were fully justified by all the laws regulating the growth of free communities in uniting under one Government and one flag. This implied

NO SEPARATION FROM THE EMPIRE,

nor the creation of a separate political organisation. All free communities, he said, must have a political head, and what head could be more attractive, more ennobling, or more consonant with the true principles of liberty than the Sovereign who, during her beneficent reign, had seen more improvements for the amelioration of the human race than ever Sovereign saw in the world's history. It should not go forth for a moment that in seeking complete authority over their own affairs they were seeking any separation from the great Empire. The question of a common tariff was a mere trifle as compared with the question of national existence. Subordinate questions should be sunk. New South Wales was prepared to go into this national union without making any bargain, and without stipulating for any advantage whatever, but trusting in the good faith and justice of a Federal Parliament. Small questions ought not to be considered at the present time, and should not deter them from attaining the

GREAT CONSUMMATION

in view. Sir Henry Parkes, in conclusion, said that he believed that the people of Australia had already made up their minds to be united, and no hand on earth was strong enough to keep them asunder.

The speech throughout was loudly applauded, and Sir Henry Parkes resumed his seat amid prolonged cheers.

The company present subsequently sang the National Anthem.

AFRIKANDERS AT HOME.

THE *Daily Graphic* one day in January contained a letter on South Africa (profusely illustrated with sketches of the wrong people whose "letterpress" was presumably to be found in a neighbouring column) from Mr. George A. Rimington, who had recently, it appears, been on a trip to that part of the Empire. And the gist of his deliverance on the subject is summed up in the following passage:—"Briefly then (and however unpleasant it may be to Englishmen, it is well to face the fact), South Africa intends to work out its own salvation. Sooner or later (sooner I think) a united South Africa will break the last link which binds it to Great Britain, and a South African Republic will arise, English, indeed, in sentiment, speech, and manners, but devoid of any feeling of loyalty or affection for the Old Country. How can it be otherwise? The population consists of English, Dutch, and Natives, all of them either aliens or alienated by the policy, or perhaps I should rather say the want of policy, of the British Government."

This our contemporary *South Africa* characterises as a "gloomy view" of the prospects of Imperial Federation in South Africa—as indeed it is—but goes on to express a hope that, as to the future at any rate, things are not quite so bad as all that. This less pessimistic view is also supported by the special correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who gives an account of interviews held by him with leaders of the Afrikaner Bond.

He first interviewed Mr. Du Toit of the *Patriot* newspaper, and after the manner of interviewers went straight to the point. "What I came to inquire of you, Mr. Du Toit, was this: Are you loyal or disloyal? Is your ultimate goal one with which those who look to England as the Mother Country can fairly sympathise, or is it, at bottom, separation and alienation?" "Loyal? The Afrikaner Bond was as loyal an institution as any in the Empire." Such was the emphatic declaration of Mr. Du

Toit. "It was loyal as could be," he repeated. "What they wanted was their own nationality. What did that mean? Formerly they were German, or English, or Dutch, or Hollander. They wanted to be all united as Afrikanders—South Africans. They wanted a united South Africa right up to the Zambesi."

"But," I interjected, "so do we;" and began to sketch the united empire of self-governing communities, which is the ideal of the Liberal Imperialist. "That's just our policy," broke in Mr. Du Toit. "But aren't you intransigent Republicans? Isn't it a President of a separated Republic that you want to unite under?"—"Republicans!" he repeated after me, "You Englishmen talk more Republicanism than we do. Do not many of you say that England will some day be a Republic? Well, I suppose the constitution of the Colony will then be Republican, too." An innocent Republicanism enough this, thought I, as Mr. Du Toit avowed it.

The correspondent then proceeded to interview Mr. Hofmeyr, and finally sets out what he says is "the conclusion of the whole matter":—That there originally was before the eyes of this party some dim, uncertain hope of a Dutch-speaking and Republican South Africa, in which their race and language should no longer be, as they then conceived them to be, trampled contemptuously under foot—that is true also; and for a season the aspiration was natural enough. I would wager that there are rare finds of compromising language awaiting a Hofmeyr Commission, should that ever be appointed at the Cape—language held in the early days by the extreme wing, and by no means publicly repudiated by Mr. Hofmeyr himself. It was touch and go then, I have no doubt, which policy would come to be the dominant policy of the Dutch National League and Nationalist movement. What is quite certain is that the formula of that movement to-day is not Separation, but Home Rule. How has this come about? From two causes. The first is the discovery of gold fields in the Transvaal. It was the Transvaal—the South African Republic as it already called itself—that Dutch Cape Colony looked to as the fountain of the new nationality that was to reign south of the Zambesi when the Englishman was gone. That is past hoping now. At the magic name of gold, in came the flood of English capital and English energy, and English-speaking men which threatens in no long space to make the Transvaal more English than Cape Colony. The most intelligent and most educated Afrikanders were the first to grasp the change, men like Hofmeyr himself; like De Villiers, the Chief Justice of Cape Colony; like Kotsē, who holds the same office in the Transvaal; like Reitz, the President of the Free State; like Esselen, the Transvaal judge and type of the educated young Cape Colonist, who has there made a career. Men like these, all stalwart Afrikanders from the first, some the recognised leaders of the movement, some until lately English-haters with the best—they have looked the facts in the face and have brought their ideal into touch with the realities of life. I speak not at random—I have seen and talked with all these men face to face. I have held, as it were, a symposium upon South African unity. I have discussed with each one of them the problem of reconciling that unity with the retention of the link which binds the Colonies to Great Britain. And I can only say that if all Englishmen, or if only one of the great parties in England, were to face that problem in a spirit as hopeful, as practical, and as resolute, it would be very close upon solution. . . . Every one has become Afrikaner, but Afrikaner in a new and wider sense . . . the Afrikaner, the man who is to build up the united South Africa of the future, is now no longer the Dutch-speaking, Dutch-thinking Republican of a vanished ideal, but the South African Colonist of either strain who recognises in South Africa his country, and in all South Africans his fellow-subjects.

THE FAIR TRADERS—WHAT DO THEY WANT?

WE comment elsewhere on the assiduous attention now being paid by the Fair Traders to the movements of the Imperial Federation League, and their efforts to get their doctrines in some mysterious way incorporated into ours. The following extracts and letters will be read with interest in connection with our remarks. Our difficulty is very much that of "*Suum Cuique*," whose letter appears below; only that we have no desire to make any uncomplimentary remarks upon the Fair Traders wanting to attach themselves to an organisation of such influence as ours with a view to getting us to "pull their chestnuts out of the fire"—not that their organ is always very complimentary to our cause!

It appears that the following telegrams have been exchanged between the National Fair Trade League of the Imperial Federation League of Canada on the occasion of the annual meeting of the latter body held at Ottawa. The Fair Trade League telegraphed:—"National Fair Trade League congratulates Imperial Federation League of Canada on annual meeting, and submits that preferential inter-British trade relations afford the only possible basis for real Federation." The Canada League

replied as follows:—"League in Canada return good wishes, and believe inter-British preferential duties would promote more perfect unity of the best interests of our Empire."

We pause by the way to congratulate the Council of the League in Canada upon the praiseworthy caution of this non-committal statement. Upon the strength of this interchange of compliments the *St. James's Gazette* of February 4th had the following "Note":—

There has been much amiable talk and a good deal of vague prophesying about Imperial Federation; but hitherto we have seen very few proposals which even a political philosopher would regard as practical. At last we are presented with a tangible basis. At the instance of the Fair Traders in England, the Federationists in Canada have cabled that "inter-British preferential duties would promote more perfect unity and the best interests of the Empire." That is to say, that Imperial Federation may be based upon something like Free Trade within the Empire and something like Protection outside it. Here is something to argue about—something to accept or reject or modify. The Canadian Imperial Federationists, at any rate, mean business.

This note was succeeded on the 6th by a letter to the Editor under the following heading:—

FAIR TRADE AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To the EDITOR of the ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

SIR,—Having read the paragraph in your issue of the 4th inst. on the above subject, I should like to say a few words concerning it. The question of Imperial Federation has always appeared to me to rest upon a Customs Union or Zollverein; and some three years ago, speaking at the Royal Colonial Institute, I mentioned this feature as one which had been put on one side as out of the range of practical politics. Yet if Imperial Federation were ever to become an actual fact, this would form a very large part of the cement that bound the whole together. At the Mansion House Federation meeting Lord Rosebery touched upon the idea of a Customs Union, but seemed to think it was impracticable. I may mention that at both the meetings, when the subject was alluded to, it was accorded considerable applause. I quite agree with your observation, that if Imperial Federation is based upon something like Free Trade within the Empire and something like Protection outside it, there will be "something to argue about—something to accept or reject or modify."

I fail to see why this question should not be discussed by those who are so eager to foster Imperial Federation. If the great German Empire could (after many years of difficulties) create such a union, why in the case of the British Empire is it impossible? It is by our desire to push trade that new countries are explored and opened up, and yet in many of our Colonies we place our own countrymen on a par with the foreigner; and in Great Britain herself we give every advantage to the foreigner, to the great detriment of our own Colonies. The best cement with which you can bind Britishers together is what the Americans call the almighty dollar.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
February 5th.

ROBT. WALPOLE.

And on the 11th the following letter appeared:—

"IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND FAIR TRADE."

To the EDITOR of the ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

SIR,—In your "Note" of the 4th inst., to which your correspondent, who writes over the signature "Robert Walpole," refers under the above heading, two things have got mixed up which to me appear to have no connection with one another, if, indeed, they are not mutually destructive. We have all heard of "Fair Trade," which I understand to mean Protection tempered by Reciprocity: it proposes, that is, to erect a tariff against all and sundry, modifying it in favour of those foreign countries that are ready to return the compliment. An Imperial Customs Union, on the other hand, or Free Trade within the Empire (not necessarily identical propositions, be it observed in passing), is not only a totally different scheme, but, as I have said, the one is destructive of the other, inasmuch as the whole idea of an Imperial Zollverein is based on the assumption of discriminating duties against foreign countries—Reciprocity or Fair Trade with whom would thereby become impossible.

You, Sir, and your correspondent say that if Imperial Federation were based on something like Free Trade within the Empire and something like Protection outside, there would be something definite to argue about—something to accept or reject. I agree with you, especially as to the "something to reject;" for it is very certain that at the present time (to say nothing of Colonial objections to knock down their barriers against our manufactures) the people of the United Kingdom are far from being prepared to adopt Protection against the world for the sake of freedom in the still limited markets of the Colonies. Canadian Federationists make something of the sort a prominent plank in their platform; and they can consistently do so, since they are unhampered by any Free Trade principles. They, at any rate, are fairly entitled to advocate their scheme. But that has nothing to do with Fair Trade, though the Fair Traders are trying to infuse new life into their movement by identifying themselves with the movement for a British Customs Union, and so to get members of the Imperial Federation League who favour such a union to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them. As a Federationist, I deprecate very strongly having our cause blighted by becoming mixed up in the public mind with a movement with which, in fact, we have nothing whatever in common.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
February 7.

SUUM CURQUE.

PARLIAMENT OR PROFESSOR—WHICH IS RIGHT?

ON 29th January, the Dominion Parliament of Canada passed a unanimous resolution embodying an Address of Loyalty to the Queen, of which we subjoin the full text. The occasion and causes of such an event are sufficiently indicated in a general way in the body of the Address itself. The view was not unnaturally expressed that such a course was superfluous; but those who at first took this view admitted that the mover, Mr. Mulock, made out a good case for his motion; and although it was regarded as unnecessary, so far as Canadians themselves were concerned, it was, nevertheless, brought forward as the best answer to reports emanating from the United States Press, and to utterances in and out of Congress, that the feeling in favour of annexation was growing in the Dominion. The Address was moved by a prominent member of the Opposition, seconded by a French-Canadian, and carried unanimously.

The Address ran thus:—

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly, in our own name and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to renew the expression of our unswerving loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Government.

We have learned, with feelings of entire disapproval, that various public statements have been made, calling in question the loyalty of the people of Canada to the political union now happily existing between this Dominion and the British Empire, and representing it as the desire of the people of Canada to sever such connection.

We desire therefore to assure your Majesty that such statements are wholly incorrect representations of the sentiments and aspirations of the people of Canada, who are among your Majesty's most loyal subjects, devotedly attached to the political union existing between Canada and the Mother Country, and earnestly desire its continuance.

We feel assured that your Majesty will not allow any such statements emanating from any source whatever to lessen your Majesty's confidence in the loyalty of your Canadian subjects to your Majesty's person and government, and will accept our assurances of the contentment of your Majesty's Canadian subjects with the political connection between Canada and the rest of the British Empire, and of their fixed resolve to aid in maintaining the same.

We pray that the blessings of your Majesty's reign may, for your people's sake, be long continued.

The necessity for some such pronouncement may perhaps be shown by the report of a largely-attended meeting at Montreal of the members of "Le Club National," at which a motion was submitted declaring that the Loyal Address to the Queen recently adopted in the House of Commons at Ottawa was inappropriate, and likely to alienate American sympathy at a moment when the public desired closer commercial relations between the United States and Canada; and, further, affirming that the members of the club fervently desired the establishment of an independent nationality in British North America, free from all European attachments. The motion was withdrawn, after a brief discussion, but appears to have been again put and carried at a subsequent meeting.

At about the time these things were being done in Canada itself, Professor Goldwin Smith gave a lecture before the Nineteenth Century Club in New York on the subject of "Canada, Great Britain, and the United States," the following summary of which we take from a contemporary, merely noting that it must be to the summarist and not to the Professor that we are indebted for the remarkable piece of information that the Jesuit is the impersonation of the old Gallican Church:—

Professor Goldwin Smith said:—"The Americans desire to bring Canada into the Union only by the free consent of Canada's people. Canada is now a self-governed Colony of Great Britain. The Imperial country still sends out a Governor, but he no longer has any political power. Canada makes her own laws, though legally the Imperial legislature is supreme. Canada makes her own tariff, and lays protective duties on British goods. The treaty-making power is still in the hands of the Imperial country, but the Colony is allowed practically to make her own commercial treaties. The Canadian Parliament defeated the motion to send a commercial ambassador to Washington, but the vote in favour of the measure was an extremely large one. Canada contributes nothing to the Imperial armaments. What, then, is the use to England of her supremacy—without power, without commercial preference, and with dangerous liabilities? Obviously none. The end of the connection is near, and the feeling that it is near produces a spasm of recoil under the name of Imperial Federation. What is the relation of Canada to the United States? The separation was an historical accident. The characters of the population are identical, and the people themselves are rapidly fusing. New York is becoming the commercial centre of Canada; the railway systems of the two countries are connected perfectly; their Churches are the same, and their literary, philanthropic, and social movements are the same. In brief, British Canada and the States are now one people under two Governments. French Canada stands apart. It is a French nation with a practically theocratic government, the chief power being in the hands of

the priesthood, to whom political leaders generally owe their position. The theocratic character of the *régime* has been intensified by the coming of Ultramontanism, which supplanted the old Gallican Church, the impersonation of which is the Jesuit. The political relation of French Canada to Great Britain is that of passive loyalty to the British Crown. Were a political union between the States and Canada now promised, the negotiations would yet have to contend with grave difficulties. Party feeling would prevail on the American side over national interests, and local interests would also revolt. The feeling of the Canadian people in regard to the question is greatly hidden beneath conventional sentiment, which the official class labours to maintain. Yet my impression is that all along the line the people generally are inclined to closer relations with their own continent, leaving politics and politicians to take their course, and leaving questions of annexations, or Imperial Federation, or Canadian independence, to be gradually settled by the progress of opinion. Why should we not enter at once into the enjoyment of the great commercial benefits and of the social and moral benefits which it brings in its train? If a commercial union embraced the fisheries and coasting trades, there would be an end of these wretched bickerings, which otherwise will never have an end."

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE Board of Trade returns for January indicate small changes either in favour of the past month, or otherwise, as compared with January, 1889, except as regards the advancing price of coal, and a large decrease in foreign and Colonial exports. But it must be borne in mind that January, 1889, showed a large increase upon January, 1888. A comparison with the preceding December also shows unfavourable results as compared with the same months in 1888-89, except as regards average prices, in which the increase is double, both of imports and exports.

JANUARY, 1890, COMPARED WITH JANUARY, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has decreased from—
2,140,000 ... to ... 2,053,000 = 4.0 per cent.
2. Value of imports has increased from—
£38,058,000 ... to ... £38,144,000 = 0.2 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£17 14s. ... to ... £18 10s. = 4.5 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,541,000 ... to ... 2,570,000 = 1.1 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£26,141,000 ... to ... £26,367,000 = 0.8 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£10 6s. ... to ... £10 4s. = 1.0 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,227,000 ... to ... 2,259,000 tons = 1.4 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
9s. 6d. ... to ... 12s. = 26.3 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 11.2 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,056,000 ... to ... 1,064,000 = 0.7 per cent.
2. Value of exports has decreased from—
£25,082,000 ... to ... £25,011,000 = 0.3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£23 14s. ... to ... £23 10s. = 0.8 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF JANUARY.

1. While the tonnage entering the United Kingdom has decreased 4.0 per cent., the tonnage clearing has increased 1.1 per cent.
2. The several categories of imports show very different results. Animals (for food), tobacco, oil, raw materials for textiles, manufactured articles, and the parcel post (distinguished for the first time), show an increase of total value. Articles of food and drink, metals, chemicals, and miscellaneous raw materials and articles show a decrease.
3. The average price of imports has increased 4.5 per cent.; that of exports has decreased 1.0 per cent.
4. As regards value of exports there has been, on the whole, a small increase of less than 1 per cent.; but this has arisen from the large decrease of 14.8 per cent. in foreign and Colonial exports, the exports of British produce and manufactures having increased 5.1 per cent. The former decrease is mainly owing to the extraordinary increase of 41.6 per cent. in January, 1889. Metals and machinery show a continued increase of 17.0 and 21.5 per cent. respectively. All other British exports show an increase—that of the parcel post amounting to 86.7 per cent.—with the two exceptions of yarns and textile fabrics, and of apparel, which have decreased respectively 1.2 and 5.3 per cent.

The naval and military strength of the whole Empire should be confederated forthwith in self-defence and in preparation for any emergency.—*Gloucestershire Echo*.

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

TORONTO BRANCH.

THE annual meeting of the Toronto branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada was held on the 9th January in Association Hall.

Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., occupied the chair. The following prominent citizens were noticed among the audience:—Colonel G. T. Denison, Colonel F. C. Denison, M.P., Commander Law, Sir Adam Wilson, T. E. Moberly, Granville C. Cunningham, T. Castell Hopkins, D. T. Symons, C. J. Campbell, James P. Murray, Jehu Matthews, John Morrison, Stephen Jarvis, John Laidlaw, Senr., B. R. Clarkson, J. McLean Howard, R. Sander, Miss Denison, Miss Sherwood.

THE ANNUAL REPORTS.

The annual report presented went into an exhaustive review of the events which have transpired during the year of peculiar interest to the branch and of general interest to sympathisers with the League. The membership of the branch on January 1st, 1889, was 350, and on January 1st, 1890, it was 595. Of the present number, sixty-two are women.

In connection with the enrolment of women, it appears from the report that at a committee meeting on March 25th, 1889, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That, in the opinion of the committee of the Toronto branch of the Imperial Federation League, the time has arrived when it is in the best interests of the League to invite the co-operation of women as active members of the organisation;" and that subsequently, on May the 2nd, a meeting of ladies took place at Mrs. D'Alton McCarthy's house, when it was pointed out that the majority of men, being at work all day, had little time to spare to bring in new members, while the majority of those present had ample time, and great persuasive powers. Each lady was given a copy of the constitution, with a list of members, a copy of Lord Rosebery's speech at Edinburgh, and a collecting paper. All those present joined, numbering thirty-seven.

We further read in the report with satisfaction the following paragraph:—"The number of those taking the Journal, we are happy to say, has increased all but threefold—and no better educator could be had of the objects and work of the League—and we strongly recommend all members to subscribe for it."

The financial report showed the total receipts for the year to be 683 dols., and the balance after all expenditure 106 dols. There is no indebtedness.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Colonel G. T. Denison, Mr. A. J. Cattanaach was elected president for the ensuing year.

The following were elected vice-presidents:—Messrs. G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., Colonel G. T. Denison, Jehu Matthews, J. M. Clark, and Hamilton Merritt.

The following were appointed an executive committee:—Messrs. John T. Small, John D. Hay, Lieut.-Colonel Frederick C. Denison, M.P., John A. Worrell, Adam R. Creelman, Alderman John McMillan, J. Castell Hopkins, J. Herbert Mason, John Kay, Thomas E. Moberly, R. Casimir Dickson, Edward F. Clarke (Mayor), D. R. Wilkie, Henry J. Wickman, F. H. Holgate, Harry Symons, Robert Cuthbert, Dr. Larratt Smith, E. Henderson, James P. Murray.

Commander F. C. Law, R.N., was unanimously re-elected hon. secretary-treasurer.

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins:—

Resolved, that in view of the events now transpiring in Australia, by which the formation of an Australian Dominion would seem to be probable, and of the favourable feeling existing in New Zealand, this meeting of the Toronto branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada views with pleasure the fact that the Government of Canada has appointed delegates to press upon the Australasian Governments the many beneficial results likely to accrue from reciprocal trade arrangements, and would urge this as a favourable time for pressing such proposals upon the individual and hoped-for united Governments of Australasia.

Colonel Denison, M.P., had much pleasure in seconding the resolution. He had no doubt that after the sitting of Parliament they would hear further about the delegation to Australia, and he thought it a very good thing that they should pass this resolution, because it would show that they were alive to the question, and taking a great interest in it. (Applause.)

The Chairman, in putting the resolution, said he had always recognised that inter-Colonial relations must be the basis upon which a successful scheme of Imperial Federation can be built up.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Granville C. Cunningham then delivered an exhaustive and useful address on "Some Aspects of Imperial Federation," which was followed by a discussion.

PORT ARTHUR BRANCH.

The Port Arthur branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada held their annual meeting on January 27th. The Chairman of the branch, the Rev. Rural Dean Machin, requested that some lay gentleman might be elected in his stead for the ensuing year. Colonel Ray, however, insisted that as Mr. Machin was the pioneer and founder of the Port Arthur branch, and still took an interest in its welfare second to none, he should retain his office. This was carried by acclamation. Mr. Machin consented to the wish of the League. Colonel Ray, notwithstanding a wish unanimously expressed, declined the office of vice-chairman, but was willing to serve on the committee if elected. Mr. Murdoch was re-elected vice-chairman, and Mr. W. C. Dobie was elected as second vice-chairman. Mr. W. J. Hasking was elected treasurer, and Mr. Frank H. Keefer was re-elected secretary. These elections were unanimous. Ten names were then placed on a list; five to be chosen as the committee. Those elected were—Lieut.-Colonel Ray, Mr. J. T. Mackay, the Rev. John Pringle, Mr. George Hodder, and Mr. Robert Maitland. After considerable discussion it was decided to hold a public meeting, as last year, on the 11th of February, for the purpose of advocating the claims of the Imperial Federation League; and the committee were instructed to make the necessary arrangements.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

In view of certain attempts to convey the impression that the people of British Columbia are in a state of discontent, not only with the Dominion of Canada, but also with the British Empire, the *Toronto Empire* publishes some remarks from a letter of Mr. R. E. Gosnell, secretary of the Vancouver branch of the Imperial Federation League, to Mr. Castell Hopkins, secretary of the League in Canada. Mr. Gosnell says:—"I have the pleasure to inform you that a very successful branch of the league has been organised in Vancouver. We met and organised, starting off with ninety members. We expect to double that number within a month. The cause is very strong out here—I mean the sentiment in favour of closer union—and I have not the slightest hesitation in predicting that British Columbia will lead the Dominion when the question has become a practical issue."

IMPORTANT MEETINGS IN THE PROVINCES.

BRADFORD.

MR. G. R. PARKIN delivered an address on Imperial Federation on Jan. 27, in the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford. The Mayor (Alderman Feather) presided, and there were also on the platform Mr. E. P. Arnold-Forster, Mr. A. H. Loring (secretary of the League), Mr. W. H. Mitchell, Mr. Theo. Peel, Mr. G. Hoffmann, Mr. T. A. Duncan, Mr. T. Garnett, Mr. Talbot Baines, Mr. Geo. Hodgson, the Rev. W. H. Keeling, Mr. T. F. Harrison, Mr. F. Willey, Mr. A. Anderton, Mr. John Waugh, Mr. W. P. Byles, Mr. T. A. Watson, and Mr. W. H. Shepherd. There was a numerous attendance.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly opened the meeting,

MR. THEO. PEEL moved—"That bearing in mind the complete success which attended the meeting of the representatives of the self-governing nations of the Empire at the invitation of Her Majesty's Government, and the opinions so frequently expressed by those representatives that a series of such gatherings would greatly tend to the consolidation and welfare of the Empire at large, this meeting desires to convey to Her Majesty's Government its opinion that it is undesirable that any long interval should elapse before a second conference is summoned, and that, subject to public convenience, invitations should be issued by Her Majesty's Government at an early date." The resolution, he said, did not commit anyone to one side or the other. In considering so great a question, two points occurred to him—one was that of the defence of our Colonies, and the other the commercial aspect. He had long been in favour of Imperial Federation, but he had recognised that there were great difficulties attending it; but he hoped they were not insurmountable. And he went on to say:—"Taking a general view of the whole question, two queries suggested themselves to him—"Can these countries be welded together for defensive and commercial purposes so that we may present a united front?" and secondly, "Is it necessary for Imperial Federation that there should be one common fiscal policy?" It had occurred to him that one of the first difficulties which would arise would be the fiscal policy question. Could a country like Canada, with a high tariff, expect other Colonies, and England particularly, to join in any general Federation with those difficulties of the tariff before them? because he was bound to say, if Canada should be very firm upon that point, a very large proportion of the population in England would at once say that the difficulty was insurmountable.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Arthur Anderton and supported by Mr. F. Willey.

MR. PARKIN in the course of his address made the following observations on the fiscal question:—"Constantly," he said, "he heard people say—'Oh, give us Free Trade, and we will federate.' Whereas the Canadian said—'We have got rather accustomed to the Protectionist idea; give us a little discrimination, and we will federate.' (Laughter.) He would make a generous offer, and believed Canada would endorse it, viz., that Canada would give up 25 per cent. for every 5 per cent. England gave up. But what Mr. Theo. Peel would say was—'You must come right down to the solid principle of Free Trade all round the empire.' He had a line of argument he would not be afraid to develop to some little extent. He believed not that they should have Protection within the Empire, but that a small discrimination for raising the funds necessary for Imperial purposes might be the simplest way of working out the problem so far as fiscal necessities were concerned. The conditions of this country and the Colonies were different."

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and adopted.

MR. GEORGE HODGSON proposed, and MR. E. PRIESTMAN seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin.

MR. EDWARD PRIESTMAN seconded the motion, and said he would like to know if under such a scheme our Colonies might not involve us in responsibilities to which we should entirely object? That seemed to him one of the greatest dangers to which we should be subjected—whether our Colonies might not get into complications under the idea that the Mother Country would be compelled to protect them?

MR. T. GARNETT supported the resolution.

MR. PARKIN, in briefly acknowledging the vote of thanks, remarked that at present Australia and Canada could draw us into war without our having any power to control them; and the Colonies could be dragged into a war with which they had nothing to do.

BARNESLEY.

On the 3rd of February, MR. G. R. PARKIN delivered the last of his series of addresses in Yorkshire on the subject of Imperial Federation at Barnsley, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. The meeting, which was numerous attended, was held in the Public Hall. Ald. Marsden, President of the Chamber, occupied the chair, and there were also on the platform the Mayor (Ald. Wood), Mr. W. Batty, Mr. A. R. Kell, Mr. C. H. Cobbold, Mr. W. Tune, Councillor Raley, and Councillor England.

The CHAIRMAN said it was his pleasing duty, as President of the Chamber of Commerce, to introduce Mr. Parkin, who was a Canadian by birth, and who was here to address them upon the subject of Imperial Federation. . . . It was one of those questions which, he was glad to say, was not a political question. (Hear, hear.) It was a question as to what was best for the benefit of England at large in connection with the Colonies. There was no doubt that their commercial welfare would year by year greatly depend upon the custom that they would receive from their Colonies, and if any arrangement could be made such as was suggested in the scheme of the Imperial Federation League, it would be one of the finest things that was ever done in this country. (Applause.)

MR. PARKIN, who met with a very cordial reception, said this was the last of a considerable series of addresses which he had given in the West Riding of Yorkshire during the past fortnight. In that time he had spoken before several of their most important Chambers of Commerce, and before large audiences in different parts of the county. . . . He wanted to say this, that after having spoken to very considerable audiences in several towns in the West Riding, particularly in Leeds, where he addressed three public meetings of what he might say he was told there were as distinctively representative meetings as could possibly be got together in Leeds of the thought and business power of that town, he never yet, in any part of the world, had a warmer reception for the ideas which he put before them, or at the same time clearer criticism or wiser questioning upon the problem.

The Secretary (MR. C. A. MOULTON) stated that letters apologising for absence had been received from Earl Compton, M.P., Mr. Bruce Wentworth, Mr. W. S. Stanhope, and Mr. Dan Rylands.

Questions having been invited

MR. JOHN HOUGH said he should like to hear from Mr. Parkin what was the opinion of the Colonial mind in relation to the huge war debt of England in the event of federation.

MR. PARKIN, in reply, said that in Australia he once heard a man get up and say—"Look at the wretched, contemptible foreign policy of England, which has left her with a burden of 700 millions of National Debt. Look at our position out here in Australia! We have railways and public works to show for everything, and to-morrow we could sell our railways and cover our debt." He (MR. PARKIN) replied that he would blush to the centre of his bones as a Canadian to sneer at the British public debt. They, as Australians, talked of their assets. What were Britain's assets? She had one-fifth of the world to show for her National Debt. (Applause.) She was able to give Canada to the Canadians, Australia to the Australians, New Zealand to the New Zealanders, and South Africa to the South Africans. (Applause.) She was able to give homes to millions who were passing from her shores. She had the most magnificent assets.

MR. WHITHAM asked what was proposed to be done with India in any scheme of federation.

MR. PARKIN said it was rather curious that at about two-thirds of the meetings which he had addressed in various parts of the world, some one had got up and said, "What are you going to do with India?" He did not see how the position of India changed the national position, whether they were federated or unfederated. It was only a question whether the voice of the Colonies would enable them to rule it more wisely than otherwise. They would have to rule India in the future as they had done in the past, and watch carefully how far the people became able for self-government, and give it to them as they thought right and as far as it commended itself to them.

In reply to a question as to whether the Hindoos of India might not require a share in the government of the Empire, MR. PARKIN said he thought the experience of the United States with regard to the enfranchisement of the negro would teach us to act with great caution in that matter. The spirit of England at present was that India should be ruled for India's good.

The MAYOR moved a resolution similar to those passed at other meetings in favour of summoning another conference.

The resolution, having been seconded by MR. TUNE, and supported by MR. W. BATTY, was carried unanimously.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request.

The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

ACTON.—At the Priory Constitutional Club on the last day of January there was a well-sustained discussion on Imperial Federation, opened by Mr. Bradford, F.G.S., in a comprehensive speech. Messrs. Lush, Boissonade, Hayles, Clay, the Rev. W. L. Marshall, and others having spoken, a motion favourable to the movement was carried by a large majority.

BATLEY.—Under the auspices of the Batley Chamber of Commerce, MR. G. R. Parkin delivered an address upon the question of Imperial Federation in the Town Hall, Batley, on the 28th of January. The chair was occupied by Mr. M. Oldroyd, M.P., and among the gentlemen on the platform were the mayor (Mr. J. J. Fox), Mr. J. W. Blackburn (President of the Chamber of Commerce), Mr. T. C. Taylor, Alderman Middlebrook, Mr. John Stables, Mr. S. Jubb, Mr. Walter Bagsbaw, Mr. H. Sheard, etc. There was a large attendance.

In the course of his opening remarks the Chairman said that it seemed that the issue which they had to put before themselves was simply this, that while their present policy of adapting their relationship to the Colonies might be suitable for a short period, ultimately they must either federate on some principle or other, or else they must separate. Now, the latter was an alternative that no true Briton would like to anticipate—(hear, hear)—and if they had the true interests of their country at heart, they must face this question, and endeavour by the cultivation of public opinion to prepare for some definite settlement of the question in the immediate future. (Applause.)

Mr. Parkin then addressed the meeting.

Mr. T. C. Taylor moved a resolution in favour of summoning another Conference. He remarked that this was a question which was bound to come up, and if it was not settled, the first great war which we had with a first-class Power would show us the mistake we had made.

Mr. S. Jubb, in seconding the resolution, said that the fiscal question was perhaps the chief difficulty that lay in the way of Imperial Federation, but he thought they should waive that for the present and go in for political combination.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Mr. J. W. Blackburn (President of the Chamber of Commerce) moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin for his address.

The Mayor (Mr. J. J. Fox) seconded the resolution. He wished the Imperial Federation League every success, because he believed that in the near future there must either be Federation or Separation, and he believed it would be best for all of them, both here and in the Colonies, to have Federation.

Mr. Parkin, replying to questions, said that unquestionably in Australia there was a strong Young Australian feeling, and there was also a less strong, but still present, anti-British feeling; and it was a remarkable fact that, so far as he could observe, the anti-British feeling in Australia was generated, encouraged, and developed entirely by people who had come from England itself. It did not exist among the young Australian minds except as it was taught by men from Sheffield, Newcastle, London, and other great manufacturing centres, and it seemed to him to take the direction of Socialistic growth. It was something which took delight in denouncing everything British, and he could scarcely account for it. He had been told that the Young Australian party was no great force in the country. But there was that feeling, and it was thought by some that it was going to lead to separation. When that was said to him, he replied that they had not got their full development, and that when they were federated, like Canada, they would see that their interests lay in a close connection with the Mother Country.

CARDIFF.—Mr. W. A. Beer read a very excellent paper on Imperial Federation here, in January. So good is Mr. Beer's paper that we regret not being able to find space for some considerable extracts from it, which we should much like to reproduce. The Society before which the paper was read adopted one of the cardinal principles of the League in the form of a resolution, "That in order to preserve the unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is eminently desirable."

CHELTHENHAM.—A meeting was held at the Corn Exchange on February 10, to hear an address from Mr. G. R. Parkin on the "Object, Condition, and Prospects of Imperial Federation." The chair was taken by Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P. (who is a member of the Council of the League), and he was supported by Mr. Parkin, the Mayor (Alderman Colonel Thoyts), Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B. (member of the Council), Colonel Smyth, General Martin, Surgeon-Major Bedford, Mr. Wethered, Mr. Skillicorne, etc. There was only a limited attendance of the general public.

Letters of apology for non-attendance, coupled with the expression of opinions favourable to the objects of the meeting, were received from the Baron de Ferrières (who formerly sat for Cheltenham in the House of Commons), Mr. Gwinnett, Mr. J. B. Winterbotham, Colonel Ford, Mr. Osborne, and others.

Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P., in the course of his opening address as chairman of the meeting, said that for himself, he would merely say that he was induced to attach himself to the League by a feeling that it was endeavouring to accomplish that which he believed was expressed as its principal object—the attainment of the permanent unity of the Empire. He believed that to be a sound principle.

Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B., moved the principal resolution, and in doing so observed that it would be a perfect scandal if England, the mother of Parliaments, the mother of free institutions, the mother of Colonies, was not able to devise some means of a closer union with our kinsmen across the sea by which we could be independent of the world. They might depend upon it that England was still a young and vigorous matron, and that she would not allow the nurslings which she had attended to with so much care to fall into the hands of alien nations; and in the union of the English-speaking race lay the best hope for the civilisation and development of the world. (Cheers.) He proposed "That this meeting desires to record its opinion that the question of the consolidation of the British Empire by effecting a closer union of the Colonies with the Mother Country is one that calls for the careful and immediate consideration of all parties;" and to this he wished to add that as not long ago a conference between representatives of the Colonies and the Mother Country had conducted much to the furtherance of the interests they had at heart, they should also call upon the Government to arrange, at no distant date, another conference for a similar end. (Cheers.)

The resolution having been seconded by Surgeon-Major Bedford, Mr. Parkin delivered his address, which occupied upwards of an hour in delivery, and by its energy and vigour sustained the attention of the audience to the close.

Messrs. Skillicorne and Wethered also spoke.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

CLECKHEATON.—A meeting, promoted by the Cleckheaton Chamber of Commerce, was held in the Victoria Hall in that town on January 31, or the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. G. R. Parkin. The

attendance was influential. Mr. Joseph Briggs, president of the chamber, occupied the chair, and he was supported by Alderman T. F. Firth, Mr. E. Wadsworth, Mr. A. Anderton, Mr. Joseph Law, Mr. C. P. Anderton, Mr. W. E. Firth, Mr. George Sykes, etc.

The Chairman, in opening the meeting, said the Chamber of Commerce felt that the question they were met together to consider was one that demanded serious attention. When they looked at this question closely, they found it had a very great bearing upon commercial men especially, and from them upon the working classes (hear, hear). There were various aspects of the question, but leaving aside the political aspects they would confine themselves to the commercial bearing involved in it. Many Chambers of Commerce and the Associated Chambers had passed resolutions in favour of Federation, and it was seriously felt that the time had arrived when working-men generally ought to give some thought to the subject also.

Mr. Rawdon Thornton moved a resolution, similar in terms to the one adopted in Bradford and elsewhere during the week, urging upon the Government to invite at an early date another conference of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire, believing that such meeting would tend to the consolidation of the Empire. In doing so he said: Some thought that the difficulties connected with the fiscal arrangements were such that the proposed Federation would result in failure. Surely amongst our present statesmen, or at all events amongst those whom we were taught to look upon as coming leaders, there ought to be some endowed with sufficient power to grapple with and conquer a difficulty of that kind. But even if the difficulty were insurmountable, he said, let fiscal arrangements be relegated to a secondary position and let them unite for purposes of self-defence and the promotion of liberty and civilisation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Arthur Anderton seconded the resolution, remarking that he believed that this country would very soon have to take up the question in its entirety, and that it would indeed be the coming question a few years hence. Mr. Thornton had referred to the fiscal difficulty. That was a detail. What they had to do first of all was to arouse public attention to the great principle involved in Federation, and leave the details to be settled by statesmen, when the main question would be settled by this country and the Colonies.

The Chairman having drawn attention especially to the large consumption of British goods per head in the Colonies, Mr. Parkin delivered his address, and the resolution was carried by acclamation.

HAMPSTEAD BRANCH.—The annual meeting of the Hampstead branch is arranged for Wednesday, 12th inst., at 8 p.m., and will be held at the West Hampstead Town Hall. After the members' meeting there will be held at 8.30 p.m. a public meeting, at which the President of the branch, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P., will deliver an address on "The Coaling Stations of the British Empire—their Importance in our Colonial System." The chair will be taken by Major-General Young, and Mr. E. Brodie Hoare, M.P., and other influential members of the branch, will be present. It is hoped that Sir John Colomb, M.P., a recognised authority on the subject of the President's address, will also be able to attend the meeting.

HASTINGS BRANCH.—A meeting of the Hastings Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on Feb. 5 at the Town Hall. The Mayor (Councillor Stubbs) presided, and there were also present Mr. Wilson Noble, M.P., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Mr. Wells, Dr. Summerhayes, Mr. Cheshire, etc. In answer to Dr. Summerhayes, Mr. Noble said that Hastings would be a branch of the League, not a centre. They might even now find that it was advisable to form an East Sussex branch if they could not arouse interest in the movement in Hastings. He thought they had felt the pulse of the town, as it were, and no interest in the League was likely to be taken. In commercial towns where industry depended on imports from foreign countries, an interest was aroused in the League; but in a place like Hastings no interest, he believed, would be taken. It was suggested that a report of the meeting and a circular should be sent to gentlemen in the town who would be most likely to join the League; and that a secretary be elected who would thoroughly understand the subject, so as to be able to meet any objections to the League. Officers were appointed.

HAWICK.—On January 22, Mr. R. G. Laidlaw, Hazelwood, president of the South of Scotland Chamber of Commerce, gave a lecture on "Imperial Federation," under the auspices of St. John's Young Men's Guild, in St. John's Church Hall. After treating the subject generally, he dealt with various objections to Imperial Federation, and gave some interesting information regarding the great commercial resources of the Colonies.

WELLINGTON, SOMERSET.—The Debating Society held a debate on the subject of Imperial Federation, when, beside several leading members, there was a good general attendance. Mr. H. Martin presided. Mr. J. H. Jackson moved that "Imperial Federation is desirable for the consolidation of the Empire." Mr. J. Batstone moved an amendment "that whilst Imperial Federation may in itself be desirable, yet the lack of a practical scheme prevents our committing ourselves at present to its establishment." The debate was continued by Mr. J. Stark, Mr. C. H. Fox, Mr. W. Catford, and the Chairman. The resolution was put when eleven voted for and five against.

The unification of the Canadian Provinces has distinctly made in favour of Imperial unity. . . . So far from Australian Federation being "the forerunner to the separation of the Australias," it will be the first thing that will enable them to take a fair share in maintaining the strength and safety of the Empire.—*Melbourne Evening Standard*.

Imperial Federation has come to be recognised as an absolute necessity if we are to preserve the integrity and unity of the British Empire; and the most efficient way in which it can be brought about is by means of periodical conferences and meetings, such as those which Mr. Parkin has been addressing in Yorkshire during the past fortnight.—*Barnsley Chronicle*.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE annual dinner of the North Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce was attended by a large and influential company, and as usual the speeches on the occasion were of a practical kind, the only purely complimentary toast being that of "The Queen." The principal invited guest this year was Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P., the theme of whose speech was Imperial Federation, to which subject he had been requested to address himself.

In the course of his speech he said that when he had to speak upon the Federation question he had to ask his fellow countrymen to reflect what was their ultimate aim; what were they attempting to do to keep British commerce in one channel, to promote the common object—the civilisation and Christianity and peace of the world? By what machinery were they now preparing to accomplish that object, which was deep in the mind of every subject of the Sovereign? What made him a Federationist was not the experience which those he was addressing had had; but it was that having taken up the special study, when he was younger, of the defence of the Empire as a whole, he was forced to start with the honest conviction that the real key-note of the defence of England was the defence of the commerce of the country. (Hear hear.) When he had come to that conclusion it became his duty to inquire as to facts, figures, and ramifications of that commerce, because they could not make arrangements for defence without understanding the conditions under which they had to defend—without being brought face to face with commercial facts. He was forced twenty years ago to the conclusion that the defence of England and British supremacy in the world was practically the question whether British dominions would form a common state of mutual defence and development. Imperial Federation was simply this: it was a practical recognition of British growth, and a facing of the question whether their fiscal and other policy was or was not to be adapted to the real necessities of British growth. . . . They had an Empire in the East, a vast Dominion in the West, and an agglomeration of great States in the South Pacific, with great settlements and trading-stations in every quarter of the world. Were they going to continue to bear the growing burden, the growing duty beyond sea, and not ask those beyond sea to join hands and help to bear the burden? (Hear, hear.) But there was another question involved, and it was this. They would not ask another man to share a burden if they were not going to ask him to share the advantage. (Hear, hear.) Imperial Federation recognised the things that existed and the things that were to be, and if the British people at home were going to share with the British people abroad the advantages of commercial relations, they would offer facilities for raising loans for common purposes, and advancing civilisation and the common good. They must distinguish between certain portions of the Empire beyond sea and other portions; and they must bear this in mind, that Imperial Federation was not a question that could be indefinitely postponed. . . . All this pointed to the importance of hastening the time when the British Empire should be a self-sustaining Empire, and the Colonies and dependencies, as well as the Mother Country, had an interest in bringing this about. It meant this—that the development of unappropriated and unused areas was the creation of a new market for British manufactured goods, so that the Colonists had a common object and a common interest with the people at home. (Hear, hear.) He wished to remind them of the fact that Canada was desiring the Mother Country to give that attention to the question, which might arise shortly in practical form. They had America anxious to absorb into a Commercial Union Canada, and they had the sentiment of Canada against it; but sentiment could not stand contrary to self-interest—(hear, hear)—and the time might come, quicker than many people thought, when they would have this question before them. Were they prepared to make common fiscal arrangements with Canada and satisfy the self-interests of Canada and the Mother Country, or were they going to shut their eyes and let the States be offering tariffs, thus losing a dominion that stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific? He asked them calmly to consider this broad fact. (Hear, hear.)

The President of the Chamber, Mr. James Bull, said they were all, he was sure, greatly indebted to their guest for his most interesting address upon the important question of Imperial Federation. (Applause.) The matter, as he had told them, was now engaging the earnest and active attention of their larger Colonies, and it was one which was fraught with great consequences. He thought Sir John Colomb had hit the right nail on the head when he told them that the missing link in the chain was that of the preferential tariff. It seemed to him marvellous that that question had not gained greater impetus, when they considered it had at its head men of all shades of politics. It was all very well to say that the Colonies were their children; doubtless they were; but as they gained reliance of more mature age, and as they expanded and grew, they began to calculate the advantages and disadvantages of being allied to the Mother Country, and as long as the former prevailed so long was their loyalty supreme. So far our Colonies had not been called upon to contribute anything, or very little, towards their defence. But if Imperial Federation simply meant a call upon them to contribute a share towards the defence of their country, then one of their advantages which they had so long enjoyed was gone from them, and they naturally looked for something in return. Then it would be that they would cast their eyes to the Mother Country, and what would they see? A small island with the largest, the most magnificent market in the world; a small island with some thirty-seven millions of people, all more or less dependent for their supplies from abroad, all of which supplies could be sent to them by their kinsmen. Then it would be that the cry for the preferential tariff would be heard, and if that cry was only responded to they would see that England would be joined in indissoluble ties with those vast and mighty possessions, and be welded into one solid, gigantic, homogeneous unity, self-supporting and self-contained.

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

FEBRUARY 11—21, 1890.

FEBRUARY 11.

THE Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament contains the two following paragraphs referring to matters of Imperial interest:—

"The disordered condition of Swaziland having rendered it necessary to make provision for the better government of that territory, the independence of which was recognised by the Convention of London, I have, acting in conjunction with the President of the South African Republic, sent a Commissioner to learn the views of the Swazis and of the white settlers."

"I shall await with lively interest the result of the Conference now being held to discuss the important question of the Federation of the Australian Colonies. Any well-considered measure which, by bringing these great Colonies into closer union, will increase their welfare and strength, will receive my favourable consideration."

In the House of Lords—

LORD DE RAMSEY, in moving the Address in reply, spoke as follows:—A good deal was said about Greater Britain, and they heard of most laudable efforts being made for bringing to a head the scheme of Imperial Federation. He hoped they would hear and see more of those efforts, but what would be the use of any efforts in that direction if, when a difficulty like this with Portugal arose, we were not to show a bold front to the world and to declare that once territory was ours we meant to hold on to it until we were driven out of the field. (Cheers.) With our enormous and ever-increasing population, emigrating and spreading itself over the globe, it was an absolutely imperative necessity that they should know that if, when legally employed either in colonisation or in trade, they should get into difficulties from no fault of their own, the strong arm of the Mother Country was ready to support them. (Cheers.)

FEBRUARY 12.

In the House of Commons—

The following passage occurred in Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Address:—

With regard to the question of Swaziland, I am not at all surprised that the Government found it necessary to consider the question of making better provision for the government of that territory. The truth is, that great as have been and are the responsibilities of this country in other quarters of the globe, and limited as for a long time our responsibilities in Africa appeared to be, unquestionably causes—mainly connected not with the action of political parties or of Governments, but what may be called natural causes—have brought about an enormous increase of British interests in South Africa, and have opened up new prospects in that country. What we have been accustomed to regard as the Transvaal Republic, so far as the material of the community is concerned, is now I believe more, and a great deal more, a British settlement than a Dutch one. British influence—legitimate British influence—is naturally dependent on the number of our fellow-subjects who find their way to Africa, and such has that number already become, and such are the prospects of its extension, that we have now arrived at a state of things in which our African responsibilities have assumed a magnitude not inferior to those which have long been incumbent upon us in connection with America and Australasia, and although it would have been a daring and even an unwarranted prophecy to make twenty or thirty years ago, the time has come when we may anticipate, I will not say as certain, but as possible and even probable, that the Colonial possessions of Her Majesty in Africa may become in no way unworthy to compare with those in North America and Australasia in their magnitude and importance—(cheers)—and especially so long as we avoid anything that looks like political ambition and aggression, and so long as we avoid that which has a tendency to collision and bloodshed. I am not at all surprised that we have reached a point with respect to this comparatively unknown country Swaziland, when Her Majesty's Government thought it wise to take precautions of a peaceful and apparently a rational kind for bringing about the better government of that territory. I believe at this moment Englishmen generally in the Transvaal Republic are not, under the laws of that country, able to exercise the franchise, and I shall be very glad if, by the influence of rational and constitutional discussion, they should be placed on a footing of the fullest political equality that the principles of justice warrant with the original settlers to whom the foundation of that Republic is due. (Cheers.)

FEBRUARY 13.

In the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

In answer to MR. BRYCE and MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON, SIR J. FERGUSON said:—Negotiations are in progress for the settlement of the questions in difference between the two Governments relating to the rights under treaty, and I hope that a *modus vivendi* will be arranged to subsist during the approaching season in case no conclusion shall have been arrived at. It would not be conducive to the public interest that papers should be presented at this stage.

FEBRUARY 14.

DOCK AT GIBRALTAR.

ADMIRAL MAYNE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether it was the intention of the Admiralty to authorise the construction of a dock at Gibraltar.

LORD G. HAMILTON: A dock at Gibraltar would be of great service, not only to the Navy, but also to the mercantile marine. The Admiralty are considering how its construction can best be expedited.

ZAMBESIA.

In the debate on the Address, Mr. Labouchere made a fierce attack upon the Government for their grant of a charter to the South African Company, and declared that he thought the House of Commons ought to have heard that such a charter was about to be granted. He thought that all such charters ought to be laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and asked why any one who entered that territory to find or work a mine should have to pay a huge rent to a few concessionaires.

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON expressed his surprise that while reference was made in the Queen's Speech to foreign affairs such as the Samoan Conference, nothing was said with regard to other important questions, such as the Newfoundland and Behring Sea Fisheries. He hoped that the question connected with Swaziland would soon reach a satisfactory conclusion. He also trusted that effect would be given to the suggestions of his right hon. friend the member for Mid-Lothian, that communication should be made

to the President of the South African Republic with a view to the improvement of the condition of British subjects settling in the Transvaal.

MR. BAUMANN defended the grant of the charter to the new Company, whose career he trusted would be as exciting, as lucrative, and he hoped more honourable than that of the East India Company. Going on to speak of Swaziland, he urged that the time had arrived when either England or the Transvaal must take over Swaziland. There appeared, he considered, very grave objections to England doing so, and he trusted that the Government would consent to hand over Swaziland to the Boers, and so allow them an outlet through the ring-fence which at present shuts them in on every side.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that the Government had stated in the House their intention to grant the South African charter. The granting of charters to Companies of this kind had been deprecated on the ground that they were likely to involve this country in great responsibilities, and were generally prejudicial to the public interest. It must, however, not be forgotten that the results of granting similar charters to great Companies had been the opening out of vast dominions, and had been of the greatest value to the British Empire, and he had every hope that the granting of a charter to the West African Company would be followed by equally successful consequences. (Hear, hear.) In granting the charter every care had been taken that it should include provisions which would tend to the improvement of the condition of the native populations. With regard to Swaziland, a special Commissioner had been sent out for the purpose of meeting the Transvaal Commissioner, and the result had been that an agreement had been come to which would result in the maintenance and the strengthening of the friendly relations that now existed between the two countries. (Hear.)

FEBRUARY 14.

In the House of Commons—

BEHRING SEA FISHERIES.

In answer to MR. S. HILL.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: As I have already stated, it would not be convenient to make statements with respect to the negotiations concerning seal fishing in the Behring Sea. Representations with regard to the case of the *Araunah* have been made to the Russian Government. As the reply of that Government was not considered satisfactory, further information has been called for from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg. The case is not sufficiently advanced to make it desirable to lay papers on the subject.

SIR F. DE WINTON'S REPORT.

SIR R. FOWLER asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether the report of Sir Francis de Winton, as Special Commissioner to inquire into the affairs of Swaziland, had yet been received by Her Majesty's Government; and, if so, whether an opportunity would be afforded to the House for discussing it before its recommendations were acted upon.

BARON H. DE WORMS: Sir Francis de Winton has not yet completed his report, which will be laid on the table with other papers in due course; but Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to postpone action upon it until after the subject has been discussed in Parliament. (Hear, hear.)

FEBRUARY 17.

In the House of Lords—

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

THE EARL OF BELMORE asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there was any correspondence in his Department on the subject of Australian Federation; and, if so, whether it could be laid before the House without public inconvenience. The noble earl referred in terms of satisfaction to the progress which had been made so far in Australia at the Conference which had in the last week been sitting on this question. It was gratifying to him both in its results and in the lines on which it had proceeded. Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, a gentleman with whom he had had the pleasure of working in former days, had gone on the lines, not only of a federal Parliament, but a federal Executive. He also was strongly of opinion that it was only on those lines that what was desired could be practically carried out. There were certain ulterior questions which would have in due course to be considered in relation to the general subject of Federation. The first of these was, supposing a federal Parliament and Executive to be established, whether they should have a federal capital. His own feeling would be in favour of setting up Albany, a place which he thought had many advantages, as a federal capital. The next question that would have to be considered would be the question of defence—the contribution of the different Colonies to the purposes of defence, and he was glad that this great and important question was now in a fair way of settlement. The other remaining point would be the question of a common tariff, as to which he had always had a very strong desire to see established, if possible, a system of Colonial free trade.

LORD KNUTSFORD: My lords, with respect to the special question which the noble earl has asked me, I have to say that we have no public despatches or information which could be laid before the House. With respect to the general observations of my noble friend, he has expressed a feeling which is shared by the great majority, if not by all the people in this country. Her Gracious Majesty, in the Speech from the Throne, assured us of the lively interest with which she awaited the result of the Conference which was being held to discuss the important question of the Federation of the Australian Colonies; and how warmly and keenly Her Majesty's subjects in these great Colonies appreciate that interest is well shown by the loyal terms of the address, which was unanimously agreed to by the members of the preliminary Conference. The results of the Conference will be regarded as most satisfactory by all who believe, as I hope and as I am sure my colleagues do, that the prosperity, the welfare, the strength, and importance of these great Colonies will be materially increased and secured by a closer union amongst themselves under some form of federal government, which will be for them to decide upon, leaving full powers to the local Legislatures. The Conference of the different Colonial Legislatures will now be asked to agree to and hold a second Conference, at which no more than seven members will attend from each responsible self-governing Colony, and four from each Crown Colony. That difficult questions will be raised before that Conference I have no doubt. Some of those questions have been pointed at by the noble earl, who speaks with experience on this subject, but I would not even deal with them so far as he has done, because I think no good purpose would be gained now by offering any opinion on those questions, which are essentially for the members of the Conference to decide. I am quite satisfied that the difficulties of those questions will be overcome by the tact and the judgment of the statesmen who are to take part in that Conference. I will conclude by saying that we do in this country most heartily wish success to their work. (Hear, hear.)

EARL GRANVILLE said that, after the very satisfactory statement of the noble lord, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it was unnecessary for him to say more than he had the opportunity of saying on the motion for the adoption of the Address, that he and his friends entirely concurred with the Government on this subject. In his opinion, the noble lord had followed a judicious course in not going into the details of this matter. No doubt there were great difficulties to be contended with, but they ought to be, and doubtless would be, solved. On behalf of those with whom he acted, he could only say that they concurred very heartily in what had been done, and he hoped that the success of the federation of the great Australian Colonies might be as great as that of the North American Colonies had been. (Hear, hear.)

FEBRUARY 20.

In the House of Commons—

CROFTER FAMILIES IN CANADA.

MR. SETON-KARR asked the Lord Advocate what report he had received of the condition and prosperity of the crofter Colonists sent out with Government aid last spring to Western Canada; whether any, and, if so, what, amount of the £10,000 voted last Session for this purpose remained unexpended; and if it was proposed to send out any more crofter families this spring to Western Canada.

THE LORD ADVOCATE: I am informed that a report has been received which will be submitted to an early meeting of the Colonisation Board, the general purport of which is that the families are comfortably housed and have more or less land ready for crop. A small balance of the money voted last session remains unexpended, but until the accounts are fully made up it is impossible to say what it amounts to. It is not proposed to send out any more families this spring, and no steps in this direction will be taken until the Committee appointed to inquire into State-aided emigration have issued their report.

COLONIAL STOCKS AND TRUST FUNDS.

SIR G. CAMPBELL asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether there was any foundation for the report that Her Majesty's Government, departing from their resolution of previous years, were now preparing a measure to enable trustees to invest in Colonial stocks, although they could not do so under their trust deeds.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The Hon. Baronet will remember the discussions that took place in this House and elsewhere on the subject, and in what degree the question of enabling trustees to invest in colonial stocks has been pressed upon the House and the Government. When the clause conferring this power upon trustees was withdrawn from the Trustee Bill, I made an engagement with the Agents of the Colonies that a Committee, in which they should be represented, should be appointed to consider under what conditions assent would be given to the plan. I have not yet received the report of this committee.

THE WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL.

In reply to MR. A. S. HILL.

MR. W. H. SMITH said he hoped the House would read this Bill a second time that night, it being distinctly understood that the Bill was to be referred to a Select Committee.

SIR G. CAMPBELL reminded the right hon. gentleman that he had given a distinct pledge that full notice should be given, so that the Bill would not be read without full discussion.

MR. W. H. SMITH said he did not recollect having giving any distinct pledge of the kind, but, of course, if it were so he would carry it out.

MR. A. S. HILL gave notice that on the motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee he would move, "That it be an instruction to such committee to provide in the Bill against any enactment by the Legislature of Western Australia which shall discriminate against the British flag or against British subjects."

FEBRUARY 22.

In the House of Commons—

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION CONFERENCE.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it would be practicable to procure and present to the House papers and correspondence affording an account of the conference held in Melbourne for the purpose of inaugurating closer union among the Australian Colonies.

BARON H. DE WORMS: During the preliminary negotiations which have taken place at Melbourne no points have arisen requiring a reference to Her Majesty's Government, and there is as yet no correspondence to present, but it is expected that a report of the proceedings will arrive in March, when it will be laid on the table of the House.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

MR. G. O. MORGAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether an opportunity would be afforded for discussing the Western Australia Constitution Bill before it was read a second time, or referred to a Select Committee.

MR. W. H. SMITH replied that he would endeavour to give the right hon. gentleman the opportunity he desired, but at present it was impossible to say when the Bill would be taken.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked whether the Under-Secretary for the Colonies was aware that there was now in London a deputation of Colonists from Western Australia for the purpose of giving evidence on the Bill, and whether arrangements could be made so as not to detain them in this country longer than was necessary.

BARON H. DE WORMS said he was aware of the fact, and it was a reason why the Bill should pass a second reading as soon as possible.

Sir Samuel Griffith concluded in these words his speech at the annual dinner of the officers of the Queensland Defence force:—"Some men thought the time had not yet come for the establishment of the Australian nation; he thought it had come long ago, and when public opinion was ripe for it we should do as had been done in other parts of the world, stand together as a nation, holding fast to the British Crown, but still a nation, and speaking in a voice which would be listened to in the councils of the Empire. Not many years would elapse before we should see a united Australian Dominion, controlling the Southern hemisphere. That was a worthy object for any man to take a part in effecting, and those who took part in it would leave their names after them as having done a great work."

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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Speeches by the Earl of Rosebery, President of the Imperial Federation League, at Leeds, October, 1888; and at Edinburgh, October 31st, 1888. Revised and reprinted from "Imperial Federation." Price 2d. each.

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Report of the Conference on Imperial Federation, held July 29th, 1884. Price 6d. Weight 8 oz.; on thin paper, for transmission abroad, 3 oz.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION

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Imperial Federation.

APRIL 1, 1890.

THE POSTAL UNION STOPS THE WAY.

THE Postmaster-General has given two important answers in the course of the past month to questions addressed to him in Parliament, as to the bearing of the Postal Union Convention on the proposal for establishing a Penny Post within the limits of the Empire. It will be remembered by those who have followed the history of this question, that in a letter from the Postmaster-General which was laid before the Imperial Conference, in 1887, there occurred the following passage:—"Under the International Convention of 1878, the rate of postage between any two countries in the Union cannot be less than 25 centimes (about 2½ d., more or less, according to currency)." Answering a question of Mr. Watts, in the House of Commons, put apparently for the purpose of affording an opportunity for the statement to be made, Mr. Raikes, on March 10th of the present year, expressed himself in these words:—"Although the question has not yet been definitely decided, there is great reason to doubt if it would be competent to this country to reduce the ocean postal charge to its Colonies to 1d. per letter without withdrawing from the Postal Union, and thus destroying all the existing postal arrangements with other civilised countries." It will be at once noted that, whereas the question was treated as settled in the letter of March 17th, 1887, Mr. Raikes three years later tells us that "the question has not yet been definitely decided," and that "there is great reason to doubt" if it would be competent to this country to take the proposed step without incurring certain consequences. However, that having been the result of consideration of the subject for the space of three years less seven days, the lapse of the remaining seven days seems to have restored Mr. Raikes' mind on the subject once more to a condition of stable equilibrium, from which all hesitation and doubt have again vanished. For on March 17th, the precise anniversary of the date of his letter, he said, again in the House of Commons and in answer to a question from another member:—"Under the Postal Union Regulations no two Powers parties to the Convention could make special arrangements, concerning themselves only, at variance with the fundamental principles of the Union. The only latitude allowed is to neighbouring countries, which, within a radius of 30 kilometres, are permitted to come to mutual arrangements for the adoption of a lower rate of postage. . . . Great Britain could certainly withdraw from the Postal Union by giving a notice of twelve months, if Her Majesty's Government thought it wise to incur the risk of cutting off its postal arrangements with the rest of the civilised world." And so, we suppose, in Mr. Raikes' view, there is an end of the matter.

We venture, however, to think that the matter is not to be quite so summarily disposed of. To begin with, since the Postmaster-General has given us the option of regarding the question as to the effect of the Convention as a closed or an open one, we shall prefer to regard it as still open. The question, as we take it, is one of construction, and we may at least see upon what it is that it hinges. The clause in the Convention by which the rate is said to be fixed at "not less than 25 centimes," is, of course, Article V., which provides that, "The rates of postage for the conveyance of postal articles throughout the entire extent of the Union . . . are fixed as follows." Then follows, among others, the 25 centimes letter rate. The article proceeds, "The charge on commercial papers cannot be *less than*" so much, and "the charge on patterns and samples cannot be *less than*" a certain other sum. It continues:—"In addition to the rates and minima fixed by the preceding paragraph, there may be levied certain charges on other articles. Even if this article stood alone, therefore, there would, we apprehend, be room for a strong argument, based on well-established canons of legal construction, distinguishing between the "rate" fixed for letters and the "minima" fixed for commercial papers, &c., and going to prove that the "fixing" of the "rates" in the one case is not the same thing as fixing the *minimum* rates in the other, but is intended to effect another and

different purpose; in support of which other expressions in the same article might be quoted. But, further, Article V. is not the only one that touches on the point. Article III. provides:—"The postal administrations of neighbouring countries, or countries able to correspond directly with each other without availing themselves of the services of a third administration,"—(which is the case of the United Kingdom and probably every single part of the Empire)—"determine by common consent the conditions of the conveyance of mails which they exchange across the frontier, or from one frontier to the other." So that, if the construction of Article V., standing alone, should be decided adversely to our right to fix a lower sum than 25 centimes, the British contention has a second string to its bow in the further question—Whether, as between two countries able to correspond without the intervention of a third, the provisions of Article V. must not be read with and subject to the exception provided by Article III.? This is not the place to enter further into these questions of construction. They are for the law advisers of the Crown to settle, so far as the action of our own Government is concerned; and for negotiation or arbitration as between us and the other signatories of the Convention. But enough has been said to show that in this case Mr. Raikes' second thoughts were possibly better and, at any rate, more discreet than either his first or his third.

But assuming that the Postal Union Convention really was such a gigantic blunder, as an adverse decision on this point would make it (it is a pretty bad bargain for us in other respects), but that, nevertheless, it is on the whole for the advantage of the United Kingdom to remain under its terms in respect of European and other foreign nations, it by no means follows that the alternative put to the House of Commons by Mr. Raikes as such a "clinch" is really the only one by which we may escape from the seeming dilemma. Mr. Raikes assumes that if we wish to establish a postal rate of less than 2½ d. with even a single one of our Colonies, say Canada, that is in the Postal Union, we can only do so at the expense of surrendering all the elaborate machinery provided for our correspondence with the rest of the civilised world. Surely this is a hasty and ill-considered decision for a great Government department to have arrived at and to avow through its official chief? There are, as the case presents itself to our humble judgment, at least two other ways in which the difficulty might be turned without any such alarming sacrifice. One way is by denouncing the particular articles in the Convention which press so hardly, and in a way surely so unforeseen, upon this country, more to a high degree than upon any other. Such denunciations of obnoxious clauses in a treaty, while continuing to abide by the remainder, are not of infrequent occurrence in the history of diplomacy. Of course, it lies with the other party or parties to the Convention to elect whether they will continue on their side to observe the rest of the articles if any particular ones are denounced. And they will act in such a case in accordance with the view they may take of their own interests. Is it probable that, for the sake of maintaining a restriction upon our freedom which does them no good, the other Powers would elect to place the United Kingdom outside the Postal Union, seeing that, being in it, we do most of the ocean mail carrying for them at a cheap rate, and meet the loss out of our own pockets by ourselves paying double the postage they pay for the same services? We hardly think so. But there is another way out of the difficulty, so obvious that we are astonished it did not occur to Mr. Raikes or those who assist to frame the statements he makes in the House—and we are bound to assume that it did not occur to them, for Mr. Raikes was not answering "by the card," but went out of his way on both occasions to show, argumentatively, the effect of acting in the manner suggested by the questions put to him. Although it might not be for the interest of the United Kingdom itself to give up the Postal Union for the sake of cheap postage within the Empire, yet it might very well be worth the while of the Colonies at present within it to do so, since their correspondence with the Mother Country and with one another must vastly outweigh that with foreign countries. The correspondence of Canada with the States is no doubt a foreign element of importance; but Canada would still be able to maintain a separate postal

arrangement with the States at the lowest rates of postage. If the Colonies then that have been dragged into the Union (we use the expression advisedly) by the Imperial Post Office will withdraw themselves from it, the difficulty is surmounted. Australasia and the Cape have wisely kept out of it. As to them therefore this difficulty does not arise in any shape or form; and Mr. Raikes has to find other reasons, such as distance and "limited area of productiveness," against cheap rates in those directions. If the other Colonies—and India—were all again placed on the same free footing, then this difficulty (if, according to the spirit and intent of the Convention, it really is a well-founded one at all) will have disappeared altogether. We respectfully submit these three points, two, at any rate, apparently new to them, to the consideration of Mr. Raikes and his colleagues at the Post Office.

TALK IN THE DOMINION.

THE words "Imperial Federation" have occurred with much frequency in the reports of the Canadian legislatures, federal and provincial, during the past month, but we shall perhaps not be altogether wrong if we say that it has been a case of *vox et præterea nihil*; that the talk about Imperial Federation has had very little actual relation to the movement going under that name, and that the cause itself has neither been advanced nor retarded by all that has been said and written under this head. The two discussions purporting to have been on the subject of Imperial Federation, of which we have been hearing during the past weeks, arose upon parliamentary motions, the first by Mr. David, in the Quebec Legislature, the later by Mr. Boulton, in the Dominion Senate. Both require some notice, not from any importance of their own, but because readers of newspaper telegraphic summaries, who do not see any Canadian papers, might very easily be led into forming altogether erroneous views as to the purport and possible consequences of the parliamentary votes following these motions.

The first thing to be observed about both these resolutions is their abstract character. Let us take Mr. David's resolution first. It runs thus:—"Considering that the declarations and acts of important political men of England and of Canada are of a nature to give a certain official character to the Imperial Federation movement; considering that the constitutional changes projected will endanger the material and political position of Canada, and particularly of the province of Quebec, and that it has consequently become necessary to make known the sentiments on the subject of this province. Resolved, That this house is hostile to Imperial Federation which will prevent Canada from having with the people of the American continent relations the most favourable to commercial and industrial prosperity, and to its social and political development." Now, the important thing to observe as to this resolution, beyond its intrinsically abstract character, is that any proposition of the kind could not but be purely academic when brought forward in the Provincial Legislature of Quebec. The Dominion Parliament alone can deal with such questions. It is beside our purpose, and quite unnecessary in these columns, to criticise the terms of the resolution in detail. For that we can safely leave the mover to the press of his own country, and particularly to the tender mercies of a French compatriot, writing in *Le Canadien*, who, as soon as the motion was tabled, pulled it to pieces with remorseless logic. In moving it, on March 6th, Mr. David declared that, though "no annexationist," believing as he did that British institutions were far superior to American; at the same time, if given the option between European and American federation, he would unhesitatingly choose the latter. There was practically no discussion. The Opposition, in consequence of what they regarded as an unfair mode of dealing with this motion of Mr. Mercier's Frenchman on the part of the Government, left the Chamber in a body; whereupon the motion was carried without a dissentient vote being recorded, thirty-one votes being given in its favour. This is the explanation of the telegraphic "unanimous vote of the Quebec Legislature." The genesis of the motion is probably to be found in a desire to raise some counterblast to the really unanimous "loyalty" vote of the Dominion House, with a side-glance at the language

question in the north-west; and generally it may be regarded as a belated bubble rising to the surface from the ferment caused by the heated discussions over the Jesuits' Estates Bill. But as a Montreal journal headed its account of the matter next day, "The Opposition at Quebec refuse to be bull-dozed by Mercier." As a matter of fact, impartial observers of Canadian politics affirm, the French-Canadians know a great deal too well which side their bread is buttered to think seriously either of annexation or of letting go the moderating influence of the Imperial connection. They know that they would certainly not retain their present privileges or present importance in the United States, and might not in an independent Canada.

Mr. Boulton's motion in the Dominion Senate was, as it seems to us, as gratuitous, and the whole incident was as wanting in significance, as that we have just been speaking of. The motion was to the effect that "The time has arrived when Canada might be accorded a measure of representation in the Imperial Parliament, by giving to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, and to the Government of each Province in the Dominion, the appointment of a representative holding a seat in the Imperial House of Commons, the representative of the Government of the Dominion also holding a seat in the Imperial Privy Council, the privileges of such representatives being limited to the discharge of and voting upon such questions as may affect Canadian interests." Files of the Canadian papers containing reports of the proceedings on this motion will not be to hand here before we go to press. We may possibly find in them something worth referring to again in our next issue. All we know at present is that a discussion arose which occupied the whole sitting, and that eventually the motion was, at the instance of the leader of the Senate, withdrawn, as being both impracticable and unconstitutional. The motion is, on the face of it, just one of those crude propositions that serve to discredit the movement in the name of which they are made. We may as well say at once that Mr. Boulton is not, so far as we are aware, even a member of the League; certainly his name never appears as taking any part in its work, as from his political position would be likely. It is clear that the League in Canada has had nothing to do with this motion. No body of men, understanding as they do what they are talking about, could have given such a motion any support or countenance whatever. We are glad to know that Mr. Boulton is in favour of Imperial Federation; we only regret that he does not know what Imperial Federation is and involves. No one whose opinion is regarded by those who are responsible for the policy of the League has the least idea of achieving federation by adding colonial representatives to the existing Houses of Parliament, as Mr. Boulton proposes.

SIR CHARLES DILKE ON IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

"PROBLEMS OF GREATER BRITAIN" contains far too much matter so thoroughly germane to our subject, to the relations of the Colonies with the Mother Country and with each other, to admit of our attempting anything like an adequate review of the work as a whole. Last month we dealt with our author's views on Imperial Federation and future relations generally. This month we propose to lay before our readers some account of, and to comment upon, what he says on Imperial Defence. And for some time to come we shall probably find occasion to return again and again to this comprehensive and most admirable book—

et est mihi sæpe vocandus

Ad partes.

Not that we desire to compare the author to the Crispinus of the quotation. There is no need to say that by the author of "*The British Army*" the subject of Defence is treated with the hand of an expert. The whole Empire is passed in review, and its defences examined both from a local and an Imperial standpoint. With many matters of defence, even though having a distinctly Imperial bearing, we cannot in this journal undertake to deal. This is not the place in which to discuss at large the sufficiency of the Army or the Navy, or schemes of Home Defence, or the special problems affecting the defence of India, or of Canada,

or of Australia. We must confine ourselves to such points whether connected with the Army, or the Navy, or local defence as are not only Imperial in their bearing, as all such questions can scarcely fail to be, but are directly connected with the communications and relations of different parts of the Empire, and are therefore to be dealt with by means of concerted action between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Such are our necessary limitations; but before passing on we ought not to omit to notice the contrast drawn between the measures of defence taken by the Australasian Colonies and the Dominion of Canada respectively. While the author is loud in his praises of the defensive works carried out by the former, reverting again and again with especial emphasis to the local defences of Melbourne—which he describes as the best defended commercial city of the Empire—he contrasts with this excellence the dangerously undefended condition of the Canadian frontier, and the want of a Canadian navy. As to the last-named deficiency he lays stress on the fact that Canada, with an enormous shipping trade, pays no contribution towards the defence of that trade at sea; while as to the power of self-defence by land, he tells Canada that she cannot occupy a position consistent with her dignity as a separate Confederation without a defensive force which would have some chance of repelling a possible attack. We must not forget, however, as to both these charges, either that, in constructing the inter-oceanic railway Canada has made a valuable contribution to Imperial Defence, or that her land frontier presents an enormously long line for strategical defence, while her means of defending it, both as to men and as to money, are but limited. Nevertheless, the warning is a salutary one; and there can be no doubt that the defencelessness of Canada from attack by the United States is a source of Imperial weakness, only not of the first magnitude, because happily the contingency of war with that Power is remote.

Coming now to the portion of the work specially devoted to Imperial Defence in the sense we have given to it above, we find Sir Charles Dilke in the first place criticising the naval school which would have us concentrate all our power at sea upon the defence of the home waters, and contending, as against such a policy, that the abandonment of Greater Britain would involve the destruction of our commerce, and would be as severe a blow to the Empire as the invasion of England and the capture of London itself. Without committing ourselves to quite so sweeping a statement of the case, we can cordially agree with him in the opinion that in dealing with the problem of the organisation of the British Empire against possible attack, the navy should be estimated as by far the greatest factor in defence—though not the only one—and in regarding the rapid attainment of overwhelming superiority at sea as the most essential point of Imperial Defence. It is some comfort to reflect that at the present time this view is also the official one, and that something real and substantial is being done, and not talked of only, towards the attainment of this end. The safety of our coaling stations is another point insisted upon, as a part of naval superiority; their safety and the sufficiency of their garrisons being, as much as the number of our ships, a condition of that superiority. The possession of innumerable safe ports in all parts of the world forms one of the chief elements of our national power. The forts and guns for the coaling stations are being gradually provided, but the garrisons are weak. Then, with regard, for instance, to Sierra Leone, given the guns the garrison is lacking; and the same remark applies to St. Helena, both places, and especially the former, being open to attack and capture from the strong French position at Dakar, whereby our line of communications would be broken, and our forts even turned against ourselves. The same may be said of Mauritius *vis-à-vis* the valuable French acquisition of Diego Suarez, and Réunion. We have lately been told by the responsible Minister, in his place in Parliament, that arrangements are perfected for the instant supply of garrisons to all such places upon the occasion arising. That is good hearing so far as it goes. But apart from a natural scepticism as to the absolute fulfilment of these paper plans, there is the further objection pointed out by Sir Charles Dilke that this would be at a critical time to place an additional strain upon an already over-taxed navy.

Sir Charles Dilke sets high store by the fortifications at the Cape of Good Hope, believing that our plans in case of war would be based upon making the sea-route by the Cape our main reliance for communication with the East. The Suez Canal, considered as a means of communication in time of war, is, he says, "as delicate as a thread of a spider's web." Whether considered from the Imperial, from the Indian, or from the Australian point of view, he holds that, as an aid to our maritime power, no spot on earth is more important to us than the Cape. The difficulty our possession of it places in the way of naval enemies constitutes, even more than the refuge afforded to our own ships, its supreme importance in war. And yet even the very principles upon which the burden of its defence should be divided between the Mother Country and the South African Colonies, and the proportions in which it should be borne, have never been definitely settled, but have formed the theme of fierce and prolonged controversy. Similar indecision and difficulty was experienced in regard to the fortification of Esquimaux on the Pacific, the Dominion Government contending that the Mother Country should defend it because "Canada could do without it," while it is necessary for the British fleet; as if the British fleet were not there for the defence of Canada herself in the first instance! Surely those who read these things will not tell us they do not see the want of any change in Colonial relations, or any use in Imperial Federation?

Perhaps the most valuable contributions on the subject of Imperial Defence made by Sir Charles Dilke in this portion of his work are his two important recommendations—the one for the decentralisation of dockyard, arsenal, and ordnance establishments; the other for the creation of a General Staff. As to the first of these (the expediency of which was long since pointed out by Sir John Colomb) he proposes to set up such establishments in India as should make the Indian Empire self-supporting in these respects for herself and other British possessions east of the Cape. Upon the assumption that the Canal route would be closed to us in a war with a naval Power, and to a less degree even apart from that, the advantages of such an innovation would appear to be great. Not only would India herself be placed in a far stronger position both for military and naval—but especially naval—defence, but the coaling stations, such as Aden and Mauritius, and the whole of the possessions in Eastern seas, would gain a similar advantage. At present, a gun, in whatever part of the world its inevitable tendency to "go wrong" displays itself, has to go all the way back to Woolwich to be put right. This is an anachronism, and one of a very unfortunate character. The defence of our scattered Empire can no longer be conducted on the old lines of centralisation. The establishment of an Eastern arsenal and the other kindred institutions required for keeping up the *matériel* of war, affiliating to it the naval and military ports around it, would, as Sir Charles Dilke says, appear a wiser course than that now pursued, even "without anticipating a closer union of the Empire, which may one day estimate at its full value and utilise the military strength of the Australasian and South African Colonies." But a proposition, looking even more directly to one of the elements of Imperial Federation, is his advocacy, as the main thing needed for a joint organisation of the whole defensive forces of the Empire, of the creation of a General Staff, without which, he says, there is little hope of our ever being ready for war or carrying out a Military Federation. "The very existence of a General Staff," says the author, "would constitute a form of Imperial Military Federation." "This is the task which now falls to the administrators of the British Empire. When we call the Colonies into consultation upon the subject we must be prepared with those definite proposals which we alone can make, drawn up, not by a series of committees, but by a General Staff, which should be the brain of Imperial Defence." In his concluding paragraph Sir Charles Dilke opines that all who have followed him must be equally struck by the latent strength of the British Empire and astounded at its latent weakness. "We wish only to be safe from the ambition of others. . . . As all have helped to raise the fabric, so may all combine to secure it by the adoption of a settled plan of Imperial Defence."

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

THE following letter has been received by the Secretary of the League in reply to a communication asking the Duke of Argyll if he would allow himself to be nominated as a Member of the Council :—

“ARGYLL LODGE, March 11th, 1890.

“SIR,—I am much flattered by the request kindly made by your Committee, and intimated in your letter just received.

“I am obliged to decline the honour because of a rule to which I have uniformly adhered through life—never to join any political league or society of any kind whatever.

“Any aid I can give to wise and good aims I can give as well, and better, outside such organisations than as a member of them; and if I could ever say or do anything towards a sound and lasting ‘league’ between Great Britain and the Colonies, I shall be very glad indeed.—
Yours obediently, (Signed) ARGYLL.”

*** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PREFERENTIAL DUTIES.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Your remarks in the last number of your journal on an Imperial Customs Union and the Fair Trade League, whilst attempting to be of a sarcastic nature, were rather beside the mark, as the Fair Trade League, before that of Imperial Federation was in existence, advocated (whilst placing duties on goods other than raw materials from foreign countries) special treatment for our Colonies and dependencies; and for the last four years or more preferential treatment of our own Empire is one of the main planks of their platform, as can be seen by a glance at any number of *Fair Trade*. In fact, the Fair Trade League were the first to bring forward prominently the advantage to be derived from such a fiscal arrangement.

As regards the argument you put forth against such a policy, on the plea that foreign nations would retaliate and place duties on cotton or other raw material required by us, this is, in the first place, an argument resting on what is vulgarly known as funk!

Further, nations put on duties because they consider it for their advantage to do so, and, moreover, are not likely to cut off their noses to spite their faces. Besides, as we buy 100 millions more than we sell, we have, in a war of tariffs, a greater area of offence than they have.

Of course, I am aware that to people who are wedded to a certain party with whom free trade, so-called, is sacred, because it has been for many years the main prop of their political edifice, to remove which would bring it down like a pack of cards, any idea of altering our existing fiscal laws would be utterly abhorrent.

Nevertheless, any unbiassed educated man, who thinks, must know that preferential treatment of the several parts of the Empire as against foreign nations can be the only possible foundation of Imperial Federation. Would it not, therefore, be better, instead of thrusting into the background any such ideas, to tell the truth and shame the devil?

This, I believe, to be not only in the end the best, but the most honest course to pursue.

RICHARD DASHWOOD, Major-General.

(Member of Fair Trade and Imperial Federation League.)

COMMERCE—BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—Having been requested to furnish a continuation up to the present date of the Table No. XXXIII., published at page 125 of the “Sequel to my Synopsis of Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire,” I believe that the results are of sufficient interest to be worthy of a place in your columns.—
Yours truly, RAWSON W. RAWSON.

Comparison of the proportions in which foreign countries and British Possessions, including India, contributed to the external trade of the United Kingdom in each year from 1885 to 1889.

The values of Imports and Exports for the years 1885 to 1888 can be obtained from the Statistical Abstract of the Board of Trade published in 1889. The corresponding value for 1889 can only be calculated from the Returns of Tonnage which entered and cleared with cargoes in that year, which were published in the December Returns of Trade and Navigation, assuming that the change in value corresponded with that in tonnage :—

Years.	Total value of Imports and Exports, omitting coo.		Percentage Proportion.	
	Foreign.	British Possessions.	Foreign.	British Possessions.
1885 ...	£ 472,545	£ 169,826	73.6	26.4
1886 ...	454,579	163,951	73.5	26.5
1887 ...	477,156	165,834	74.2	25.8
1888 ...	507,180	179,340	73.9	26.1
1889 ...	547,779	192,463	74.0	26.0

It will be seen that, comparing the total trade—Imports and Exports combined—in the years 1885 and 1888, there was a trifling increase, 0.04 per cent., in the proportion of the trade with foreign countries, and a decrease of 1.1 per cent. in that with British Possessions. On the trade of 1889 the estimated proportions would be further changed to an increase of 0.06, and a decrease of 1.5 per cent. respectively.

If the Imports and Exports be examined separately, it appears that while, with the exception of 1888, the United Kingdom has taken a slightly larger proportion of Imports from the British Possessions, the latter have taken a considerably smaller proportion of Exports from the United Kingdom.

Years.	Value of Imports only, omitting coo.		Percentage Proportion.	
	Foreign.	British Possessions.	Foreign.	British Possessions.
1885 ...	£ 286,566	£ 84,402	77.2	22.8
1886 ...	267,979	81,884	76.6	23.4
1887 ...	278,429	83,798	76.8	23.2
1888 ...	300,720	86,916	77.6	22.4
1889 ...	328,097	99,113	76.8	23.2

Years.	Value of Exports only.		Percentage Proportion.	
	Foreign.	British Possessions.	Foreign.	British Possessions.
1885 ...	£ 185,979	£ 85,424	68.5	31.5
1886 ...	186,599	82,068	69.4	30.6
1887 ...	198,727	82,036	70.8	29.2
1888 ...	206,460	91,425	70.0	30.0
1889 ...	313,031	91,404	70.8	29.2

The above figures show that while the proportion of the value of imports from foreign countries had increased between 1885 and 1888 0.5 per cent., from British Possessions it had decreased 1.7 per cent. In 1889 these proportions were reversed in favour of British Possessions. As regards exports, the value shipped to foreign countries in 1888, compared with 1885, had increased 2.2 per cent., and in 1889 3.3 per cent. The value of shipments to British Possessions had decreased 4.8 per cent. in 1888, and 7.3 per cent. in 1889.

The following table completes the comparison, showing the proportion of total Imports and Exports in the trade with each of the principal British Possessions in the years 1885 and 1888. The figures for 1889 are not available :—

Countries.	Total Value of Imports and Exports, omitting coo.		Percentage Proportion.	
	1885.	1888.	1885.	1888.
Total of United Kingdom	£ 642,371	£ 685,521	100.0	100.0
„ with Foreign Countries	472,545	547,779	73.6	73.8
With British Possessions :				
1. India ...	62,761	64,594	9.8	9.4
2. Australasia ...	51,429	54,461	8.0	8.0
3. British North America	18,722	17,960	2.9	2.6
4. Cape of Good Hope and Natal ...	8,638	12,049	1.3	1.8
5. Strait Settlements ...	6,967	8,094	1.1	1.2
6. West Indies and British Guiana ...	6,608	6,680	1.0	1.0
7. Hong Kong ...	5,012	4,300	0.8	0.6
8. Ceylon ...	2,955	3,274	0.5	0.5
9. Channel Islands ...	1,518	1,737	0.2	0.2
10. Malta ...	1,257	1,079	0.2	0.2
11. Gold Coast ...	1,242	1,156	0.2	0.2
12. Gibraltar ...	731	801	0.1	0.1
13. Mauritius ...	601	563	0.1	0.1
14. Honduras ...	338	350	0.05	0.05
15. West African Settlements	390	508	0.05	0.07
16. Other ...	643	732	0.10	0.07
Total ...	169,826	179,341	26.4	26.2

The changes observable in the above table are the slight increase in the trade with foreign countries, a decrease in that with India, British North America, and Hong Kong, and an increase in that with the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, the Straits Settlements, and the West African Settlements. The decrease with some of the British Possessions, it will be seen, is not only proportionate but positive.

MORE AFRIKANDERS INTERVIEWED.

THE enterprising special correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in South Africa, whom we quoted in our last issue, has been continuing his communications to that journal. Ubiquitous, as the nature of his calling demands, he is interviewing the President of the Transvaal at Pretoria one day, and calls on one of his Ministers in London as it were the next. He represents "Oom Paul" and his Minister of Education, the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, who has been paying a flying visit to England, as conciliatory to a degree they have not always had credit for. The conversations recounted contain matter of considerable interest at the present juncture, while some of the statements of Mr. Du Toit have an important bearing on the future of the Transvaal and South Africa generally.

"EACH HAND MUST WASH THE OTHER."

"Down in Cape Colony," said I, encouraged by the President's speech about the war, "I found that the Dutch and English are growing more and more to be friends, and to work together for their common interests. Cannot this be so in the Transvaal also?"

"If," returned the President, deliberately—"if I find the English Government willing to work with me, and help me to promote the interests of this country, then I will do the same for England. But if not, I must go my own way. Both hands must wash one another, you know," he added with a characteristically homely metaphor. "If one hand washes and the other does nothing, what happens? The one hand remains dirty. That will not do."

"Certainly, President; there must be give and take. Only let us be frank with each other. Let the Transvaal say, for instance, why it really is that she wants Swaziland so much."

The president launched forth into the familiar story about geographical position, Boers' grazing rights, smuggling over the border, and so forth. As to the gold reported to exist in Swaziland, he did not want it, and did not believe in it. Sir Francis De Winton and his fellow Commissioners had been shown in proof of its existence one little bit about so big. (Here the President contemptuously pinched between finger and thumb an imaginary pea.)

"But, President, whether there be gold or not, if we find that we can honourably waive our part in the agreement about Swaziland, and decide to do so, we undoubtedly give up something. I should like to hear from yourself what you are willing to do for us in return."

"There is the question of Matabeleland. I have—privately, I mean—a great deal of influence on our northern frontier. I am willing to use that influence in aid of the British South Africa Company."

"And my countrymen on the Randt—they hope to get certain privileges sooner than they otherwise would?"

"What do they want?" the President asked, sharply. "They have the same protection as my own burghers."

"True. But about railways, for instance?"

"It is not my fault that there has not been a railway here long ago. I am in favour of railways as much as anyone. The delay was the fault of the Anglo Portuguese Company. I must have my railway first from Delagoa Bay. But afterwards I want to see the Grand Trunk Railway right through from Delagoa Bay to Cape Town. Only if I allow the other lines to come in first they will take all the trade away from my line."

IF ENGLAND WILL BE FRIENDS.

"Then," exclaimed Oom Paul, with the greatest emphasis, "if England works together with me in that way, I will do everything to work together with England and with the Colonies. I will come into a Customs Union; I will give free leave for railways to be built wherever it will pay any one to build them; I will do my best to make the South African States in one; I will do everything together with the Colonies, for I believe their interests are the same as the interests of this country. But what can I do," he cried, catching himself up, "what can I do as long as England persists in shutting me up like this?"

In his interview with Mr. S. J. Du Toit in London, the correspondent asks:—

"As regards this railway grievance, Mr. Du Toit? you are said to be in favour of cutting the Gordian knot by the State taking over the Delagoa Bay Railway from the Netherlands Company."

"Yes, I still hope the State may do that. It would be cheaper in the end. . . . If only the President and the burghers would see that capital is international—"

"Will he see that? Will he meet the situation, do you think?"

"I hope so. President Krüger moves slowly, but he has great native shrewdness. I have often wondered to see how he makes his natural diplomacy serve the place of education, training, everything."

"If you are right, Mr. Du Toit, Johannesburg is near the end of its troubles. But supposing that the President does stick to his guns about the Delagoa Bay line, and maintains his veto on any other within his boundaries, how about that second string to the bow of the sanguine Johannesburger—the extension

up to the frontier of the Cape Colony line through Bloemfontein? Unless that is barred it will touch the frontier, as you know, only about forty miles away from the Randt. Will Paul Krüger have the will or the power to bar it?"

"Neither, I believe," was the welcome reply of Paul Krüger's Minister. "President Reitz is all in favour of carrying the line beyond his capital, and I know that he believes he will be able to do so. Reitz has a great hold on his Free State burghers. He is, I think, a coming force in South Africa. The secret of his power is also the secret of Paul Krüger's: he is not too far, but just far enough, ahead of the slow-moving farmers. But he clearly sees and appreciates the changes now in progress. Yes, I think in any case you may count on that railway."

In reply to further questions,

STARTLING FIGURES.

"Stemming the tide of Anglicisation!" exclaimed Mr. Du Toit. "Do you know how many English there are in the Transvaal to-day?"

"I should like to know very much. I have been impressing on the readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* that the numbers have been exaggerated."

"The numbers of English from England, yes. But I think you underrated the total. I will give you my estimate. The Dutch population only musters about 70,000 heads. The burghers—the adult male citizens—are but 10,000. Now for immigrants. Johannesburg numbers about 30,000, and the Witwatersrand as a whole, 50,000. Add another 50,000 for the other centres all over the country, Barberton, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, the Murchison Range, Zoutpansberg, and elsewhere. That gives you altogether about 100,000 souls, mostly English-speaking. I am sure an immense majority are English-speaking."

"What, Mr. Du Toit! Do you mean to tell me that in your opinion the Boers are outnumbered ten to one by a population largely English and mostly English-speaking? Is our predominance really so great as that?"

"In my opinion, it is."

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEME.

"Then the Anglicisation of the Transvaal is indeed being realised by leaps and bounds. But tell me, is there not some obstacle to this immense majority coming into the electorate under the ordinary five years' qualification? Is there not something offensive about the oath of allegiance?"

"I can't think what. I have taken it, of course, long ago. I was born a British subject and Cape Colonist, and I only remember it as a pledge to be true and loyal to the Republic and its laws. The five years' naturalisation is exactly what you have here in England. But I admit that you would expect the period to be shorter in the case of a new country all in the making."

"There is no disfranchisement of the new-comers contemplated in connection with this Second Chamber scheme, which Vice-President Smit told me is certain to be passed next session?"

"On the contrary, the Second Chamber is to satisfy their demand for representation during the few years' delay which the voting qualification involves. I confess I almost think it would be better to cut short that delay. The new Chamber will have no powers over expenditure; the Volksraad will still be imposing the heavy taxation, direct and indirect, which is complained of, and will be spending the wealth which it derives from the new-comers in ways over which they have no control. It will be taxation without representation, and the new Chamber will only serve as the organ of an agitation for the powers which are denied to it."

"That is exactly what occurred to me. But surely, Mr. Du Toit, that is not the President's idea? Surely he hopes that in some way the scheme will gain time? If it is not to be made a pretext for disfranchising the miners of the Volksraad, in what other way can it serve its end?"

"I will tell you. There is no bar excluding the qualified miner from the franchise. But he must first prove his qualification. The five years date from his registration as a subject of the Transvaal by the Landdrost. It is only lately that many miners have taken the trouble to register. Now the new Chamber will give them an influential voice as regards legislation affecting their immediate interests—the goldfields. The idea of the reactionary party is that then a great many of them will not care to take the trouble to register at all. In five years, they will say to themselves, we shall have made our pile and gone."

"Then do you mean to say that, with these precarious exceptions, this enormous mass of English-speaking voters will presently come into the electorate?"—"I do."

"But it means a revolution—we are on the eve of a gigantic silent revolution?"—"Undoubtedly."

• AN ENGLISH PRESIDENT.

"What! are we so near to seeing an English President of the Transvaal? And the Transvaal an English-speaking republic?"

"Yes, the demand for equal rights of language will soon receive the same recognition on behalf of English which in Cape Colony it has received on behalf of Dutch."

"And after an English-speaking republic, what say you to the Transvaal next appearing as the premier member of a Dominion of South Africa?"

"With full Home Rule, such as Cape Colony will have by then, no meddling with the native question, and some compromise about flying a flag—that is possible enough. My formula is, 'A United South Africa with British Coast Protection.'"

"Including ports, trade, foreign policy, supremacy in the interior, and the appointment of a Governor-General?"

"Of course a great deal is implied in the coast supremacy. Nothing struck me so much in Sir Hercules Robinson's article on Swaziland as his point that the creation of a port means the creation of a need for English protection."

"Then, Mr. Du Toit, you have really given up the 'last-link' and cutting-the-painter heresies of the old days, and progressed from Separation to Federal Home Rule, even as I declared in my article about the Bond?"

"That was a very fair account. As to the phrase 'under its own flag,' Hofmeyr would not have it; but I—I had to get up the steam; I had to stir up the Dutch farmer. The work is done now. But at first we had to feel our way."

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE peculiar features of the trade of February are the decrease in the value and price of imports, and the marked increase in the value and price of all British exports.

FEBRUARY, 1890, COMPARED WITH FEBRUARY, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
1,817,000 ... to ... 1,873,000 = 3.1 per cent.
2. Value of imports has decreased from—
£32,340,000 ... to ... £31,019,000 = 4.0 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£17 16s. ... to ... £16 10s. = 7.3 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,275,000 ... to ... 2,433,000 = 6.9 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£24,080,000 ... to ... £26,454,000 = 9.8 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£10 12s. ... to ... £10 18s. = 2.8 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,903,000 ... to ... 2,124,000 tons = 11.6 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. 0½d. ... to ... 12s. 7d. = 25.0 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 17.8 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,006,000 ... to ... 1,017,000 = 1.1 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£23,121,000 ... to ... £25,117,000 = 8.6 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£22 18s. ... to ... £24 14s. = 8.0 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY.

The check to the increase in the value of imports which commenced in December last has continued, and culminated in a decrease in the last month:—

Increase in November, 1889	...	...	17.2 per cent.
" December	...	...	0.9 "
" January, 1890	...	...	0.2 "
Decrease in February	...	...	4.0 "

2. Prices of imports have also decreased considerably. In December, 1889, they decreased 2.4 per cent.; in January, 1890, they increased 4.5 per cent., but in February they decreased 7.3 per cent.

3. Total exports have increased in quantity, value, and price; in value, nearly 10 per cent.; while the value of British and Irish produce and manufactures, exclusive of coal, has increased 12.9 per cent., and their average price has increased 8 per cent. The re-export of foreign and Colonial goods has fallen off 1.1 per cent.

4. The increase in the quantity of coal and bunker coal exported has been much greater than in January. The price of the former has advanced from 12s. to 12s. 7d. per ton.

5. The quantity of iron and steel exported has increased 5.6 per cent.; its value, 21.8 per cent. The quantity of pig iron exported has decreased 1.1 per cent.; the average price has increased 80 per cent. The quantity of railroad iron and steel has increased 48.7 per cent., and its price 20.4 per cent.

6. The decrease in imports has fallen upon every class, except animals (for food), tea, spirits, wine, tobacco, manufactured articles, and parcels post (42.4 per cent.). The increase in exports prevails in every class of British goods; chiefly in coal (40 per cent.), metals (33.9), machinery and mill work (20.2), and chemicals (20.3). The parcels post shows an increase of only 9.7 per cent.

AUSTRALIAN NATIVES ASSOCIATION. ITS POLITICAL ASPECT.

WE take from the *Herald* (Melbourne) the following interesting report of a discussion at a meeting of the No. 1 Branch of the Australian Natives Association, held in January.

Mr. P. Abbott, ex-president of the branch, delivered an address entitled "The Political Aspect of the Australian Natives Association." At the outset he remarked that there was great difficulty in producing anything fresh and original for discussion at the meetings. The fields of the Association had been so often ploughed, and their territory so often searched throughout its boundaries, that it was a matter for congratulation if they alighted upon anything new and interesting. The great question with which he had often been confronted was, "Is your Association political or non-political?"—and on that he intended to say a few words. One section of the Association was found to reply, "No, it is not political; we are a purely beneficiary institution." The others say, "Oh yes, it is true we are intensely political, and we are nothing at all if not political." Which side was right? His own opinion was that they were positively and emphatically a political organisation. In order to show the utter absurdity of the position taken by those who denied the political aspect of the Association, he would refer to one or two facts. They heard a good deal said about the national sentiment underlying the Association. How could they be national if they were not political? (Hear.) One was involved and contained in the other. To some, nationality meant separation from the Old World. To others, it meant the building up of a nation within a nation, the formation of a dominion under the auspices of the British Dominion. (Hear, hear.) On the whole, he believed that if a poll of the Australian natives could be taken, an overwhelming majority would be found in favour of retaining the connection with the Mother Country. But he contended that they were national in sentiment, and, being national, they were likewise political. They had engaged themselves up to the hilt in the matter of Federation, and they could not do that without partaking of a political nature. Federation touched on the fiscal policy of the country, and with the fiscal policy was bound up the twin subjects of Free Trade and Protection. They had also brought themselves into contact—and he believed very justly and properly—in the matter of restrictive legislation against the Chinese. International law was there involved, and, for the time being, Lord Salisbury, as Prime Minister of England, was placed on the horns of a dilemma. Again, they had fostered the spirit of militarism. They had sent some members of the Association into the field—at least, on review days—(laughter)—and that served to show the military spirit. In that, again, they had the essence of politics. The statements that they were not political were "all moonshine," because they could not come into contact with those questions in which the constitution of the Colony was embedded without going over to politics. (Hear, hear.) In this connection it was to be regretted that, whilst they discussed these subjects from every side, they had no settled and defined policy for the Association. One of their leaders would rise at Sandhurst to advocate Imperial Federation, whilst another recognised head, speaking almost simultaneously at Sale, would urge simply Federation of the Colonies, and that alone, which, as he interpreted it, meant the ultimate formation of an Australian Republic. So long as this state of things prevailed, they were bound to be weak as a body.

Mr. H. D'E. Taylor said that in discussing national questions they were involved in political considerations; but, on the other hand, there were some questions which were purely questions of party politics, and those they endeavoured to exclude. He, therefore, claimed it as a political association, though not formed for political purposes only. He considered that one of the greatest benefits to be derived from the organisation was furnished on the educational side. It had always been to him a matter of regret that the study of history was precluded from Australians during their progress through the State schools. History could teach them to avoid the errors of the past, and they ought not to be obliged to learn from experience those lessons which history could teach.

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA. YARMOUTH.

THE General Meeting of the Yarmouth Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada was held on January 16, for the election of officers for the year, and other business, Mr. P. S. Hamilton occupying the chair, and Mr. Thomas B. Crosby acting as secretary. The following-named officers were elected:—Mr. J. W. H. Rowley, chairman; Mr. Chas. Dodds, vice-chairman; Mr. T. V. B. Bingay, jun., secretary-treasurer; Dr. A. M. Perrin, Geo. J. Morton, Percy St. C. Hamilton, and Thos. B. Crosby, committeemen.

A resolution was passed inviting the co-operation of women as members of the Yarmouth Branch.

At the conclusion of the business of the meeting, Mr. Hamilton delivered an address, dealing exhaustively with the objects and history of the League.

OTTAWA.

The Annual Meeting of the Ottawa Branch of the League was held on January 29th, Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., in the chair. Almost fifty members were present.

The Second Annual Report of the Branch was read by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. R. G. CooDe.

The Report referred to the lecture delivered by Rev. Principal Grant, in February last, and its good effects; to the visit of Mr. Parkin, and his impressive writings on "The Reorganisation of the British Empire;" and to the activity and progress of the parent League in England.

After adverting to the fact that it is not a function of the League to propound a scheme for a new constitution for the British Empire, as no scheme is possible without a general consultation of all concerned, the report proceeds:—"Your Committee, however, think that the duty of inquiry comes within the sphere of the League;" continuing, "and they feel that the Canadian branches will do well by consultation and discussion to ascertain what is best for the Dominion."

"The Committee propose that this branch should take the initiative in a comprehensive effort to gain full information with respect to the wants and wishes of Canadians. With a view of eliciting an expression of all shades of opinion, they recommend that a series of questions be issued, and that replies be respectfully invited from every thoughtful well-wisher of the Dominion."

These questions it is proposed to have printed in French and English, and distributed among the leading public men in Canada, to elicit their opinion. Among them is one asking, "Is the political relation between Canada and the Mother Country satisfactory?" Another asks whether, in the opinion of the recipient, the necessities of the times demand a rearrangement of our political relations. Again, whether it would be advisable to have a British family trade policy established, with a tariff of say two, three, or five per cent. levied on all foreign importation, for the formation of a fund for Imperial Protection, &c.; also as to the propriety of admitting other nations to the proposed Zollverein.

Reference to the establishment of this "information bureau" by the Ottawa Branch was made at the meeting of the general body of the League in Canada, reported in our last issue.

The Report having been discussed and adopted, the following officers were re-elected by acclamation:—Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., president; vice-presidents, Messrs. J. P. Featherston, Thos. Macfarlane, and Rev. Father Dawson; Mr. R. S. Code, secretary; Mr. F. J. Alexander, treasurer; and the following committee: Messrs. Waters, Cook, J. Keane, Paul M. Robbins, Dr. Dawson, Prof. McGoun, Dr. Powell, and Colonel White.

Messrs. Hamilton Merritt and Casimir Dickson, members of the Executive of the Dominion League, were present, and addressed the meeting. Other speakers were the chairman and secretary, Prof. McGoun, Messrs. F. J. Alexander, Macfarlane, Featherston, Dawson, and Bradbury.

Members of the League and others, in Canada and elsewhere, should note that Mr. Casimir Dickson is now the sole Secretary of "The Imperial Federation League in Canada," and that the offices of the League are at 15, Wilcox Street, Toronto.

We are also requested to draw the attention of our readers in Canada to the resignation by Mr. Castell Hopkins of the post of Secretary to the Organising Committee, and the assumption of that office by Mr. T. E. Moberly, to whom all communications respecting organisation should be addressed, at 2, Toronto Street, Toronto.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL.

The first meeting of this Committee since the annual meeting was held at the office of Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Denison, Court Street, Toronto, on the 17th February, at four p.m.

A letter from the Postmaster General was read, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the resolution in favour of Penny Postage for the Empire, passed at the annual meeting, and stating that he considered the matter of sufficient importance to lay before his colleagues—which he would do at an early day.

It was decided to use the influence of the League in endeavouring to persuade the Toronto and other Boards of Trade to endorse the action of the League in this matter.

A letter from the Secretary of the League in England was read, referring especially to the resolution passed at a meeting of the Council in Canada held on the 10th December last, in which it was resolved that—"This Council would regret that any Conference should be held at which the question of Inter-Imperial and Colonial Trade would not be deemed a subject of first-class importance."

The Secretary was instructed to reply that the Committee fully realised the difficulties surrounding the question, and that all the League desired was that due care should be taken to see that, when the preliminaries of a Conference were being settled, there should be no bar to the discussion of the Trade Question.

The Organising Committee for 1889-90 was re-appointed for the current year, with power to add to its numbers.

It was decided to organise a representative deputation with a view to waiting on the Minister of Education and getting him to make such a regulation that the national flag would be used in all public schools in Ontario, and hoisted on certain days of the year to commemorate events of national importance. The details of the matter were left in the hands of Lieut.-Colonel Denison and Mr. H. J. Wickham.

Letters were also read from His Grace Archbishop O'Brien, Hon. Sir S. L. Tilley, Sir A. T. Galt, Hon. H. G. Joly de Lotbinière, Rev. C. J. Machin, Geo. H. Mills, and Arch. McGoun, junr.

The following is the text of Archbishop O'Brien's letter, referred to in the report, accepting the position of Vice-President for Nova Scotia:—

HALIFAX, Feb. 10, 1890.

DEAR MR. DICKSON,—Various circumstances have occurred to prevent me from answering more promptly yours of the 31st ult.

I am sensible of the honour paid me by the members of the League in electing me as vice-president for Nova Scotia, and although my duties will keep me from taking that active part in the work of the League which I should desire, still I accept the position.

If we only could succeed in making all Canadians have confidence in the future of Canada, in its vast and varied resources, and its almost unlimited possibilities, our work would be easier. We must only hope that love of country will wax stronger with our growth in material prosperity; and every race will realise that the development and strength of each are best secured by moderation in their peculiar views and justice in their actions. Yours truly,

† C. O'BRIEN, Archbishop of Halifax.

PENNY POSTAGE.

The resolution passed by the League at the recent annual meeting, advocating a Penny Post throughout the Empire, is being adopted by Boards of Trade.

A STUDY IN AUSTRALIAN FINANCE.

IN accordance with that catholicity for which Sir Charles Dilke gives us credit, whereby we endeavour that every aspect of questions germane to our subject may be presented to our readers, we publish the extracts which follow from a couple of articles under the above heading, contributed by "A Colonist in London" to the *St. James's Gazette*. Our readers will not fail to see the bearing of such expressions of opinion as are contained in these articles as well as in those reprinted by us in our last issue under the heads of "Trust Funds and Colonial Stocks," and "Colonial Indebtedness," upon the question of Trust Fund Investments and upon the suggestion of a federation of debts, made by the author of "Problems of Greater Britain," following the lead given by the late Mr. Westgarth.

The first of "Colonist's" two articles commences as follows:—

The population of the Australasian Colonies is loosely estimated by the Government statisticians at about 3,000,000. Already interest is paid in London by their agents on some £159,000,000, the outstanding amount of fifty-five separate issues in this market of Government stocks and debentures—mostly within the last fifteen years. New South Wales is responsible for eight loans actually issued, amounting to £43,750,000. Victoria figures for twelve of them, amounting to £35,557,000. To New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, and West Australia belong the remainder. Each Colony has, in addition, a "floating debt;" that of Victoria being about £2,000,000, while the amount in the other Colonies cannot be ascertained owing to the confused and altogether unreliable system of public accounts still tolerated. New Zealand alone has a "sinking fund." In addition, about sixty harbour, dock, and tramway loans, representing £70,000,000 or so, have been floated by Australasian municipalities and corporations, and are "domiciled in London." Six Australasian banks, with a paid-up capital of £6,800,000, have their head offices here; twenty-four, with a paid-up capital of some £12,000,000, are domiciled in Australasia. Sixty-eight mortgage, trust, gas, steamship, insurance, railway, and trading companies represent a paid-up capital of some £40,000,000 or more. The larger portion of this vast total of nearly three hundred millions is held by investors in Great Britain. . . . Broadly speaking, all these imported millions have served to start, to keep going, and ultimately to extend enormously, the most ambitious experiment in unscientific State Socialism which the world has yet seen. It should be borne in mind that in the Colonies Government finance and private finance are now indissolubly knit together. Government has become a chronic "inflationist." The vast and ever-increasing expenditure of State funds in the Colonies on all sorts of enterprises, carried out elsewhere on private or corporate account, now compels the issue of fresh loans in regular succession. The group of "associated banks" which keep (and pay interest upon) the "Government account" have come of recent years to base their discount rates, and their dealings with customers generally, upon the borrowing policy of the Government. Using as they do their deposits up to the hilt to sustain local credit, the banks hope that Government will never close its capital account, or even restrict its borrowing operations here, lest it should bring about disorganisation and collapse in the local Money Market as well as in the labour market. The whole fabric of credit and speculation, as well as the standard of private expenditure, rent, wages, and nominal prices in many departments, have, in effect, come to be dominated by the popular and seductive policy of State Socialism, bolstered up by capital obtained from Europe.

He goes on to say that this experiment can be best observed in Victoria, "the most 'serious' and responsible of the Australasian Colonies." In Victoria he says:—

. . . her citizens have frankly abandoned the tedious attempt to develop what resources are at hand. Victoria's exports are steadily falling off every year; her popular politicians, her Legislature, and her ruling class having now far more faith in the expedient of obtaining capital from abroad than in the slow and old-fashioned policy of working hard to produce staple articles for export. If one wants therefore to inspect a community engaged in trying to lift itself up by its own ears, one may consider the Colony of Victoria.

To obtain, and to obtain without delay, most of the comforts, luxuries, and conveniences of civilisation, became a fixed popular idea with the new settlers. The gift of self-government in 1850 enabled these new men to carry out their ideas, the most important of which

was that "the State" ought to be Providence, financier, and wet-nurse to "the Workers," to use its resources and pledge its credit in order to secure for them constant employment at high wages, comfortable homes, and other good things.

In the second article the writer says :—

This policy has been eminently popular. It has attracted a large population to Melbourne, has raised wages and rents to a high standard, caused capital to circulate, increased the purchasing power of the community, benefited wholesale and retail traders and caterers for public amusement—in other words, created that surface prosperity which always follows inflation, whether produced by the issue of inconvertible paper-money or by a sudden influx of gold. Indeed, as soon as the Associated Banks are credited with the proceeds of each new loan, much the same effect is produced as if a new rich goldfield had been discovered. . . . In view of the lavish, improvident, and reckless scale on which Government enterprises must now be carried out in this Colony, none of them can possibly "pay" on their merits. The experiment in State Socialism would have long since broken down in Victoria on the money question, had it not been that its extreme development has coincided with a prolonged era of "cheap money" and a glut of unemployable capital in Great Britain. Investors in this country, impatient of the low rate of interest obtainable here of late years, and tempted by the prospects of 4 or 5 per cent. in the Colonies, have positively flung their money at the heads of Colonial Treasurers. It would have been tempting Providence had the latter refused to employ it upon "reproductive public works." Within the last few months hounties amounting to £150,000 a year have been bestowed upon Victorian fruit-growers and butter-makers, although fruit-growing and butter-making have for years past been protected by heavy import duties.

Thirty years ago the Colony established a reputation for wealth and prosperity on the strength of large exports of gold and wool. The gold output has dwindled away to insignificance. On the strength of her former reputation, however, Victoria has during the last fifteen years pawned herself to capitalists in this country, but has omitted to deposit anything in the shape of a pledge. The real security for Government or national indebtedness in European countries is the ability and willingness of the population to pay taxes. What has happened during the last five years in New Zealand seems to indicate that Colonial populations, if heavily burdened with taxes, will simply "pull up stakes" and move elsewhere.

The policy of State interference, State aid, and State wet-nursing, has seriously demoralised the people themselves, sapped their inherited instincts of self-reliance, thrift, energy, and industry. It has made hard work despicable in the eyes of thousands of working men, who are virtually pensioners of the State Treasury. . . . The centralisation of population in Melbourne—where Government jobs and Government pay is to be had—has starved the country districts of labour and population. A class of city dwellers is growing up who cannot exist without the nervous and moral stimulus of city "sights" and city amusements. The legitimate resources of the Colony are not developed. Innumerable industries could be named which might be profitable, which might enrich the Colony, if in the hands of a thrifty and laborious population. They are neglected because the artificial scale of wages maintained by "Government," which is the monopolist of so many enterprises, makes it impossible for capitalists to employ hired labour at a profit, and individual workers prefer to hang round Melbourne, and work for protected manufacturers on Government contracts.

And the writer concludes with the following extremely pessimistic summary :—

Palsy of steady labour and productive industry, the growth of unhealthy speculation, and the slow debauchery of the national character, are the most noticeable results of State Socialism and political financing in this highly democratic community.

SIR HENRY LOCH AT THE CAPE.

THE Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa has, in the former of his dual capacities, been making a tour through the eastern portion of his Governorship, and the occasion has been marked by some interesting speeches, made both by the Governor himself and the Premier of the Colony over which he presides. Before starting, His Excellency unveiled the statue of Her Majesty, erected in commemoration of her Jubilee, in the gardens of Parliament House, Cape Town. In the course of his speech on the occasion Sir Henry Loch said :—

"I come here at a period when I look around and see evidence on all sides that the great heart of South Africa is pulsating with the awakened knowledge that she has a great future history, and, with that, grave responsibilities before her. I find an energetic and able body of men, assisted by British capital, encouraged by Colonial sympathy and approval, and supported by the power of England, pushing forward in the great enterprise of extending civilisation into hitherto almost unknown regions. Africa has become the country towards which the eyes of the Powers of Europe are directed ; but, true to her responsibilities, England has secured to her people, and to this important Province of the Empire, their share in the wealth and resources of this great continent.

"The statue which I have now the honour to unveil represents, in the person of the Queen, the emblem of the Empire's greatness—an Empire strong in the love and loyalty of her children.

"We speak of the unity of South Africa ; in that unity I not only include this great country, and our sister Colony of Natal, but those important and friendly States which have a like interest with ourselves in its progressive prosperity, and who are alike secure from external danger through the power of that Empire which has done so much throughout the world for the advancement of civilisation, and in the defence of freedom—a Power represented by one who unites all creeds and all parties in love and respect for the Queen, the Wife, the Mother, and the Woman. God save the Queen !"

Commenting on these remarks, the Dutch organ, the *Zuid Afrikaan*, has the following passage, which we take in translation from the *Cape Times* :—"Under the British flag and with British capital people press northwards, but in the interests of that United South Africa, which, in one form or other, will be brought to accomplishment. It is under the rule of Queen Victoria that the Colony has gained self-government and prosperity, and that the Republics have been formed and have been made to co-operate with the British Colonies in our continent. If we show our gratitude for this by erecting a statue which always reminds us of her who is so justly praised by His Excellency, none the less as wife, as mother, and as woman than as Queen, then it is a fortunate concurrence of circumstances that just at this time there should be opened to us a future of prosperity which was never dreamed of before."

Speaking in reply to an address at Grahamstown, Sir Henry Loch said :—"This feeling of loyalty has existed for years. It is no new thing, but one must be especially glad to hear it when it has been supposed in other parts of the Empire that there are occasional feelings arising that the time has arrived, or is arriving, when those bonds of union that have hitherto united the Empire should be severed to some extent. But I rejoice to find here, as in the great Colony from which I have lately come, that those feelings, that the time has arrived when the bond should be severed, do not exist in any way amongst the masses of the people—(cheers)—but are only expressions of a very few, a very small minority. I rejoice to think I have been entrusted with the high and important duties of Governor of the Colony and High Commissioner, and it will be my earnest endeavour to discharge those duties in a way that may well still strengthen the bonds of union which should exist between this country and other countries, to the honour of the Empire and for the benefit of this Colony."

And at a subsequent banquet His Excellency said :—"People speak wildly as to these great Colonies wishing to sever their connection with the Mother Country. Now, I don't believe that such a feeling exists in our Colony or any of the great Colonies. I read a speech lately by that eminent Canadian statesman Sir John Macdonald, in which he alluded to 'the lunacy,' as he called it, of those who wish for separation ; there was everything to lose and nothing to gain, and he referred those who wished for separation to the epitaph upon an Italian's tomb, 'I was well, I would be better, and I am here.' I apprehend that if such a misfortune occurred to any of our Colonies as to separate from the Mother Country, that would be the epitaph over its grave."

This banquet was also the occasion of an important speech by Sir Gordon Sprigg, the Cape Premier, in the course of which he made the following remarks, specially valuable as endorsing an expression of policy by Sir Henry Loch. The Cape Premier said :—"In endeavouring to promote what are commonly called British influences in South Africa, which I take to be synonymous to promoting the interests of South Africa itself, it has been stated upon a recent occasion by His Excellency that he considered there should be no difference between Imperial and Colonial interests, that they were identical, with which proposition the Government of this Colony has no quarrel whatever. All that the Government says is, that British interests and South African interests will be best promoted by consulting the people of this Colony—(cheers)—that South Africa, if it is to be successfully governed, must be governed in South Africa, and in harmony with the views and ideas and opinions of the people of South Africa, and I am quite sure that no one who has studied the history of the British Empire will for a moment question the truth of the proposition I have just laid down ; because, if you want to know why it is that England has been successful, above all other nations, in establishing an Empire throughout the world, the secret is to be found in this, that England has always adapted her laws and her policy to the genius of the various peoples beneath the sway of the sovereignty of England, and it is resting upon that principle, and desiring to see it carried out in this country, that I state without fear of contradiction—and I believe every man who listens to me to-night, every man in Grahamstown, and every man throughout South Africa, of whatever nationality he may be, and I would also say to whatever race he may belong, and of whatever colour he be, will recognise the truth of the statement—that the interests of South Africa are to be promoted in the best manner by working through the people of South Africa." (Cheers.)

IMPORTANT MEETINGS IN SCOTLAND AND THE PROVINCES.

ARBROATH.

A PUBLIC meeting was held in the Public Hall on Tuesday evening, February 18th, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. G. R. Parkin on Imperial Federation. The Hon. F. J. Bruce presided, and he was accompanied to the platform by Dr. Duke, the Rev. James Murray, Provost Keith, Mr. F. Webster, Mr. W. Webster, Colonel Ouchterlony, Mr. David Corsar, and Mr. A. Balfour.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the speaker, said that the question that was to be considered that evening was one of great importance. There were two questions of statesmanship which rose above all the rest—the one was the great social problem how the conditions of life were to be arranged so that they might live altogether in a tolerably harmonious manner. The other great question was as to how the British Empire was to be disposed of without loss of honour to the British people. The subject had been treated with indifference until a few years ago, but he was glad that now more interest was being taken in it. This movement was totally unconnected with party politics. They were out of the sphere in which Mr. Gladstone's axe, Mr. Balfour's golf clubs, or Mr. O'Brien's nether garments counted as conclusive arguments, and that was the reason why he presided that night. (Applause.)

MR. PARKIN commenced his address by remarking that there was no audience whom he felt so free in addressing on the subject of Federation as a Scotch one, for the reason that Scotchmen were greatly interested in Colonial matters, and most people there had relations in the Colonies.

Drawing an illustration from the Home Rule question, Mr. Parkin said there was one point upon which Conservatives, Gladstonians, and Unionists agree—that whatever form of Home Rule were granted to Ireland, she must not be allowed to form an independent, separate, and distinct nation. (Applause.) Irishmen themselves would admit that as freely as Englishmen and Scotchmen. Yet he was convinced that as much harm would be done to Britain if Canada separated from her, as if Ireland did so. It was essential to Britain that Canada should be retained as well as Ireland. Britain would fall fifty per cent. in the scale of nations as a naval power if it lost Canada. If Britain was at war and Canada an independent nation, her ports would be neutral and Britain's enemy would have the same use of them as Britain. The command of the coaling and naval stations had made Britain the manufacturing and trading centre of the world. Consequently he argued that if Canada were given up they would lose not only command of the North Pacific but of the North Atlantic, and lose their position to an extent they knew nothing about. . . . There was a great deal of talk regarding the building of ironclads for the protection of the Empire, but he maintained that what would give the Empire more stability would be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to establish a penny post throughout the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN having invited questions,

REV. MR. COATS SHANKS asked what effect Australian Federation would have on this question. Would it not diminish the interest in Imperial Federation?

MR. PARKIN replied that he believed Australian Federation would favour Imperial Federation. The same question came upon Canada. The moment the Canadians were federated, they were compelled to think on national questions fundamentally. Since the federation of Canada in 1867, every line of policy adopted by Canadian statesmen had been supported by British statesmen and British public opinion, for the reason that, speaking with a voice of five millions of people, they could make themselves heard, as well as form broader judgments; and the same would happen in Australia.

COLONEL OUCHTERLONY moved a resolution in favour of Imperial Conferences.

MR. A. BALFOUR seconded. As Scotchmen, he thought they should earnestly consider this question, and it would be the means of bringing them together in working for a great end. (Applause.)

MR. F. WEBSTER having also spoken very warmly in support of the League, the resolution was carried unanimously.

DUNDEE.

MR. G. R. PARKIN delivered a lecture in the Kinraid Hall, on February 20th, on "Imperial Federation," under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League. There was a fair attendance, and among those present were Lord Provost Hunter (who occupied the chair), Mr. H. B. Fergusson, Mr. E. Cox, Mr. John Robertson, Elmslea, Principal Peterson, Professor Steggall, the Rev. William Hamilton, Lord Dean of Guild M'Grady, Bailie Speed, Councillors Mathewson and M'Kinnon, Mr. D. H. Saunders, Mr. Andrew Hutcheson, Mr. R. O. Parker, Mr. C. C. Maxwell, Mr. W. H. R. Valentine, Mr. Alexander M'Kay, Mr. John Mess, and Mr. Robert Steven.

LORD PROVOST HUNTER, in introducing Mr. Parkin to the meeting, said that personally he was there to listen, as he knew that Mr. Parkin had taken a very great interest in the subject, and had spoken on it not only in this country but in the Colonies as well. They were all aware that the question of Imperial Federation was coming to the front, and would come to the front. (Applause.) His Lordship was perfectly certain that the closer the alliance between their Colonies and the Mother Country, and between the Mother Country and the Colonies, the better would it be for both. (Applause.)

MR. PARKIN, who was received with applause, said he had the most complete conviction that within a few years the subject about which he was to speak that night would become among the best minds in the Empire the one special subject most worth thinking about, and the most important subject to be considered by the British people in every part of the world. If he could fix in his hearers' minds what he himself believed, that in the question of Imperial Federation, which he called the permanent unity of the British race, they had the one

question most worthy of the consideration of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, he would be satisfied with what he had accomplished. He always felt a peculiar interest in addressing a Scotch audience, and for good reasons, for when he allowed his mind to run back over the pages of British history, and reflected upon the immense part which the people of the northern portion of Britain had taken in building up the Empire, either by the courage by which they had won their battles, or by the business capacity which had enabled them to make the most of the Empire, he felt that he was addressing one of the principal factors in Britain's greatness. There was not a family in Dundee, or a family in Scotland, but what had a member in some part of the British Empire, and if he could prove to his hearers that both the instincts and the interests which bound different parts of the Empire together were just as strong as those which bound the sisters and brothers and friends in the remotest part of the world, he thought he would present to them a subject worthy of their deepest attention. (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Parkin's address, which was extremely well received,

MR. H. B. FERGUSSON moved a resolution, urging Her Majesty's Government to summon a second Conference of the Empire. The motion, he said, translated into formal language, meant (1) that it asked the meeting to express their sympathies with the movement; (2) it recalled the fact that in 1887 Her Majesty's Government summoned Colonial representatives to London to consider this question, and that that Conference was followed by hopeful results; and (3) it asked them to request the Government to call similar Conferences, with the view of continuing their deliberations on important national questions. A great statesman of the last century, who looked with a prescient eye to the future, said in the House of Commons:—"Our Colonies cling to us by a close affection, which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron. . . . Wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom they will turn their faces to you. . . . Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great Empire and little minds go ill together. . . . We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious Empire, and have made the most extensive and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race." (Applause.)

PRINCIPAL PETERSON, in seconding the motion, said he did not think there was a man present whose heart had not throbbed in unison with Mr. Parkin's as he made his eloquent appeal. The last Conference resulted in this material good, that measures were at once taken for the better naval defence of the Empire. The second Conference might make further progress, especially when they took into consideration that the delegates were sent by the free choice of the people they represented.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

KEIGHLEY.

A meeting under the auspices of the Keighley and District Chamber of Commerce was held on Feb. 27th, in the Mechanics' Institute of that town, when Mr. G. R. Parkin gave an address on "Imperial Federation." The chair was occupied by Ald. Hattersley, the President of the Chamber, and there was a fairly large and very representative attendance, among those on the platform being Mr. S. Smith, Ald. B. S. Brigg, Mr. J. C. Horsfall, Mr. T. Clapham, Mr. Craven Laycock, Mr. W. A. Robinson, Mr. Isaac Bailey, Mr. F. Butterfield, Mr. William Clapham, Ald. John Brigg, Mr. William Naylor, and Mr. C. Freeman Murray, agent of the Imperial Federation League.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Mr. Parkin, said that the Chamber fully recognised that Keighley would rise or fall with the rest of the nation, and consequently they had eagerly welcomed any information which would tell them how the Empire was to be strengthened.

MR. PARKIN, who met with a cordial reception, remarked that the subject on which he was about to speak was one on which he had spoken around the Empire, not only in England and Scotland, but through the length and breadth of Canada, New Zealand, Tasmania, and the Australian provinces; and he had never yet found a British audience in any part of the world which did not feel a deep interest in some of the points they had to discuss. He always felt a particular interest in approaching an audience in the northern part of England, which had always exerted so much influence on national movements, where he knew that they had long been accustomed to political ideas, and where they had had an exceptional training in political as well as commercial thought. He hoped to lay before them some reasons which would make them feel more, perhaps, than they had hitherto been accustomed to the importance of the subject which was called Imperial Federation, but which he preferred to call the permanent unity of the British Empire. (Applause.)

ALDERMAN BRIGG moved a resolution in favour of conferences. In doing so, he remarked that such conferences were most likely to bring about that union which had been described to them in such glowing terms.

MR. WILLIAM NAYLOR seconded the motion, and it was adopted.

MR. SWIRE SMITH, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin, said it was a good idea to invite the public to hear the address, because there was no question which could come before them relating to commerce which was so supremely great as one which would bind all sections of the British Empire together. Perhaps one reason why Mr. Parkin was so enthusiastic in the matter was that he had seen the British Empire. When they considered that that Empire represented one-fifth of the population of the world, one-fifth of the habitable portion of the globe, that it had about one-third of the trade of the world, and that it possessed more than half the shipping of the world, they recognised what enormous interests were at stake. The question was one which was well worthy the attention of the men of Keighley, which sent the greater proportion of its goods to the Colonies and other parts of the world. (Hear, hear.)

BRADFORD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

UNDER the auspices of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, a meeting was held on March 13th, in the lecture hall of the Bradford Mechanics Institute, to hear an address from Mr. G. R. Parkin on the subject of "Imperial Federation and its Probable Influence on work, wages, and food." There was a fairly large attendance. Amongst those present were Mr. Gustavus Hoffmann (the president of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce), who occupied the chair; Alderman Smith Feather (the Mayor of Bradford), Sir Henry Mitchell, Mr. C. Stead, Mr. T. Garnett, Mr. E. P. Arnold-Forster, Mr. Theo. Peel, Mr. F. Willey, Mr. R. Fecht, Mr. W. H. Mitchell, Mr. W. B. Gordon, Mr. James Burnley, Mr. F. Edelstein, Mr. F. Hooper (secretary of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce), and Mr. S. Shaftoe (secretary of the Bradford and District Trades' Council). Letters apologising for absence had been received from Mr. Alfred Illingworth, M.P., and Mr. S. C. Lister.

The CHAIRMAN said that it would be in the recollection of several gentlemen present that the audience which assembled to hear Mr. Parkin when he last spoke in Bradford was far too small. The subject which Mr. Parkin dealt with appeared to the Council of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce so important that they asked Mr. Parkin to pay the town another visit. The Chamber of Commerce did not commit themselves, nor did he commit himself personally, to any one particular detail of any scheme known as Imperial Federation. Mr. Parkin had laid before a Bradford gathering part of his scheme, and it was possible that some then present might have thought that the project was a dream. But it was a magnificent dream, and if only one small fraction of that dream could be realised it was something worth striving for. Speaking again on behalf of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber could not help seeing that the slackness or the tightness of the bonds which bound together the different parts of this Empire must seriously affect working men, and therefore the Council of the Chamber felt that it was their duty to give the working men, who might on some future occasion, perhaps not far distant, be called upon to vote for or against Imperial Federation, every opportunity of considering the question in all its bearings. All were interested equally in questions of work, food, and wages. Our Colonies already supplied us with food to a large extent, and what the Imperial Federationist said was that they could do still more in the event of a change in the arrangements between the home part of the Empire and that abroad. Then there was another aspect of the question; it was found that our Colonies took more than one-fourth of the whole of English exports of woollen and worsted manufactures. And in addition to that the Colonies took nearly five times as much made-up clothing from us as the whole of the rest of the world did. But he was convinced that with Free Trade between all parts of the Empire still more benefit could be derived by all. Englishmen at home must not forget that foreign competitors were gradually shutting out their products more and more from their markets. His personal opinion—and of course he did not commit the Bradford Chamber of Commerce in anything that he might say—was that in any scheme of Imperial Federation England was entitled to ask for some preferential treatment from the Colonies in regard to import duties, if, as he believed was the case, the Mother Country could, and did, successfully defend the Colonies against all their enemies. Obviously England, by providing for that defence, saved the Colonies some taxation which would otherwise be necessary. Any other nation in Europe which possessed Colonies would insist upon such special treatment as its natural right, but England simply asked for it in the belief that there was a good title to it. He believed sincerely, from all the information which he had been able to gather, that there was a universal wish in the United Kingdom and every other part of the British Empire that something should be done to bind the scattered parts of the Empire in a closer way socially, politically, and commercially than had yet been done. Believing that the wish existed, and being convinced of the truth of the maxim that "where there's a will there's a way," he called upon Mr. Parkin to show them the way. (Applause.)

MR. PARKIN then addressed the meeting. Commencing with illustrations of the vast extent of the British Empire and of its combined resources of production of raw material and manufacture, he proceeded to prove the identity of the interests of the capitalists and working men of all parts of the Empire, no matter how remotely they were separated, and to show that the welfare of industry in the most distant corner of the world was as intensely important to men in England as was that of the trade in the next town. In Bradford, he observed, the main occupation was the wool trade. In Australia he met large bodies of men organising the labour of the country on an immense scale, some of them having as many as 250,000 head of sheep on their own stations, and employing hundreds of men to watch and shear these sheep, and so on. Then there was another large and important class of men—workmen and their organisers—who were conducting the carrying trade between the wool producer and the English manufacturer. How was it possible, he asked, to draw a line of distinction between the interests of the producer, the carrier, and the manufacturer? Canada employed large bodies of workmen who were sweeping the seas to get the fish from its magnificent fisheries to supply to some extent the wants of this country. In the vast forests there large numbers of men were employed in cutting down timber, most of which was to be carried to this country. In fact, the industry of Canada principally depended at present upon England for its surplus market. The argument applied in a similar way to the close connection of interest between the people of England and the other parts of the Empire. To consider this question properly they must divide the Empire into two parts—the manufacturing centre here, and the producing centre abroad. Any man who made a study of the recent history of the world would find out that the producing areas of the world were largely coming to be more and more those which were under British control. As a matter of fact, quite a common argument at the present time in American magazines was that the lines of population were rapidly coming up to the

lines of production in that country, that the producing area was rapidly shifting towards the north and in other directions, and that the great market for surplus products which England at present offered to America would eventually be supplied by Canada, India, Australia, and New Zealand. He believed that the time was coming when England would depend to an infinitely greater extent than now upon her own possessions for raw material; and he quite believed that in addition to the cause which he had mentioned, it was a fact that British energy was the one thing which developed producing power. English capital was going abroad at an enormous rate, and naturally there was an increasing tendency to emigration. It had been said—But you don't give us Free Trade. New South Wales was often spoken of as the one Colony which still maintained Free Trade. Next to New South Wales on the map was Victoria, an extremely Protectionist Colony. The two Colonies had nearly the same population—between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000. But Whittaker's Almanack for last year showed that Victoria, under its high protective system, imported over £10,000,000 worth of British goods, a considerably larger sum than the colony of New South Wales. Every Australian took British goods to the extent of £8 per head per annum, a larger proportion of British goods than was taken by any other people on the face of the earth. If he could prove in subsequent remarks that the retention of these great Colonies and the growth of a great British population in them would have a tendency as time went on to enlarge this market of men who made large demands upon the productions of this country, it was giving a very strong argument in favour of the political organisation which was necessary for that purpose.

At the conclusion of his address he said:—He believed that a common fiscal system would be best reached by having a common statesmanship turned upon the solution of the problem. In the meantime, there were many questions, such as the safety and development of the Empire and the trade of the Empire, which meant the same thing, that rose infinitely in importance above the question of Free Trade. Because we could not get the whole we should not throw away the half. In conclusion, Mr. Parkin contended that the Colonies, under a state of federation, would be willing to come to the help of the Empire, not only on the ground of sentiment, but on the ground of self-interest; for it would pay Australia, for instance, in an emergency, to spend some millions a year in keeping the Suez Canal open and keeping free the Cape of Good Hope route to the East. (Applause.)

The MAYOR moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin for his lecture. In doing so he said when Mr. Parkin was at Bradford previously, he, at that gentleman's request, became a subscriber to the Imperial Federation League, and since then he had received pamphlets and books upon the subject, which he had found very instructive. He suggested that, by subscribing to the funds of the League, persons present would put themselves in possession of similar literature, the knowledge gained from which would probably greatly increase their interest in the subject.

MR. S. SHAFTOE seconded the vote of thanks, and, whilst expressing his high appreciation of the address which had been delivered, suggested that Mr. Parkin should give them some information comparing the condition of the workers in England and the Colonies.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

MR. PARKIN, in responding, said the subject upon which Mr. Shaftoe had asked for information was large enough for another address of equal length to that which he had delivered. But he might say briefly that he had been watching the working man in Australia critically, and comparing him with the working man of Canada and England, and he had found out this very extraordinary fact, that those in Australia did not want more English working men to go out there. He happened to be in Australia just at the time that such great sympathy was being shown there with the dock labourers who were on strike in London, and afterwards he noticed a suggestion in one of the leading newspapers that, instead of sending their thousands of pounds to help the dockers, they should have sent the money for the purpose of bringing some of the strikers to Australia. That seemed to him to be something practical, inasmuch as there was plenty of room for more men. But he did not find that to be the tone of the Australian working men themselves. In Canada life was much more strenuous than it was in Australia, yet he would not to-day exchange the harder conditions of life of the Canadian working men for the more flourishing but more artificial conditions of the Australians. There was a singular inflation about Australian life. He could not tell what the result would be, but it was a fact that, though the workman could earn 8s. a day, a single colony owed as much as did the whole 5,000,000 of population of Canada.

* * Reports of meetings at Dewsbury, Halifax, etc., are held over from want of space.

The Spirit of Federation seems to be abroad, and it is quickly doing its work throughout the various Colonies of the British Empire. They will first unite with each other, and then gravitate to a closer union with the Old Country.—*Daily Paper*.

What Colonial events have occurred during the year have drifted the Colonies closer to, and not away from, their connection with the centre of the Empire, and have strengthened the sentiment in favour of Imperial Federation, without, as yet, opening any practical way towards it.—*Weekly Scotsman*.

Hoisting the Flag.—They are loyal people in Ontario. An influential deputation lately obtained a sympathetic and favourable reply from the Minister of Education to their request that the National Emblem should be hoisted at the public schools in the Province to commemorate certain days, including of course the Queen's birthday. In the course of his reply the Minister stated that he had taken measures to expunge from the school-books used anything that appeared un-Canadian. Formerly the books had been (like the New Zealand telegrams from San Francisco) "rather too highly coloured" with American views.

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Imperial Federation.

APRIL 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and ennobling height, with all her Daughter Lands about her, stay us in this felicitie." JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

EVERYBODY who does not happen to be a CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, or a POSTMASTER-GENERAL of non-progressive proclivities, will be glad to see, from the report in another page of the last meeting of the Executive Committee, that the League is about to renew active steps to forward the movement in favour of "uniform imperial postage at a cheap rate." It will be observed that the resolution passed takes the above form, and does not commit the League to the principle of a "penny post." Though all reformers in this direction must hope to see that goal reached eventually, it does not follow that it is either practicable to obtain, or politic to press for it all at once. We believe that time and experiment will show it to be practicable; but we should be content to move gradually, and not excite unyielding opposition by asking what to many appears something unreasonable, and altogether too much. Moreover, there has been a good deal of clap-trap written of late by over-zealous advocates of this reform about "The Imperial Penny" and the rest of it; and it is just as well for the League, which has a character for practicality to sustain, not to give occasion to scoffers by associating itself with the "faddish" element in such movements. The proposal to obtain the co-operation of Chambers of Commerce at home and in the Colonies is a good one. Not a few of those bodies have already, and partly through the agency of the League or its members, taken action in the matter.

THE issue of the Report of LORD HARTINGTON'S Commission upon Naval and Military Administration is an event of first-rate importance in regard to Imperial Defence. From this point of view, Article 20 seems to be the keystone of the whole Report. This article suggests the formation of a Naval and Military Council, probably presided over by the Prime Minister, and consisting of the Parliamentary heads of the two services and their principal professional advisers, and possibly one or two officers of great reputation and experience. Beyond its usefulness as things stand at present, such a Council affords the very nucleus we are looking

for round which to form the great desideratum—an Imperial Council of Defence, such as is recommended in the Report of the Defence Committee of the League, published in our January number; and we rejoice to see that SIR JOHN COLOMB has given notice in the House of Commons of a question raising this very point. He will ask the Government to take this opportunity to provide in some form for the representation upon such a Council of outlying portions of the Empire contributing to the maintenance of the regular naval and military forces of the Crown. We shall no doubt hear more of the subject.

THE second reading of the Western Australia Constitution Bill in the House of Commons was the occasion of a long and useful debate, of which we publish a full summary. The *crux* of the matter, of course, lies in the Land Question. A member for a working-men's constituency said his constituents view with disfavour the gradual "chucking away" of the land belonging to Great Britain, and giving it to the few who happened to be on the spot. This feeling is natural enough; but on the other hand, as SIR JOHN COLOMB had already said, in view of the early Federation of Australia, the reservation proposed by the Bill of a portion of the northern territory to be administered from home, might prove a source of irritation and trouble, especially if it should be proposed to utilize the tropical region for relieving the overflowing population of India. The most reasonable mode of dealing with the vast extent of unoccupied territories known as Western Australia was perhaps that proposed by MR. BRUCE, who suggested that they should be placed under the control of the future Federal Government of Australia. This commends itself as the natural course for events to take, and it follows the precedent of Canada with regard to the Territories. The fear is that the Bill will have already made over to the present inhabitants of Western Australia, who ought to be and would be satisfied with a reasonable amount of land, the whole of the western half of the continent outside the tropics.

THE familiar paradox, that "nothing is so misleading as facts—except figures," contains, like all paradoxes, only a half-truth. It remains a plain unepigrammatic truth that ignorance of facts and figures may be more misleading still. It has become a commonplace of speakers to assert that our trade with foreign countries is declining, while that with British Possessions advances "by leaps and bounds." The valuable contribution which we publish this month from the pen of SIR RAWSON RAWSON shows that, however true this may have been at other times, it is not so now. In the years 1885 to 1888 his figures show that there was a slight increase in the proportion of the trade with foreign countries, and a decrease in that with British Possessions; and in 1889 the latter feature was much more marked. In some particulars the fluctuation in the same direction is specially prominent. In exports from the United Kingdom the value shipped to foreign countries increased 2.2 per cent. between 1885 and 1888, and 3.3 in 1889; while, on the other hand, at the same periods, the value of shipments to British Possessions had decreased 4.8 per cent. in 1888, and no less than 7.3 per cent. in 1889. SIR RAWSON RAWSON'S figures demand careful study at the hands of those persons who have been led to believe that the future commercial prosperity of the United Kingdom depends entirely on the Colonies—especial regard being paid also to the large proportion borne by the Indian trade to that of the Colonies properly so called.

THE letter which we publish elsewhere under the heading of "Preferential Duties," calls for a few observations. Our correspondent takes exception to some remarks we made in these "Notes" last month, on the subject of the Fair Trade League and Imperial Reciprocity, and, as we understand, on three distinct points. With regard to the claims of the Fair Trade League to the credit of advocating preferential duties within the Empire, we certainly have no desire to deprive that body of whatever credit is due to it. Our remarks on this head were confined to pointing out the inconsistency of the two branches of their programme; and to showing that if they mean to advocate Imperial

Reciprocity, they must give up the other side of their propaganda. As to the second charge—that we argued against preferential duties against foreigners on the ground of “funk” of retaliation during the transition—we need only to repeat the last sentence of our “Note.” We wrote:—“We have not, that we are aware of, seen this point raised before, and therefore, not as in any way accepting our own arguments as conclusive, but rather as acting the part of *advocatus diaboli*, we put it to the professed believers in Imperial Reciprocity, as one worthy of serious consideration and effective reply.”

OUR object so stated in referring to this difficulty has been partially fulfilled by our correspondent himself, when he replies to it that nations only put on duties if they consider it for their advantage to do so. This is a reply, and to some extent we quite believe an effective one, and we can only express a hope that the question may receive further elucidation from others competent to deal with it. The third count against us amounts by polite implication to calling us biased people who don't think, wedded to a party holding free trade sacred. We beg to assure our correspondent that on such questions this *Journal* has no politics and is wedded to no party. Furthermore, we think that if he will read our language on these questions again he will see that we base the doubts we express as to the feasibility of Imperial Reciprocity, not on any opinions of our own, but upon the notorious fact that at present the United Kingdom is wedded to Free Trade and the Colonies to Protection. Nobody would rejoice more than those who are responsible for the conduct of this *Journal*, and we are sure we may say for the policy of the League generally, if any means could be derived to surmount or circumvent the hard facts of the situation. In conclusion, we must ask our correspondent to believe that we have already consistently made it our rule to try at least to tell the truth; but whether the devil is thereby shamed is a question we must leave for him to decide.

To the good citizens of Toronto are due our most humble apologies, and we hasten to tender them. In our article upon Canada last month, we contrasted the observance of the Sabbath in Toronto and Chicago respectively, in reply to MR. GOLDWIN SMITH, who declared the “social movements” of Canada and the United States to be the same. We said that whereas in the American city the theatres were open on Sunday, in Toronto even the trams were not allowed to run except at such times as people were going to and from church. Within a week of publication, a Toronto citizen called to say we did the Toronto Sabbath an injustice. No street cars are allowed to run on Sunday at all; neither are drinking saloons open at any time on Sunday or after six o'clock on Saturday. As IMPERIAL FEDERATION has not as yet had occasion to maintain that institution, found so necessary in some of the States of the Union—a fighting editor—we were glad to have been out on the occasion when this gentleman called and kindly left a message to the above effect. But common prudence unites with an innate sense of justice to induce us thus to make the earliest and fullest reparation in our power.

THE articles in the *St. James's Gazette*, upon the subject of Australian, and particularly Victorian, Finance, from which we reprint in another column the most striking passages, have attracted a good deal of attention, as might be expected, in the Colonies as well as at home. The same paper that published them has contained some correspondence arising out of the subject, chiefly with reference to the truth of statements as to the paying powers of the railways; but though the Colonial champion seems to have been “cornered” on this point by his opponent, the correspondence is inconclusive. The *Times*' correspondent at Melbourne, writing earlier (on January 2nd), called attention to some statistics in MR. HAYTER's latest “Year Book,” pointing somewhat in the same direction as the remarks of the contributor to the columns of the *St. James's Gazette*. The March number of *Macmillan* also contains a scathing article, from the pen of a writer who, whether his conclusions are right or wrong, shows knowledge of his subject,

holding up the reverse side of the Australian shield. Our Australian friends must bestir themselves. It is not enough to say that “bearing articles always appear at the time that a new loan is about to be asked for.” We shall look forward to being able in our next issue to refer to some statement on the other side of the question.

FROM the last report of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, it would appear that up to the present time the Fellowship of the Institute has been open to persons of all nationalities; for an amendment of the rules is proposed by the Council inserting where necessary the qualification of being a British subject. Some misconceptions, it seems, have arisen on the point; and, considering the nature and objects of the Institution, it is certainly high time it should be made unmistakably plain that members must at least possess this one most fundamental of all qualifications for admission to so essentially national a body. We also notice, with pleasure, that a special committee has been appointed by the Council to examine and revise the proofs of forthcoming works submitted to the Council with a view to publication under the auspices of the Institute. The accuracy of knowledge which members of such a committee would undoubtedly possess should be of the greatest value in ensuring the trustworthy character of works on the Colonies submitted to their revision.

THE discussion of the report at the annual meeting of the Institute led to some differences of opinion as to the relative rights of the Council and of ordinary Fellows to express opinions upon political matters. MR. LEWIS A. VINTCENT (M.L.A. Cape Colony) as an old Fellow of the Institute, offered “a few words of friendly criticism” upon a passage in the report expressing the views of the Council on the debatable question of the disposal of Swaziland. For this he was called to order by SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, one of the vice-presidents, for going into questions of a controversial nature. But the Chairman ruled that the occasion was the proper one for those outside the Council to express their views on the report; and it would certainly appear strange if, the Council having introduced controversial matter into their report, and expressed themselves in favour of certain views, Fellows should be precluded from expressing different views if they held them.

THE same point would possibly have been raised, if the Chairman had not already decided in favour of the right of Fellows to differ from the views expressed in the name of the Institute by the Council, when SIR JOHN COLOMB objected to another paragraph in the report referring to the representations urged upon Her Majesty's Government by the Council advocating the propriety of admitting the investment of Trust Funds in colonial securities, and expressing the satisfaction of the Council that this matter of imperial policy had been referred to a departmental committee (in association with the Agents-General). SIR JOHN COLOMB holds opposite views, and he pointed out that, though all were animated by one object—the promotion of the welfare of the whole Empire—there were two parties involved in this question, the Mother Country and the Colonies; and he asked the Council what they thought the Mother Country would get in return for this arrangement. He went further into the question of security and so forth, which led to considerable discussion. The matter has since formed the subject of a correspondence in the paper in which the report was published.

SOUTH Africa has been attracting its share of attention during the past month. There were articles on South African policy in two of the March reviews—the *Fortnightly* and the *National*—that in the former being from the pen of MR. MERRIMAN, of Cape Colony, who described himself, in speaking upon SIR F. YOUNG's recent paper at the Colonial Institute, as belonging to that “much abused class—the local politician”; but who, in spite of this obvious drawback, speaks and writes in a manner that belies the character for narrow-mindedness attributed to his class. The *Times* also has published, on 25th February

and 20th March, two important communications, the authorship of which we shall, perhaps, not be far wrong in attributing to a recognised advocate of a forward Imperial policy in South Africa, at present in London. With regard to Swaziland, although up to the time of writing the Government has maintained official reserve as to its intentions, LORD SALISBURY is reported to have stated at the recent party-meeting that his Government had no intention of handing over that territory to the Government of the Transvaal. Add to this SIR H. LOCH's interview with PRESIDENT KRÜGER and the apparent surrender of the latter on the railway question, and, without attaching too much importance to mere expressions such as are to be found in the "interviews" we have reproduced, or in public speeches, we have, on the whole, some cause to consider that the present outlook in South Africa is a hopeful one.

SOME time ago we commented upon some remarks made by LORD DERBY at Liverpool on the relations of the Mother Country and the Colonies. *Young Australia* quotes the following passage from the same speech:—"On the question of our relations with the self-governing Colonies my opinion has been often expressed. I believe the tie which binds them to the Mother Country may last very long, provided we put no strain upon it. As long as we give them protection and ask nothing in return, it will be difficult for them to quarrel with us." Our contemporary's comment is as follows:—"His Lordship is not a general favourite in Australia, and, judging his opinion of us from the above words, it is no wonder. They are not complimentary words, but, dear reader, are they not true, at any rate as to a certain section of our people?—That section that is not ashamed to say, 'We will accept Britain's protection as long as we need it, but when we think we are strong enough to stand alone we will cut ourselves adrift.' That section which is highly indignant if Britain is not ever ready to draw the sword in their interest, while nervously fearful of being drawn into a quarrel on her account."

A FURTHER comment, showing that *Young Australia's* admission of the not very soft impeachment on behalf of a section of its people was not ill-founded, is afforded by the following extract from a leading article in a recent issue of the *Melbourne Age*:—"Practically, we may be certain that as long as only small sacrifices are needed to keep the bond with England unbroken, sentimental considerations will be all-powerful; but that if national existence seems to be at stake, we shall not risk it except for very cogent reasons of material interest." In another leader, about a week afterwards, the same paper has the following passage:—"It is surely the interest of the Colonies to leave things as they are, so that in the fulness of time they may assume the entire control over their affairs if it appears to be their interest to do so." There is a cynical bluntness about this confession of faith that leaves no room for doubt as to the real meaning of those who hold these views. Put shortly, it amounts to this:—"Let things alone. At present we get everything we want and give nothing in return. Let the old country go on paying for our protection and all the rest of it, and lending us money at cheap rates; and 'by-and-by,' when we can do without her, we will do whatever is best for our own interests."—Not for the interests of the whole Empire, be it observed. No wonder *Young Australia* is ashamed of some of its contemporaries and the mean sort of opinion they represent.

THE all-pervading nature of the influence exercised by the Roman Catholic Church, and of the religious element generally, among the French-Canadian people of Lower Canada receives striking illustration from the graphic pen of SIR CHARLES DILKE. The following vivid little picture from the life, gives one an idea of what this means in actuality that whole treatises of impersonal and abstract disquisition would fail to convey. "Even in Belgium," says SIR CHARLES DILKE, "where political laymen take part in religious processions, it would be thought remarkable if leading statesmen appeared in the costume in which MR. MERCIER, the Prime Minister of Quebec, was attired at a festival lately held at St. Hyacinthe. This chief man of a

British Province which adjoins the United States, appeared in the gorgeous raiment of a Papal order, which included white breeches trimmed with red, a green satin vest, a red mantle, a hat with white feathers, and a breastplate set in brilliants." He adds that MR. MERCIER's speeches are often as ecclesiastical as his costume.

WE give in another column some account of a meeting of one of the chief branches of the Australian Natives Association, at which it was a subject of discussion whether or not they were a political body. The Association, as a whole, does not seem to entertain much doubt upon the subject; since it has recently been holding a Session to discuss the general question of Australian Federation, a subject which, though it may be kept clear of "party," can by no stretch of ingenuity be deemed non-political. The Melbourne papers reported the proceedings of the amateur parliament at considerable length, and they form the subject of a full-page cartoon in the *Melbourne Punch*. The Association held their Session for the discussion of the Federation question just before the official Conference met. The cartoonist represents a somewhat attenuated chick, labelled "A. N. A. idea of it," just emerged from the Federation egg. SIR HENRY PARKES and MR. GILLIES are made to lament that they are a day after the fair; while a typical young Australian, as a native peacock who has hatched the egg, tells them "It's all over. We'll teach our grandmothers to hatch eggs."

The ANNUAL MEETING of the LEAGUE is fixed for THURSDAY, MAY 22nd.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on Thursday the 20th March, at noon, the President of the League, the Earl of Rosebery in the Chair.

The Secretary's report for the month was received.

It was moved by the President, and seconded by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., that:—"The Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League conveys to the League in Canada its hearty congratulations upon the unanimous declaration by the Dominion Parliament of the fixed resolve of the Canadian people to aid in maintaining the political connection between Canada and the rest of the British Empire."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A letter from Mr. C. Freeman Murray, written on behalf of members of Branches and others interested in the organisation of the League in the United Kingdom, and proposing a scheme for meeting the financial difficulty in connection with that organisation was read, and referred to the Finance Committee for report.

The report of the Finance Committee was read, and an audited statement of accounts for the year 1889 was submitted. The report and statement of accounts were adopted.

The Central Queensland Branch of the League was, on the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., duly affiliated.

The names of the following representatives appointed by the League in Canada to serve upon the Central Council and Executive Committee of the League were ordered to be added to the lists of those bodies respectively:—

To the Council—Rev. C. J. Machin, Port Arthur; J. Herbert Mason, Ontario; W. Hamilton Merritt, Toronto.

To the Executive Committee—Lieut.-Col. F. C. Denison, C.M.G., M.P.; Sandford Fleming, C.M.G.; Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G.; Archibald McGoun, Jun.

On the motion of Mr. Faithfull Begg, seconded by the Hon. T. A. Brassey, a sub-committee was appointed to consider how best to employ the services of women in the work of the League.

Letters were read from the Duke of Argyll and the Secretaries of the Leagues in Canada and New Zealand.

The following resolutions were moved by Mr. R. J. Beadon:—

"1. That it is desirable that the League should specially exert itself at the present time to forward the movement in favour of uniform Imperial Postage at a cheap rate."

"2. That the Postal Committee be requested to take steps with this object by entering into communication with the Chambers of Commerce throughout the country, and by such other means as they may deem effectual."

The motion was seconded by the President, who expressed his strong approval, and suggested simultaneous action on the part of branches of the League and Chambers of Commerce throughout the Empire.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Committee then adjourned.

The Rev. Canon Westcott, a member of the Council of the League, has been elected to the important See of Durham. The new Bishop has our warmest congratulations.

REVIEWS.

A Winter Tour in South Africa. By Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.
London: E. A. Petherick & Co. 1890.

Sir Frederick Young has amplified the interesting account of his Winter Tour in South Africa, read before the Royal Colonial Institute and published it with illustrations and a map in an attractive little volume. The author's object in writing, as he tells us in the Introduction, is in the hope that his observations may prove of use in awakening additional interest on the part of the general public in one of the most promising and valuable portions of the Colonial Empire. Sir Frederick Young's Tour was a comprehensive one, extending over 4,000 miles of South African Territory by rail, coach, and waggon. An excellent map of the Cape Colony, Transvaal and Natal, together of course with the Orange Free State and the surrounding territories, show the route taken by the traveller, who, starting from Cape Town, proceeded by rail to the present terminus of the line at Kimberley, and thence by waggon by way of Vryburg through Potchefstroom and Johannesburg to Pretoria. Thence he made a circular tour through the central districts of the Transvaal; and, starting southwards again from Johannesburg travelled to Natal and reached the coast at Durban. Taking steamer to Port Elizabeth he again struck northward through the eastern Province of Cape Colony (paying meanwhile a flying visit to Grahamstown), finally returning by rail to Cape Town. We have thus fully described the route taken, in order to show that Sir Frederick Young was no arm-chair traveller, but used his time in traversing a very large extent of country, which gave him opportunities of wide observation. With the incidents of the journey itself we are not, in this Journal, so much concerned as with such observations and reflections as the journey called forth of a political nature. To this aspect of the book accordingly we pass at once.

In a short chapter on Colonisation, the author makes a suggestion, recalling the Roman system of planting military "Colonies" on her borders, from which the very word we now use takes its origin. He points out that in the military garrisons quartered in South Africa are a considerable number of steady, well-conducted married men, who only require sufficient inducements to make South Africa their permanent home. A "Colony" or "Colonies" so established would, he thinks, be a boon to a number of deserving persons, and calculated to prove a successful form of colonisation; and as such it is commended to the attention and support of those authorities who would have to deal with such a scheme, which, it is proposed, should be carried out at the expense of the Home Government.

When at the capital of the Transvaal Sir F. Young had an interview with President Krüger, and improved the occasion by impressing upon him the advantages of railroads within his territories. "The President," he records, "smiled, but did not give me any other reply." In the course of the discussion that ensued on Sir F. Young's original Paper, at the Royal Colonial Institute, the Marquis of Lorne, referring to this incident, remarked that these instigations had not apparently been attended with any great results. Events travel fast, however, and the latest news from South Africa is of President Krüger's surrender to the advance of civilisation in the form of railways; and who knows how far this break-up of his hitherto Chinese imperviousness may not be the fruit of the seed sown by our author?

Speaking upon "The Political Situation" at large, Sir F. Young expresses himself strongly on past policy. "The mournful mismanagement of South African affairs during the last twenty-five years," he says, "and most especially during the last decade, has been truly lamentable, and cannot fail to awaken the saddest feelings on the part of every loyal Briton and true-hearted patriot." This language appears to have been understood by Mr. J. X. Merriman, who spoke upon the paper at the Institute, as applying to the conduct of affairs by the Cape Ministers. But the immediately succeeding paragraph goes on to refer to the absence of any continuous and statesmanlike policy on the part of those "who have the Imperial guidance and control of South African affairs in the past," which, he adds, has had the effect of sowing seeds of enmity to the Government of the Mother Country, which it will require all the wisdom, tact, and conciliatory policy possible in the future to allay. On another point also Mr. Merriman seems to have misinterpreted the speaker's words; and Sir F. Young had to explain that he intended to express views similar to Mr. Merriman's own, to the effect that he should work with and through the Dutch element, and that South Africa should in the future be allowed to frame her own policy. This view is obviously consistent with the ultimate adoption of some form of Imperial Federation, which the author does not fail to point to as the ultimate solution of all such difficulties.

Before leaving the Colony the author gave an address on Imperial Federation at Cape Town. With the substance of that it is obviously unnecessary to deal here. The writer's views ought to be pretty well known by this time by all, we will not say only who read this Journal, but who know anything at all of the history of the movement. Sir Charles

Dilke, however, has credited Sir Frederick Young with having "written strongly in favour of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, a scheme which Mr. Forster, the first President, discouraged, and which Lord Rosebery, the present President of the League, has condemned." Our author's fullest exposition of his views on Imperial Federation is to be found in a book written under that title so long ago as 1876. It would not be surprising if, under the influence of the wider discussion the subject has received since then, he should have modified his ideas as to the feasibility of such means; but as a matter of fact, such is not the case. That he wrote in favour of Colonial representation in an Imperial Parliament is no doubt quite true; but that is quite another thing from *the*, that is the existing, so-called Imperial Parliament. This is what the author said in his book in 1876:—"Undoubtedly, the Parliament of the future would have to be constructed on an entirely new basis. The Imperial Assembly would be formed to deal alone with Imperial questions. . . . No doubt all this involves a radical reconstruction of the Imperial representative body. . . ." In a few expressive sentences at the conclusion of the book now under review, Sir F. Young explains once again what Imperial Federation is, and what it is not. He tells South Africa it means a constitutional system under which she would no longer be misruled and misunderstood by a Government in which she has no share and places no confidence; and that it does *not* mean the subjugation of the independence of the Colonies to the control of the Mother Country. The project involves clearly and distinctly the condition that the Colonies themselves are to take their adequate share with the Mother Country,—in short, "the government of the Empire by the Empire." However, we must not be led away by the many points of interest that suggest themselves for comment into writing a review as long as the book itself. It is a short book, eminently readable in every sense, and we recommend it to all who care for a pleasant book of travel, diversified by political observations of great interest at the present time.

Hazell's Annual for 1890. London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney. 1890.
Price 3s. 6d.

Hazell's Annual for 1890, now in its fifth year of issue, justifies its claim to be "a cyclopædic record of men and topics of the day." It is said to contain above 3,500 concise and explanatory articles on every topic of current political, social, biographical, and general interest. The editor has been assisted by specialists, and, moreover, has evidently gone to the fountain-heads for his information. The best way to test the value of a publication of the kind is to see how it deals with a subject that one is thoroughly familiar with. We have done so in this case, and can only say that, if other subjects are treated with the same amount of knowledge as Imperial Federation, the book is one of the best of its kind ever published.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request. The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

BALLARAT.—At a recent meeting of the Ballarat City branch of the Australian Natives Association, Mr. H. D'E. Taylor, of the Melbourne branch, in response to an invitation, read a most interesting and valuable paper on "Three Great Federations—Australian, National, and Racial," before a large and attentive audience.

The paper contained the following passages:—

"Much had been said because the Imperial Federationists presented no complete plan, but where was the plan for Australian Federation? Where was the plan of the Federal Council? There could be no plan, except as the result of mutual conference and agreement, for circumstances may arise which could never be foretold or provided against."

"If independent Australia could not defend itself because of the want of a navy, while the cost of providing the required naval power would be both ruinous and unbearable, Imperial Federation could sweep all the difficulties of a navy away, for the navy has already protected Australian wealth in all parts of the world for a century 'without money and without price.' Australia has immense territories that could never be defended for many years to come, and it was not likely that an enemy would attack forts and batteries while Australian commerce was on the seas. The cost of Australian defence would be enormous, and if loans had to be made for productive works, the necessity would be greater for unproductive ones."

"Whether it meant separation or not, Australian Federation could only do good, but it was idle to suppose that the great European Powers settled in the South Seas would not give Australia trouble if she was not protected by Great Britain, who would certainly not defend them if separated. . . . The question of British Trust Funds was an important one. They were stated to exceed £70,000,000. And the

agitation towards separation had the result that, although permission for the investment of these funds was given in August, 1888, it was withdrawn the following November, just after the news of the Queensland Governor question reached England. If these funds had been available the South Australian loan would not have failed, and the New South Wales loan of last July would not have brought a lesser price than that of the year previous. No way would more effectually check the progress of Australia than to encourage an agitation for separation which both the *Herald* and the *Age* said no man now dreamed of. In economy, commerce, defence, and finance, enormous practical benefits were to be derived from both Australasian and Imperial Federation."

BATLEY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—At the annual meeting and dinner of the Batley Chamber of Commerce held on the 21st February, the President, Mr. J. W. Blackburn, in the chair, Mr. G. Sheard made the following observations in acknowledging the toast of "The town and Trade of Batley":—"There was not the slightest doubt that of late years the difficulties in the way of trade with European countries had impeded the trade of the district and stopped the growth of Batley. They had amongst them during the last few weeks a gentleman who had been lecturing on Imperial Federation. (Hear, hear.) That was one of the coming questions of the day, or rather, it was before them now. (Hear, hear.) He heard the lecturer with the greatest interest in the Town Hall, but there was one point on which he did not agree with him. The lecturer said, "first of all, settle the political question, and then treat on the fiscal question." Now, to his (Mr. Sheard's) mind, the fiscal question was infinitely more critical and more difficult of settlement than the political question, and they might settle the political question and find they would have a complete rupture on the fiscal question. However, as the lecturer put it, they had statesmen at headquarters, and it was for them to work out these questions. It was for them to try to bind together the Mother Country and the Colonies, and if they could work out a scheme of that description, this country could bid defiance to those people who declined to deal with us on fair and just principles."

BIRKBECK INSTITUTE.—On Monday, 17th March, a debate on Imperial Federation was opened at the Birkbeck Institute, Chancery Lane, by Mr. Herman W. Marcus, hon. secretary of the Hampstead branch of the League, who moved the familiar resolution, "That, in order to secure the unity and defence of the Empire, some system of Imperial co-operation and Federation is imperatively required." The speaker pointed out that much misconception might be averted if the avowed aims and policy of the League were kept steadily in view. The conservation of Imperial unity was a matter, not of sentiment, but of business. And it was of supreme importance for the protection of our commerce that we should retain possession of the chain of harbours, naval stations, and coaling stations, which enabled this country to enjoy so large a share of the carrying trade of the world. But in order to these ends, it had become necessary to receive the self-governing Colonies upon a footing of equality, and to admit them to their due share in the control of Imperial policy. As regarded the objection, which was sometimes taken, on the score of the hostile tariffs imposed by certain of the Colonies upon British exports, he was not greatly troubled. Nor was his faith shaken when he heard of the disinclination of the Colonies to contribute to Imperial Defence. The innate Anglo-Saxon love of fair dealing would ultimately assert itself. In the discussion which followed, the principle of the motion was generally conceded, and it was carried *nem. con.*

BIRMINGHAM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—The following passage is taken from the Report of the Council of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce presented in March:—

"At a meeting of the Council held in December last a communication was read from the Imperial Federation League enclosing copy of a report of their Commercial Committee upon subjects for consideration at the next Conference of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire, and asking for suggestions upon its contents. The report dealt with the following subjects:—Postal rates and general regulations, telegraphic communication, bankruptcy, copyright and the regulations for enforcing it, patent laws, merchandise marks, and banking regulations. Upon which the following resolution was unanimously passed by the Council:—"That whilst this Council approve of the objects of the Imperial Federation League, as set forth in their circular of November 13th last, they are of opinion that the primary essential condition of Imperial Federation is a Customs Union of the Empire."

BLACKHEATH.—Mr. Faithfull Begg gave an address on February 22nd at Blackheath on Imperial Federation. After dwelling upon the general aspect of the subject he went on to express the opinion that one of the great questions of the future must be that of an international tariff. (Hear.) The subject was a delicate one, and his own opinion was not matured. He was a Free-trader by conviction, but it seemed to him that during the forty years which had elapsed since the triumph of the Manchester school, no real progress had been made towards realising the idea of a universal free exchange of commodities. Within our own territories we possessed the capacity of producing everything necessary to the comfort and happiness of man, and it would be strange indeed if a consolidated Empire, representing something like one-fifth of the land surface of the globe, and comprising a like proportion of its total inhabitants, could not, if its mind were made up, enforce in practice any commercial policy upon which it was agreed. (Applause.) There should be combination for mutual defence, and improved means of intercommunication, especially an inter-Imperial penny post, should be aimed at. The question of the future was whether Great Britain should reign or perish. It was a question which could not be evaded, and it would only be by meeting the difficulties which surrounded it full in front, and deciding that under no circumstances would she be false to her traditions, that she could continue to hold her place among the nations. (Loud applause.)

CLECKHEATON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—The annual dinner of the Cleckheaton Chamber of Commerce was held at the Freemasons' Hall, Whitcliffe, on 14th March. About sixty gentlemen were present. Mr. Joseph Briggs, the retiring president of the Chamber, occupied the chair, and he was supported by Alderman T. F. Firth, Mr. G. R. Parkin (Imperial Federation League), and the Presidents of the following Chambers of Commerce, namely:—Mr. J. W. Blackburn, Batley; Mr. Scholes, Morley; Mr. G. Hoffmann, Bradford; Mr. J. Ineson, Birstall; and Mr. J. Haley, Dewsbury. There were also present Mr. A. Anderton, Mr. J. Law, Mr. B. H. Goldthorp, Mr. Rawdon Thornton, Mr. Mowatt, Mr. J. T. Newsome (Batley), Mr. S. Reeve, Mr. J. H. Knowles, Mr. T. Wadsworth, Mr. J. D. Wadsworth, and Mr. W. Sharpe (Scholes). After the loyal toasts from the chair, Mr. G. Goldthorp proposed the toast of "Neighbouring Chambers of Commerce." Mr. Scholes responded, and said if there was one great work which they could and ought to aim to carry out, both as individual Chambers and in their associated capacity, it was the work of Imperial Federation. Mr. Hoffmann proposed "Our Trade and Colonies." So far as regarded trade, he said the home trade was no doubt most important, but they could not forget that these islands were ruling directly or indirectly one-seventh of the whole globe and a population of one-sixth of the globe. Another thing that must strike them was that 80,000 of our fellow-subjects emigrated to the Colonies annually, and were our best customers, taking one-third of our whole productions. Mr. G. R. Parkin spoke on the subject of this toast. To promote the commercial relations of Great Britain and her Colonies, he urged that representatives from British Chambers should make themselves acquainted by conference with the Chambers which were dotted all over our Colonies. He was sure they would find the Colonists ready to listen to them, and that these means would lead to the solution of the difficulty. There were a number of ways in which the unity of the British Empire might be promoted. As associated Chambers of Commerce, or even as an Imperial Chamber, they might promote it by simplifying the commercial laws and making them similar in every Colony in which the channels of trade ran. The interests of England and her Colonies were mutual, and ought to be carefully watched. He did not think that commercial union would interfere with independent action, for beyond commercial matters each would act in its own way. Mr. Hoffmann had referred to emigration, the history of which was worth looking at. In Canada they estimated that an able-bodied working man was equal to an addition of from 1,000 dols. to 1,500 dols. to the working capital of the country. Sometimes they had sent from the Mother Country as many as 300,000 emigrants, and there had been men who said it did not make a bit of difference whether they went to the Colonies or America. But if they estimated the value of the men who had gone, they would get some idea of the forces and the capital which was building up the rivalry in America of which he had been speaking if emigration were directed to that quarter. (Applause.) Emigration to our Colonies meant saving the strength of the Empire, saving capital, and ensuring a larger production of raw material. (Applause.)

ENFIELD.—A discussion upon Imperial Federation took place at the Christ Church Young Men's Society on 25th February, and after a somewhat heated discussion, the following resolution was carried unanimously—"That Imperial Federation is most imperative, and we earnestly hope our Statesmen will endeavour at once to attain this desirable end."

HAMPSTEAD BRANCH.—The annual meeting of the Hampstead branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on March 12th, at the West Hampstead Town Hall. Major-General Young, J.P., presided at the public meeting, and amongst those present were Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P.; Mr. E. Brodie Hoare, M.P.; Mr. J. S. Fletcher, J.P.; L.C.C.; Mr. E. K. Blyth; Mr. R. L. Loveland, J.P.; Mr. T. Sansome Preston, Mr. G. Harris Lea, Dr. F. A. Hill, Mr. Lennard Lewis, Mr. F. J. Monro, Captain Ellis, Mr. H. N. Goodwyn, Mr. J. Gill, Mr. Herman W. Marcus, hon. secretary, &c. Prior to the public meeting a meeting was held for the transaction of the usual routine business attending an annual meeting, Mr. J. S. Fletcher presiding. The accounts of the hon. treasurer, Mr. E. K. Blyth, were adopted, and Mr. H. W. Marcus, the hon. secretary, read the annual report, which showed that the register of subscribers to the branch had stood just before the close of the year at the exact figure of 100. Sir Richard Temple moved the adoption of the report, which was seconded by Major-Gen. Young, and carried unanimously. The following officers were then re-elected:—President, Sir Richard Temple; vice-presidents, Messrs. S. Figgis, E. Brodie Hoare, M.P., and G. Harris Lea; chairman of committees, Mr. J. T. Taylor; hon. treasurer, Mr. E. K. Blyth; hon. secretary, Mr. H. W. Marcus; representative on the Executive Committee of the League, Sir R. Temple; representatives on the General Council, Messrs. S. Figgis, E. Brodie Hoare, H. W. Marcus, J. T. Taylor, and Major-Gen. Young. The hon. secretary announced the receipt of letters expressing regret at inability to attend from Sir John Colomb, M.P.; Sir Spencer Wells, Bart.; and Messrs. H. M. Matheson, J. T. Taylor, and S. Figgis. At the conclusion of the business, the meeting was opened to the public for the purpose of hearing an address from Sir Richard Temple. The chairman said that, although the advocates of Imperial Federation were at present moving forward in a mist, the objects for which they were contending were both practical and practicable. They were to have an address on the British coaling stations from Sir Richard Temple, a gentleman who probably knew more about that subject than anybody else. (Applause.) Sir Richard Temple then delivered an instructive address on "The Coaling Stations of the British Empire: their Importance in our Colonial System;" taking occasion to point out at the outset the connection, obvious enough to those already acquainted with the general subject, between coaling stations and Imperial Federation.

HARROW GREEN.—At the meeting of the Trinity Debating Society, on February 21st, Mr. T. W. A. Ratcliffe opened a very interesting

discussion on "Imperial Federation." He thought it was a subject that would commend itself to every Englishman, and that it was one of the most important questions of the day. He thought the Colonial Conference held in the jubilee year was productive of a large amount of good, and that the Imperial Federation movement, having as supporters such men as the Earl of Rosebery, Mr. Stanhope, Cardinal Manning, and the Bishop of London, was certain of future success. In conclusion, Mr. Ratcliffe moved a resolution embodying his ideas on the question. This was seconded by Mr. J. Dixon, senr., who spoke of the Federation movement among the Australian Colonies, mentioned that he would like to see a Federation of the whole Anglo-Saxon race which would go a great way to further the maintenance of peace, and thought the Federation of languages would be an advantage. The discussion was carried on by Mr. Thompson and Mr. W. R. Langley, who advocated Federation as the only means of keeping our Colonies. Mr. P. M. Hunter also spoke. On the resolution being put to the meeting it was carried unanimously.

HORSHAM.—Mr. J. Stanley Little delivered an interesting lecture in this town on February 17th upon the subject of "England and her Colonies," with special reference to Imperial Federation. Remarking upon the great support Imperial Federation received from the prominent men of both political parties, he proceeded to allude to the influence the British Empire would have in the future of the world. Having considered first what Colonies are, and spoken of the ancient principles of Colonisation, Mr. Little said since the loss of America the Mother Country had always looked after the good of her children. England regarded her Colonies in a much more liberal manner than any Continental nation, and the Colonies were by no means ignorant of the benefits attaching to their connection. They were not nearly so anxious to cut themselves adrift as some people in this country imagined. The dark spots always to be found in the history of the relations of a country and her dependencies had in the case of England continually decreased. The United Kingdom always did her best to benefit the natives among whom her subjects had taken a temporary home, but with foreign nations it had been very different. The speaker incidentally adverted to the fact that the English Colonies were to a great extent formed by younger sons. Many, he said, considered the patriarchal laws, by which property went to the heads of families instead of being divided, were injurious to the best interests of this country; but, whatever might be thought of that, there was no doubt it was to these laws that we owed our great Colonies all over the world. Taking all circumstances into consideration, it was no matter of surprise that the English Colonies were far more important than all those of the other nations of the world. From this point, for some time, Mr. Little's remarks bristled with figures, showing the nation's position and also the great increase in her Colonial trade. Having considered what the Empire was, he said we had to decide what we should become. Were our Colonies to fall from us like the leaves from a tree? We were still in our young manhood, and might expect much prosperity. For many years the movement in favour of Imperial Federation had grown stronger; and the issue now was whether the Colonies must become separate nations or more nearly associated with this country.

LEAMINGTON.—An interesting lecture on the subject of Imperial Federation was delivered at the Court House by Mr. B. W. Pearce, late Chief Commissioner of Land and Works, and Surveyor-General of British Columbia. The Mayor (Alderman Cooke), presided. The lecturer, in his opening remarks, explained that he addressed them as an Englishman, a colonist of thirty-eight years standing, and a member of the Imperial Federation League. In order to enable the audience to obtain an intelligent grasp of the subject, he first of all drew attention to a few facts concerning "Great" and "Greater Britain," and in tracing the course of our maritime progress and Colonial development, pointed out that we had not shown the same intelligence and foresight in the management and disposal of our Colonial lands as we showed in their acquisition. The great self-governing Colonies, *i.e.*, those to which had been granted a form of government known as "responsible," had practically absolute freedom to manage their own affairs, subject only to the veto of the Crown, which, owing to the loyalty and wisdom of Colonial statesmen, was seldom or never exercised. They administered, in the interests of the people of the colony solely, the Crown lands. They levied taxes on themselves for supporting their Governments. They were not asked to contribute directly towards the defence of the Empire by the Imperial forces. There has never been, the speaker continued, a carefully considered "Colonial policy." The first part of the address dealt principally with commercial questions, with special reference to the protection of our mercantile fleets and the food supply. "Deprive Lancashire of its cotton," he said, "Yorkshire of its wool, and both of half their food, and it requires no word-painting to enable us to comprehend the result. Those who complacently hold that this danger can never arise show pure ignorance. This danger is of the gravest and most terrible nature, and steps should be at once taken of an adequate nature to protect the nation against it. The very life of England depends upon her sea-borne commerce. France has a certain amount of commerce and some considerable Colonies. If every French ship were swept from the seas and every French colony wrested from its allegiance, France would be richer for the operation. Should this befall us it would be complete annihilation. . . . Imperial Federation meant that the whole Empire shall form one great organisation for purposes of defence and maintenance of common interests. Turning to the question of how this was to be brought about, the speaker pointed out that the first step was mutual defence. He quoted a striking report by the Defence Committee of the League, showing the perilous condition at present existing. He also pointed out that a suggestion had been made, which was worthy of calm consideration, to levy an imperial duty of 2 to 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on all alien goods arriving in any imperial port, over and above the local tariffs, and placing the amount in a separate defence fund. All who formed the *Bund* would have preference in British markets, while foreign nations would have to pay."

At the close of the lecture, which was greeted with applause, Major Fosbery asked some questions upon the subject, and Dr. Douglas and Mr. T. Humpidge supported the views of the lecturer. Several gentlemen gave in their names as the nucleus of a branch of the League; and the thanks of the meeting were tendered to Mr. Pearce for his address.

LIBERTON.—Speaking at a meeting at Liberton, on March 11th, Mr. D. Craig, late of Montreal, said there were many persons in Canada in favour of any scheme which would bring them into closer connection with Great Britain, but they would not commit themselves to any definite scheme until such had been properly discussed. The vote in the Quebec Parliament the other day against Imperial Federation did not, in his opinion, suggest anything like a desire to be separated from Great Britain. The majority in Quebec were French-Canadians who were violently opposed to anything that, to them, savoured of an attempt to extinguish their individuality. The French-Canadians would never willingly join the United States, as this meant their extinction. The vote in the Canadian House of Commons, when the question of annexation was repudiated without a dissentient voice, showed conclusively the current of Canadian opinion.

LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—"As an indication of the sympathy which your Council continues to feel in favour of the principle of Imperial Federation, permission has been given to the City branch of the Imperial Federation League to make use of the Chamber's office, subject to financial arrangement."—*Report of Council.*

NOTTINGHAM.—A preliminary meeting, to take into consideration the question of Imperial Federation, with a view to the adoption of a memorial to the Mayor asking him to convene another gathering to discuss the subject, was held on February 18th at the Exchange Hall, Nottingham. In connection with the proceedings many of the leading residents of the town had signed a memorial favourable to the object of the meeting. The attendance, however, was small. Mr. F. Wright, J.P., was voted to the chair, and there were also present Messrs. R. Mellors, W. Griffin, J. T. Spalding, K. Watson, J. Booth, H. E. Hubbard, and W. Watson.—Mr. W. Watson read a letter from the secretary of the Imperial Federation League, saying he would be glad to do all he could for the success of the meeting if decided upon, and to form a branch of the League in Nottingham. Of course both the meeting and the branch would be absolutely non-political.—The chairman said that men of all shades of politics had joined together in that great object. They had, as president Lord Rosebery, and as vice-president, the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, men of totally different political views. The treasurers were Lord Brassey and Mr. H. Finch-Hatton. Imperial Federation was one of Mr. Finch-Hatton's strongest points, and he was strongly of opinion as to the immense advantage that that League would be to the whole of the Empire. Whether it was desirable at a small meeting like that to actually start the thing in Nottingham, or simply that night to discuss the question, it was for them to decide. Judging by the objects sought to be attained by the Imperial Federation League, it seemed most desirable that every one of them should help in every way they could. He was gratified to see so many people interested in the question of Federation, and it would be worth their while to consider whether they should start a branch of the League in Nottingham. (Hear, hear.) Mr. R. Mellors thought that all that could be done that night was to discuss the matter with a view to inviting somebody who was well acquainted with the subject to address a meeting at Nottingham in regard to it. He thought they would all agree that the matter was one of very great importance, as having an important bearing upon the preservation of the peace of the world. The union of all English-speaking people in the world would greatly tend to prevent the calamities of war. The progress of postal facilities might with convenience be still further developed. Another question of interest was the promotion of trade between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Mr. R. Watson alluded to a debate which had just taken place in the House of Lords as indicating the importance attached to the subject by members on both sides.—After some further discussion, it was moved by Mr. Hubbard, seconded by Mr. Spalding, and agreed, that the chairman should communicate with the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce with the view of arranging a meeting in the town, at which the question could be explained by some competent authority.

On the 22nd of the same month the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton was present at a political dinner at Nottingham, and alluding to Imperial Federation said it was a subject which had arrived at a very interesting phase in this country. At the present moment the question of Intercolonial Federation was being discussed in Australia, federation such as would in itself be a type of the more extended federation of the British Empire they all wished to see brought about. (Cheers.) When speaking on this subject he had been met with this objection on the part of working men—"If you form a federation what are you going to do about tariffs?" His answer was that if the federation of the British Empire was brought about, he hoped that a Zollverein of the Empire would be effected: That was to say, there would be universal Free Trade throughout the Empire. He did not mean that it would be free at one end and shut at the other. He meant real Free Trade, under which all parts of the British Empire would be open to exports and imports from other portions of the Empire. He had been asked whether in the event of the federation proposed Australia would give up its protective tariffs. He believed that such advantages might be held out to Australia as to induce her to enter into a Zollverein. He derived great satisfaction from watching the state of things at present in progress in Australia. He had previously looked upon the antagonism between Victoria and New South Wales as an insuperable barrier to federation. He was glad to find that he was wrong. It seemed from the reports which had been published that there was a unanimous desire for Australasian Federation. They would consider how far the question of tariffs was likely to interfere with such federation, and they had openly expressed their belief that it was a matter of secondary importance compared with the question of Federation.

ST. HELEN'S.—In connection with the system of Extension Lectures of University College, Liverpool, Professor Strong is giving at St. Helen's a course of ten lectures on "The British Empire." The object of the lectures is to dissipate the prevailing ignorance as to Colonial history and geography, and Colonial affairs generally. The Professor demonstrated in his first lecture, which was general in its scope, the importance of these questions and of a knowledge of them, glancing at the subject of Imperial Federation. Among books recommended to his hearers in connection with the general view of the subject were Professor Seeley's well-known work on the "Expansion of England," and the collection of essays on "Imperial Federation," published by Sonnenschein & Co. Professor Strong is to be regarded as a valuable ally; and his lectures cannot fail to be of the greatest usefulness.

SOUTHWARK.—On 3rd March an interesting lecture on "Imperial Federation" was delivered at the St. Peter's School-room, Emerson Street, Southwark, by Mr. T. Paxton Barrett, of Toronto, Canada. The chair was occupied by the Rev. W. A. Corbett, M.A., who was supported by Canon Boger, Mr. W. F. Drew (Conservative candidate for West Southwark), Mr. R. J. H. Eccles, and other gentlemen. Mr. Paxton Barrett, whose remarks were frequently applauded, dealt at length with the prospects of Canada, which he described as a country of great mineral wealth and of great agricultural capabilities. After a brief reference to the other Colonies Mr. Barrett proceeded to remark that in the Colonies there was room for enterprise, room for work, room for enjoyment, room to live, room for the surplus millions of Great Britain. What they wanted was a scheme for Imperial Federation based upon the Fair Trade policy—(cheers)—and the Colonies could not afford to separate from the Mother Country. The prosperity of each depended upon their closer connection.—Mr. W. F. Drew, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Barrett, remarked that he had often said that there was no use in the British Empire if it did not provide employment for the people to whom it belonged. He had always said that Imperial Federation should be carried out on a commercial basis in the interests of the breeches pockets of the Englishman at home and the Englishman in the Colonies. If they wanted to make use of this great Empire, not only for sentimental purposes but for commercial and industrial purposes, they could do it by Free Trade between England and her Colonies, and protection against the rest of the world. (Cheers.) If they wanted to develop the wealth of England and to develop the Empire, it was for them to join hands for the purposes of trade and the purposes of national defence with their fellow Englishmen across the seas. (Cheers.)—Canon Boger seconded the motion in an able speech, and it having been unanimously agreed to, the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

TUNBRIDGE.—On 18th March, at the Sussex Assembly Rooms, Mr. Frederick T. Haggard gave an able lecture entitled "The United Kingdom Company: its 37,000,000 of partners, and the influence of their voting powers." Mr. B. Sidney Wilnot presided over a good attendance. Coming to the question of our Empire and "Commercial Federation," he said, "If what I have said holds good as to the United Kingdom Company and its 37,000,000 of co-partners, how much more may be said in favour of the Empire, which contains over 328,000,000 of people and covers 9,289,000 square miles? The great factors in securing the commercial supremacy of any country are in the first place productive acres and ample capital, and in the second place an energetic population to reap the advantages thereof. . . . This question of Imperial Federation draws our attention to the vast interests at stake and embraced in the word Empire. The North American Colonies and Australasia take more of our British and Irish products per head of their population than do Russia, Germany, France, and the United States per head of their respective populations. This is great wisdom, in working for the establishing of Imperial Federation, for jointly with our Colonies and Dependencies we can supply all that is needed on both sides, and more too; and with the huge population embraced within our Empire, what a great number of producers and consumers are ready at hand to command success to commerce and trade!"

* * * *Want of space compels us to hold over report of Lecture at the Colonial College, Holford Bay.*

It won't hurt them.—Asked if the Government were aware that a number of their employees are members of the branch of the Imperial Federation Association at Ottawa, and if so, was it their intention to allow them to take part in that political movement, Sir John MacDonald replied that he was not aware of it, although he did not think it would hurt them if they were. (Laughter.)—*Ottawa Citizen.*

A good idea.—The annual distribution of prizes to the successful marksmen of No. 16 Company, Queen's Rifle Volunteer Brigade, Royal Scots, took place in the Crown Restaurant, Edinburgh, on Friday, the 14th February. One of the prizes was a handsome gold medal, presented by Oswald Horne, Esq., Edinburgh, which took the form of a Maltese Cross, and bore on its arms figures representing the elephant, kangaroo, camel, and bison, the whole being surmounted by the lion, which together appropriately typified the union of the Colonies with the Mother Country. This medal, which, throughout the competitions was known as "The Imperial Federation Medal," was the first of its kind. It ought not to be the last.

Ocean Penny Postage.—The Council of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce at its last meeting passed the following resolution:—"That this Chamber urges upon Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Select Committee to consider the practicability of establishing an international penny postage rate, and of cheapening the cost of telegraphing to and from the Colonies." Similar resolutions have been passed by the Corporation of Londonderry, the North Lincolnshire Chamber of Commerce, the Linen Merchants' Association of Belfast, and the Imperial Federation League in Canada. The Canadian Postmaster-General, writing to the last-mentioned body, has undertaken to lay the question before his colleagues.—*Times.*

DEBATE ON THE WESTERN AUSTRALIA BILL.

As noted in our parliamentary column, the Western Australia Constitution Bill was read a second time in the House of Commons, and referred to a Select Committee on Feb. 27. We give here a report in which the most important passages of the speeches made are summarised:—

BARON H. DE WORMS said: This Bill is introduced for the purpose of granting responsible government to Western Australia. (Hear, hear.) It is in form and substance identical with the Bill passed in another place last year, and which for want of time we were unable to pass through this House. The delimitations of territory which the Bill proposes to give to the responsible government is the 26th parallel of south latitude. To the responsible government will be granted the whole area of the country, but within this delimitation certain regulations will be made relative to the sale or disposal of land, and this question with regard to the sale or leasing of land, we propose shall be referred to a Select Committee representing all shades of opinion in this House. I do not think the House will want me to go into all the details of the dispute, but I wish especially to call attention to two or three clauses which are of great importance as embodying what I may call vital principles. The principal clauses of the Imperial Bill are:—Clause 3, vesting in the local Legislature the management and control of Crown lands south of the 26th degree of south latitude; Clause 4, reserving to the Home Government the management of Crown lands north of the 26th degree of south latitude, and providing for the application of the fund, arising from the sale and lease of such lands; Clause 7, reserving power to Her Majesty to subdivide the colony hereafter; and Clause 8, reserving for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure any local Act that may hereafter be passed restricting the immigration of British subjects. This clause is, in my opinion, one of the most important in the Bill, because I have often heard it urged with great force that power should be reserved by the Imperial Legislature to prevent a newly-enfranchised colony from prohibiting immigration. This clause absolutely prevents any such action by the colony, inasmuch as any local Act which might be framed—I do not suppose one ever would be—to prevent immigration, could not become law without receiving in the first instance the assent of Her Majesty through the Secretary of State. I have heard it stated that one of the objections to this Bill is that the population of the country to which it is proposed to give responsible government is quite out of proportion with the area inhabited by it. I am quite prepared to admit that there is a vast discrepancy between the existing population of Western Australia and the large area over which they will have responsible control; but I would ask the House to remember that this has been the case with every one of our Australian Colonies. At the inception of responsible government in those Colonies there was naturally a very large disproportion between the population and the area which they were called upon to govern. But what was the result? Responsible government having been granted, the discrepancy became less and less; the Colonies did all in their power to increase the resources of the country, and as a result labour flowed in from other countries and prosperity followed. In addition to the fact that we have seen a rapid development in the different Australian Colonies after the assumption by them of greater responsibility, we must bear in mind that the great question which is at present agitating Australia is the question of Federation. The realisation of the project may be near or far distant, but the idea does exist, and it is welcomed by the Government, because they, in common with most politicians, believe that union represents strength. If responsible government, which exists everywhere in Australia except in Western Australia, be still withheld from that colony, it is evident that federation will be delayed. Recommendations that responsible government should be granted to Western Australia have reached us from nearly every portion of the Australian dominions. Five successive Secretaries of State have expressed the same opinion, and now that the Legislative Council of Western Australia has confirmed that opinion and passed a Bill, Her Majesty's Government ask the House of Commons to ratify the decision of the Council and to grant its request.

SIR G. CAMPBELL, who had an amendment on the paper that the House was unwilling to sanction the principle of the Bill until it had more information and until the Committee on Colonisation had reported, and that such a measure should originate in Parliament and not in the West Australian Legislature, was glad the Government had given the House a full and early opportunity of discussing the Bill, though he did not profess to know why they had placed this Bill in the forefront of their proceedings. He desired to protest against its being supposed that by reading the Bill a second time the House was bound to its principle, which was the alienation from this country of almost the only temperate lands which belonged to her. He had, however, no objection to having the matter threshed out before a Select Committee. . . . The Colony of Western Australia now had a population of 30,000 people, of whom 20,000 were resident in the towns; there thus remained 10,000 people only to occupy a territory considerably larger than the British Isles. Then there was an enormous Eastern territory, amounting to half a million acres, as to which this return told them absolutely nothing. Yet this territory was to be turned over to colonists who themselves lived hundreds of miles from it, in absolute ignorance as to its nature and capabilities. He should like to hear from Her Majesty's Government whether they intended to hand over this land without any knowledge or any exploration of it, or whether they would not give time to investigate the matter. If the Government intended to hand over this territory to the Colony they ought at least to take care to hand it over to a sufficiently popular Government. He protested against the doctrine that because the delegates from Western Australia were waiting to hear the decision of the House there should be any hurry in passing the Bill. The Colonial Office was much too prone to yield to pressure on the part of the Colonies; and, besides, the House ought to have some regard to the interests and the population of the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) In the interests of the Colonies, as well as of the Mother Country, he believed that something ought to be done in order to check the practice of alienating large tracts of land.

MR. A. S. HILL said there were two great dangers to be provided for in the Bill. First of all there was a disposition carried out in many respects in the Australian Colonies, to territorialize an enormous amount of open sea, by means of which laws were passed and enacted to the prejudice of vessels carrying the British flag. Then there was another practice, with which he was more familiar, having had some experience of it in the Dominion of Canada. At present we were undoubtedly safe in regard to the lands in Western Australia; but there was a danger that those lands by a new Act of the Legislature, acting when a representative Government had been

established, might not be leased for a short period as at present, but alienated while the population was still small.

MR. G. O. MORGAN said that, whether rightly or wrongly, we had decided that as soon as our Colonies were able to walk alone we should give them representative government. (Hear, hear.) . . . It was perfectly certain that federated Australia must attract to itself every inch of Australian territory—(hear, hear)—and that explained the support which Western Australia had received from the other Australian Colonies. No one would be more anxious than he that we should reserve if possible lands for an increased population, but the number of emigrants which Australasia altogether had attracted during the last few years only amounted to 31,725, while 293,081 went to the United States. Of the 31,725 who went to Australasia, Sir F. Broome told him that only 200 had come from this country to Western Australia, exactly one-fifth of the number of persons by which the population of England and Wales increased in a single day. The wisest course for us would be to wash our hands of the whole thing and to hand over the land to the Colony.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL said that the lands in Western Australia were in a very great proportion in the hands of the Crown. Out of over 1,000,000 square miles less than 3,000 had been alienated and formed private property. . . . To his mind the power to divide the Colony was most important, but he should have liked to see that clause made not permissive, but imperative. He desired to see the portion of Western Australia within the tropics severed from the control of the responsible Government. He thought those lands should be held in trust with a view to coming to some arrangement with the remainder of the Australian Colonies as to who was to have the control of the northern portions of Australia. He hoped that with regard to land they would be able either to restrict the area or in some way or other assure to the population of Australia control over their land policy, provided they did not check the immigration of British subjects and British companies. He hoped the Government would pass the Bill and confer the great benefit of responsible government upon Western Australia. (Hear, hear.)

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON said the question was not so much whether they should grant self-government to Western Australia as what area of land should be handed over to that Government when formed. He thought the amount proposed by the Bill to be handed over was too great for the population. Nearly the whole of the population—39,000 out of 42,300—was in the south-western division. That division alone might be so small a portion of the land to hand over, and some larger portion might be given, but he hoped a protest would be made against handing over half of the Colony to that limited number of settlers. We had rights there as well as the Australians, and our views in regard to the future were entitled to some consideration. The question was very different now from what it was in the "fifties." There were then large unoccupied tracts of country to which our emigrants might go.

MR. SETON-KARR was in favour of granting self-government to Western Australia; but he wanted to know why a certain division of land was proposed, and whether it was not possible, while granting a constitution, to retain for Great Britain a portion of the enormous area claimed for the Colony. The only reason for the proposed division appeared to be that it had been suggested by the Western Australians themselves; and he was not at all surprised to hear that, because they were taking all that was worth having, and leaving to Great Britain an area of sandy desert in a tropical clime to which we could not send our emigrants. (Hear, hear.) It would be almost better to leave to Western Australia the responsibility of managing the whole territory. But why should not a line be drawn from north to south, as well as one from east to west, so as to retain for this country territory that might be attractive to the stream of emigrants that were constantly leaving our shores? At all events, this point ought to be submitted to the Colonisation Committee, so that they might take evidence upon it. (Hear, hear.)

MR. O. V. MORGAN said he was strongly in favour of the Bill. He was satisfied that the land would be better managed by the Western Australians than by the Colonial Office in this country. He observed with great regret that so few emigrants from this country went to Australia; and the reasons were quite clear. The older Colonies were unfavourable to assisted emigration, but he hoped that Western Australia would favour it.

MR. LEIGHTON said that the Government should consider whether it would not be better to give up the whole of the territory to the Legislature of Western Australia as they had done very little towards colonising Western Australia, and were not likely to do more with the northern portion. The House might feel quite sure that the Colonists would not act in hostility to Great Britain, and might be trusted to carry out their own Colonisation schemes. (Hear, hear.)

MR. W. M'ARTHUR should not like to see large aggregations of land in the hands of individuals; but what in the world would be the use of the land without people on it? Its value would increase with the population. The Government and hon. members of the House of Commons had done nothing to make the land of Western Australia valuable, and all the exploration of the country had been done by the Colonists themselves. The whole of the territory should be handed over to the Colony on the broad ground that the united Australias had asked for it.

SIR J. COLOMB said the importance of this question must be obvious when it was remembered that it was proposed to hand over a territory equal to the area of the whole Empire of India, and equal to half the area of the 38 States of America, to a population which was less than that of an average London parish. We must recognise what had been our policy in the past in regard to giving responsible government to the Colonies, and he thought it was too late to take a step to reverse that policy. He agreed that the reservation of the tropical and sub-tropical parts of the Colony of Western Australia was a useless, if not a dangerous reservation. (Hear, hear.) He shared the opinion which had been expressed, that we were very near the time when there would be a federated Australia. If the reservation were made, as provided for in the Bill, a large portion of the north-west corner of the island would be administered by the United Kingdom. That was a position which he thought would become practically untenable, and which would be a source of irritation and trouble. He acknowledged that it was desirable to have some tropical territory to which the overflowing population of India might be shifted, but he contended that with a federated Australia we should get into difficulties at once if we attempted to utilise for such a purpose the northern territory which we had reserved. There was one point which had not been touched upon in this debate. There were 3,000 miles of coast line in the Colony we were now dealing with, and we had not reserved a single port for the use of our own vessels and for the protection of the commerce of India and of the Empire. This point required the most careful consideration. In the south-west corner of this very Colony there was a strategic position which would be most important as a base for any fleet operating in the South Pacific. That point was at King George's Sound. This being

so, he thought that, instead of reserving the northern territory, we should take steps for making some imperial reservation with regard to the port of Albany and the district of King George's Sound, so as to provide for the protection of our fleet.

MR. RATHBONE thought provision should be made in the constitution of Western Australia that there should be no interference with the emigration of the population of these kingdoms, either now or at any future time, so as to check the overflow of our surplus labour.

MR. GEDGE said abundant reason had been shown to the House why they should either be very slow to pass the Bill or else should take care that it came from the Select Committee in a greatly improved form. He agreed that they should give a constitution to the 40,000 people in the south-west corner of Western Australia. By all means let them have a constitution over the lands that they had made valuable, besides, if they pleased, land in the neighbourhood. But he saw no reason why, because those 40,000 people had made 170 square miles valuable out of a million of square miles, they should give them a constitution by which they would have entire control over that million of square miles. . . . He represented a constituency containing a much larger population than that of Western Australia, a great proportion being working men. There was a strong feeling among them about this gradual chucking away of our inheritance of the land which belonged to Great Britain, and giving to a few who happened to be the pioneers of a Colony an advantage which was very unfair to the working men of this country, who looked to the future, when the teeming millions of England would turn to the Colonies for places of settlement. They regarded as selfish the policy of those Colonists who wished to keep to themselves those large tracts of land, and the labour and wages to be obtained in the Colonies.

MR. BRYCE thought there was another question, which did not exactly arise on the Bill, to which the attention of the Committee might be usefully directed. Supposing it was decided not to deliver over to the Colony the whole of the territory hitherto called Western Australia, on the ground that the Colony was too small, what would they do with that remaining territory? It was not unlikely that they might have a federal Government for the whole of the Australian Colonies, as in the United States of America. With the probable advent of that Government, it was deserving of careful consideration whether the management of those remaining territories might not be better undertaken by a responsible Federal Government for the whole of Australia or Australasia than by the local Government of the Colony. (Hear, hear.)

MR. A. M'ARTHUR said that as far as he knew every Australian Government was in favour of immigration. What was principally wanted was population. This was especially the case in New South Wales, where he had lived for many years. He had invariably found the Government in favour of immigration; but there was a large labouring population there already, and there was an erroneous idea among them that an increase in the number of labourers would decrease their wages, and they therefore opposed the idea. In this Bill some provision should be made for immigration. (Hear, hear.)

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN agreed with his hon. friends behind him as to the importance of the question of immigration to the people of the United Kingdom—(hear)—and certainly it was most desirable that some such condition as had been suggested should be imposed, if it could be done with the goodwill of the Australian Colonies. But they must remember that in this connection they were dealing with the whole population of Australia—(hear, hear)—and not merely with the 42,000 of Western Australia; and if they could not be persuaded to adopt some reasonable conditions, he thought that it would be better not to press the matter on them at all. In giving the Colonies self-government we had given them practically independence in all that concerned their own affairs. The point to which he wished to refer was indirectly connected with this subject; he referred to the extraordinary legislation which appeared to have been recently passed by Western Australia, and which he thought concerned very materially the interests of British subjects. It appeared that on the coast of Western Australia there was a pearl fishery. The Government of Western Australia—no doubt acting within their rights—had thought fit to tax this industry by imposing an export duty on the pearls, and also an import duty on the provisions brought in for the pearl fishers. But the Government of Western Australia had then discovered that the pearl fishers imported food from vessels which did not come within the territorial limits of Western Australia, and had brought in a Bill for imposing the same duty on vessels which did not come within the limits. The Colonial Office refused their sanction to this Bill, and the Western Australian Government went to the Federal Council, and an Act was passed giving them this authority. He thought that this was a very high-handed proceeding—(hear, hear)—and it was still more extraordinary, because in that act it was stated that it only applied to British vessels—that was to say, a Crown Colony had actually imposed these duties on British vessels, while foreign vessels went free. (Hear, hear.) He did not pretend that this would be a justification for refusing self-government to Western Australia, but he thought that it was a matter into which the Committee might inquire, and that some security should be asked for that the Colony should not pass legislation of this character, especially against British subjects. (Hear, hear.)

The Bill was read a second time.

BARON H. DE WORMS moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. (Hear, hear.)

MR. MOLLOY hoped that the Committee would consist of men with some practical knowledge of Australia.

MR. W. H. SMITH said he could assure the House that it was the desire of Her Majesty's Government to form a Committee composed of practical men well-informed on all the questions with which they would have to deal.

The motion was agreed to.

Like a Bucking Mule.—With reference to the disloyal and separatist element in Australia, a correspondent of the *Montreal Gazette* writes:—"There is a bad element in Melbourne, and also on a little larger or a little more blustering scale at Sydney. It is, however, only a fraction, 'an exceedingly vulgar fraction,' of the people of either city. Its leaders are blaspheming atheists, who are impatient of all law, and who would be as great a source of annoyance in a Republic as in a State otherwise governed. Like a bucking mule, arresting the attention of the passers-by a hundred times more than the steady gait of a faithful horse, so these kickers have now and then made a great noise, which has been heard far off, till some persons at a distance have been deceived into thinking that the outcry was that of the Australian people."

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

FEBRUARY 25—MARCH 17.

FEBRUARY 25.

In the House of Commons—

NORTH AMERICAN FISHERIES.

In reply to MR. GOURLEY.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The *modus vivendi* in regard to the Canadian fisheries can only be renewed by an enactment of the Parliament of the Dominion, which is now sitting, and which, it is understood, will consider the question during the present session. Negotiations are proceeding in regard to the Behring Sea fisheries. Under the circumstances no pledge can be given as to the date of the presentation of papers.

THE SUZERAINTY OF THE TRANSVAAL.

In reply to MR. HOWORTH.

MR. W. H. SMITH said: The Convention of London, made in 1884 between Her Majesty and the South African Republic, contains no express reservation of the Queen's right of suzerainty, and although Her Majesty retains under the Convention the power of refusing to sanction treaties made by the South African Republic with foreign States and nations and with certain native tribes, it is a cardinal principle of that settlement that the internal government and legislation of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with. No persons, whether British subjects or otherwise, can at present obtain the franchise within the South African Republic unless they make a declaration of allegiance to it, which involves, to a considerable extent, the renunciation within the Republic of their national rights and obligations as subjects of the Queen.

BECHUANALAND.

On the vote of £23,250 for certain charges connected with South Africa (Bechuanaland) and St. Helena.

SIR G. CAMPBELL moved to reduce the vote by £20,000. Bechuanaland was extremely expensive, and £70,000 had already been voted. The revenue had not come up to the estimate. The company on which the rights and privileges of the Government had been devolved ought also to bear the expense. He disliked the policy of granting these great powers to commercial companies, as they led to unnecessary annexation.

BARON H. DE WORMS could not see how the company could be called upon to pay expenses with which they had nothing to do. The increase of the vote was due to the increased cost of the maintenance of the police in consequence of the great distances. The police were necessary to prevent filibustering. It was not true that the chartered company had done nothing to relieve the Government of the expense of this great territory. They had spent £60,000 on telegraph lines to the north of Bechuanaland, and were about to construct a railroad of considerable length from Kimberley, from which considerable advantage was to be anticipated.

The Committee divided, and the numbers were—

For the amendment	79
Against	143
Majority against	64

SWAZILAND.

SIR G. CAMPBELL asked for some information as to the item of £2,700 for defraying certain expenses in connection with Swaziland.

BARON H. DE WORMS said he could not give the House any information upon this subject. Sir Francis de Winton's report had not yet been considered by the Government, and therefore it was impossible for him to go into details.

MR. BAUMANN asked whether Sir F. de Winton's report would be laid on the table before the date fixed for the discussion of the motion of the hon. member for Liverpool. The House, he held, was entitled to see the report first.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that it was obviously impossible for the Government to submit the decision of this question to the House. The papers would be presented by the Government as soon as possible after the decision should have been arrived at.

MR. BRYCE asked when they might expect to have the report in their hands.

MR. W. H. SMITH said that the subject was one of considerable importance. As soon as it became possible for the Government to take the House into their confidence they would certainly do so. The report had not yet reached the Government.

SIR W. BARTHELOT declared that the country felt very strongly on this question of Swaziland. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the Government would take no steps in the direction of giving up Swaziland, but if they contemplated such steps they ought certainly to give the country some opportunity of expressing its views.

SIR G. CAMPBELL said he should be very glad to know when we might with honour and safety be relieved of the great difficulties attending the retention of Swaziland. (Cries of "No.") Had he rightly understood the Under-Secretary for the Colonies to say that the House would not be given an opportunity of discussing the matter before it was settled?

MR. W. H. SMITH said that this was pre-eminently one of those questions with regard to which the Government must act on their own responsibility. If they acted wrongly it was for the House to censure them. It was obviously impossible for them to submit their policy on a matter of this kind to the House of Commons. The Government were alone responsible for the conduct of such affairs. The House could not take matters of this kind into its own hands.

The vote was then agreed to.

FEBRUARY 27.

In the House of Commons—

The Western Australia Constitution Bill was read a second time and referred to a select committee. A report of the debate is given in another column.

FEBRUARY 28.

In the House of Lords—

A DOCK AT GIBRALTAR.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked what decision had been formed in reference to the construction of a dock at Gibraltar. Considering our vast mercantile and naval interests in the Mediterranean, he strongly urged the necessity of steps being taken without further delay to construct this long-talked-of work.

LORD BRASSEY pressed the value of the proposed dock at Gibraltar for the facilitating of commerce. He never visited the place without seeing more or less considerable number of vessels under repair. It was, too, most unsatisfactory that in the contingency of war the mercantile marine should be dependent for their supplies on hulks, every one of which might be sunk by a torpedo on a dark night or during foggy weather.

LORD ELPHINSTONE said the Admiralty fully concurred in the view so generally pressed upon them as to the advantages of having a first-class dock at Gibraltar; and further, the Admiralty fully admitted the absolute necessity in time of war of having at that station such a dock capable of accommodating our largest ships. The new dock which it had been decided to have was to be 250ft. long and 100ft. wide, and capable of taking a ship drawing 32ft. of water on the blocks. At high tide this would accommodate the largest men-of-war. Another matter which had been considered important was the extension of the Mole—(hear, hear)—and it had been thought desirable that the work should be undertaken simultaneously with the dock. It was proposed that it should be increased in length by 1,600ft. The advantage of the site chosen for the dock was that it would be protected by rising ground from the fire of ships at sea, while the entrance would have the further advantage of the protection of the Mole. The idea had got abroad that Her Majesty's Government proposed to have the dock on ground belonging to Spain. No such idea had ever entered the heads of Her Majesty's Government.

In the House of Commons—

POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

In reply to SIR G. BADEN-POWELL.

MR. RAIKES said: The answer to my hon. friend's question is as follows:—Weight of letters *via* Brindisi or Naples, postage 6d.—despatched to Australasia, 59,000 lb.; received from Australasia, 52,000 lb. Weight of letters sent by all sea route, postage 4d.—despatched to Australasia, 3,900 lb.; received from Australasia, 3,800 lb.

MARCH 3.

In the House of Commons—

THE DELAGOA BAY RAILWAY.

MR. CAUSTON asked whether the Government had any information as to the contemplated sale of the Delagoa Bay Railway, which Article 2 of the decree of June 25 last, purporting to forfeit the concession, directed to be made by public auction; and whether, in view of the importance of the railway as a great commercial highway, the Government would take care that British interests in respect thereof would be duly protected.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government have laid before Parliament all the information in their possession in connection with the railway. The papers show the anxiety of the Government to use their utmost efforts to protect British interests connected with it.

MARCH 4.

In the House of Lords—

COLONIAL COURTS OF ADMIRALTY.

LORD KNUTSFORD moved the second reading of the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Bill, the main object of which he stated was to do away with the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the Colonies, and to confer the Admiralty jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice in England on the Colonial Courts under certain restrictions.

The Bill was read a second time and referred to the Standing Committee on Law.

In the House of Commons—

CYPRUS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the report of the High Commissioner of Cyprus (p. 41, Rep. 1887-8, published 1889) that "A marked feature in the import trade has been the decline in the value of imports from Great Britain since the discontinuance of the weekly mail service from Alexandria," he would take into his favourable consideration the expediency of re-establishing direct postal communication between Great Britain and Cyprus in British ships.

MR. RAIKES: I can assure my hon. friend that proposals to re-establish a British packet service between this country and Cyprus have more than once occupied my attention; and I recognise the importance of the consideration to which he refers as bearing upon the question. But the matter is one in which my department is not free to act alone, and has to be decided by Her Majesty's Government as a whole.

MARCH 6.

In the House of Commons—

REPORTED DISTURBANCES AT JOHANNESBURG.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there was any truth in the report that a disturbance took place yesterday at Johannesburg, and whether he was in possession of any intelligence beyond that given in the morning papers.

BARON H. DE WORMS: Her Majesty's Government have received no information respecting the reported disturbances at Johannesburg, and conclude that they have no special political significance, unless, perhaps, as indicating dissatisfaction at the delay in completing railway communication. The difficulty of obtaining supplies caused serious distress among the miners at the gold-fields last year.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked whether Mr. Williams was still in the Transvaal.

BARON H. DE WORMS: No, Sir.

MARCH 10.

In the House of Commons—

THE VICTORIAN (AUSTRALIA) DIVORCE BILL.

MR. S. GEDGE asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Royal assent had been given to the Victorian (Australia) Divorce Bill; and, if not, whether that consent would be withheld until the House had had the opportunity of expressing its views on the question.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The Government of Victoria has been informed that Her Majesty will be advised to assent to the Divorce Bill, and it would be an infringement of the Constitution of that Colony to submit to this House the question whether consent to the legislation of its Parliament should be given or withheld.

MR. GEDGE said the matter was one of such importance that he would take an opportunity of bringing it before the House on the Estimates.

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

In answer to DR. TANNER.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Negotiations are in progress with the French Government, and will, it is hoped, be shortly brought to a satisfactory termination, for settling the conditions on which the lobster fisheries in Newfoundland shall be carried on during the ensuing season. Her Majesty's Government know of no reason to apprehend destruction of boats and nets by French fishermen in this any more than in previous years; but in case of illegal damage to British property, the matter would of course be treated between the two Governments in accordance with international law and usage.

MARCH 11.

In the House of Commons—

POSTAL CHARGES TO THE COLONIES AND INDIA.

MR. WATT asked the Postmaster-General whether any representations had been made by either Colonial or Indian Governments expressing a desire for a reduction of the postal charges to those Colonies; whether he was aware that it is a fact that the postal services of the Colonies now result in heavy losses to them; and whether it was competent for the Government to reduce the ocean postal charge to 1d. per letter without retiring from the Postal Union, and thus destroying existing postal arrangements with other countries.

MR. RAIKES: In answer to the hon. member I may say that no representations have been made to me by either the Colonial or Indian Governments expressing a desire for a reduction of the postal charges to the Colonies or to India. I am informed that the postal services of the Australian Colonies now result in heavy losses to them, amounting last year to not less than £380,000, and in the case of Canada I see from a recent report of the Dominion Postmaster-General that there is a loss on postal service of over 700,000 dols., more than £150,000 a year. Although the question has not yet been definitely decided, there is great reason to doubt if it would be competent for this country to reduce the ocean postal charge to its Colonies to 1d. per letter without withdrawing from the Postal Union, and thus destroying all the existing postal arrangements with other civilised countries.

MARCH 13.

In the House of Commons—

THE IMPERIAL DEFENCE ACT, 1888.

In answer to MR. SHAW-LEFEVRE.

MR. STANHOPE said: The expenditure during the current financial year under the second schedule of the Imperial Defence Act, 1888, will have been £360,000 for works and £250,000 for armaments, together £610,000. For 1890-91 the anticipated expenditure on armaments is £450,000; that on works cannot yet be stated. I hope to state the expenditure for works at a somewhat later date.

NAVAL AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE ACTS.

In answer to MR. SHAW-LEFEVRE.

LORD G. HAMILTON said: It is estimated that the expenditure out of the Naval Defence Account as provided by the Naval Defence Act of last year, from April 1, 1889, to March 31, 1890, will be—hulls and machinery, £3,158,253; armament, £600,000; and for the financial year 1890-91, £6,486,741 and £1,700,000 respectively. The estimated expenditure on ships for the Australian Squadron, under the Imperial Defence Act, from April 1, 1889, to March 31, 1890, is, for hulls and machinery £384,024, and for armament £27,500; and for the financial year 1890-91, £119,516 and £60,277 respectively.

THE MAILS TO AUSTRALIA.

MR. WATT asked the Postmaster-General whether his attention had been called to a statement made in a paper read before the Society of Arts on "Ocean Penny Postage," that a saving of one to two days only was effected in letters dispatched "via Brindisi" to Australia; and whether, as a matter of fact, the saving effected was from seven to eight days as compared with the ocean route.

MR. HENRIK HEATON: Before the right hon. gentleman answers that question, I beg to ask if he is aware that the hon. member for Glasgow is quoting words from a paper never read before the Society of Arts. I should have been glad to supply him with a correct version if he had done me the courtesy of communicating with me and stating that he intended to ask this question. Arising out of this question, I should like to ask the Postmaster-General whether the hon. member for Glasgow has omitted the words "probably the more important class of business letters would still be sent by this (the Brindisi) route;" and whether the Postmaster-General is aware that the fast mail steamers from Australia have repeatedly completed the all-sea voyage to England in as short a period as is allowed by contract by the Brindisi route.

MR. RAIKES said that in regard to the last question of the hon. member it was a fact that mail steamers occasionally arrived as stated. He could not see the relevance of the second question to the one before the House. In reply to the hon. member for Glasgow, he said:—I do not consider myself bound at this moment to correct any or every statement in the paper on ocean penny postage referred to by the hon. gentleman, but I may say that if any statement is therein made that a saving of one to two days only is effected by sending mails to Australia via Brindisi, such statement is altogether erroneous. As a matter of fact, the saving effected as compared with the all-sea route is from seven to eight days. The vessels taking up the mails at Brindisi leave London on Thursday or Friday of the week before the mails leave London by the Brindisi route.

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

SIR G. CAMPBELL asked whether it was true, as reported to have been stated by the French Minister, that the French Government suggested the reference of the matters in dispute in Newfoundland to arbitration, but that the British Government declined that suggestion; and whether the Government had reason to hope for an immediate settlement by negotiation of all these disputes with the assent of the Newfoundland authorities; or, if not, whether looking to the danger of local collisions, her Majesty's Government would, if possible, refer the disputes to the arbitration of qualified judicial persons.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The answer to the first question is No, and I do not find it so reported. In answer to the second, Yes, at least an early settlement.

SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR G. CAMPBELL asked whether Her Majesty's Government proposed to present any papers regarding the grant of a charter to the South Africa Company, the transfer to them of rights or claims in South Africa, and the arrangements by which the British Treasury was to be protected from expenditure in a country of which the company were to obtain the profits; and whether a Commissioner from Her Majesty has been sent to Lobengula, King of Matabeleland; and, if so, what were his instructions.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The papers presented last month, which I am informed will be distributed immediately, contain full information respecting the charter of the British South Africa Company, the message sent to Lobengula, and other matters connected with Matabeleland and the adjacent territories. The correspondence will also show that the British South Africa Company, although it has not yet commenced to receive profits from its operations, has already relieved Her Majesty's Treasury from expenditure by undertaking a very heavy outlay on telegraphs, police, and railway construction.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

MR. STANHOPE's statement in bringing forward the Army Estimates contained the following passages:—

"Putting aside questions of armament, with which I propose to deal separately, the preparations for carrying out the defence of our ports and coaling stations at home and abroad are in a very advanced condition. (Cheers.) The state of the submarine mining defence is very satisfactory. I stated last year that the military ports at home and abroad are now all provided with the necessary buildings and stores, and, I might add, with the requisite force of submarine miners. With two or three exceptions only, the same may now be said of all the coaling stations and commercial ports, and every year's training and experience will add to the rapidity with which the complete system of mine defence can in each case be laid down. The garrisons required for all these places amount to no fewer than 125,000 men, besides the native levies, which, where practicable, we are raising, or have raised, at certain foreign stations. But the detailed garrison required for every place is arranged, and at certain foreign ports where considerations of health or other reasons of public policy have prevented the full garrison from being always maintained in peace time, arrangements are in progress for the instant despatch at any moment to the necessary reinforcements." (Hear, hear.)

"The armament of the coaling-stations ought at last to be completed, with a few small exceptions. The long-delayed guns for Singapore have all been despatched to their destination. Those for Hongkong are now beginning to go out. The guns still required for Table Bay and Aden (at which places a portion of the armament is already mounted) should soon follow. The issue to Colombo, which begins almost immediately, will be completed during the year, and so with the remaining coaling-stations. This portion of our re-armament is, therefore, drawing to a conclusion. Thirdly, we ought to receive, with few exceptions, all the guns ordered under the Imperial Defence Act for the re-armament with modern guns of our Imperial fortresses at home and abroad. This work is being pushed on in all directions; and though it would not be right for me to enter into particulars, much of it has been completed. The Committee will recollect that this expenditure was authorised in the middle of 1888, and that three years was the time assigned for its completion. More than half the guns contained in this programme have actually been received within 18 months. The most rapid progress has been in the case of Portsmouth, where the great part of the work undertaken has been already completed, and of Harwich. In Malta, Gibraltar, and the Thames much work has been done; and the emplacements having been generally completed, the next few months will see much more rapid progress in mounting heavy guns. We have examined also the question of providing reserves of food at certain fortresses which, in the event of a great naval war, might be deprived of their ordinary sources of supply, and we have made full provision for this purpose in all cases where present circumstances appear to render it a necessity."

In replying upon the debate, MR. STANHOPE said: "One matter to which attention had been drawn was very important, as it concerned our Colonies. A small committee, composed of Treasury and War Office officials, had inquired into the justice of the contributions made by our Colonies, and the Colonies which had been dealt with had been called upon to make an increased contribution. They had now not only provided a large amount of armament for certain Colonies, but they had also increased the garrisons. It was in respect of these increases that they were now called upon to pay a greater contribution."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN observed that in the case of Mauritius he noticed that its contribution had been raised from £16,000 to £30,000, while the expenditure in Mauritius had been reduced from £51,000 to £47,000.

MR. STANHOPE said that the contributions which were now asked had been fixed upon a complete examination of all the circumstances so as to determine the proper proportionate sum that should be paid by each Colony. It was impossible to draw up a statement which should show all the circumstances which had led them to fix the contributions which each Colony ought justly to pay having regard to the assistance it received. He could assure the right hon. gentleman that the matter had been very carefully considered.

MARCH 14.

In the House of Lords—

THE COLOMBO FORTIFICATIONS.

LORD CHELMSFORD rose to draw attention to the incomplete condition of the fortifications at Colombo; and to ask the Under Secretary of State for War when the armament for the several batteries at that station, which had been ready to receive the armament for some considerable time, would be delivered to the Ceylon Government. It was unfair to the island, which was very poor, that this charge, which was purely one for Imperial purposes, should be thrown entirely on the revenue of Ceylon. All the members of the Legislative Assembly were extremely annoyed that after the fortifications had been built out of the money raised from the revenue of the island they could not receive any assurance that the guns would be provided for the different batteries that had been constructed. Since placing this notice on the paper he saw that the Secretary for War had assured the other House that the guns in question would be provided during the current year. The delay in providing must be laid at the feet, not of the present Administration nor of the former one, nor indeed of the one before that, but of those who had neglected to keep pace with the rest of the European countries in changing the ancient muzzle-loaders for the modern breechloading guns. (Hear.)

EARL BROWNLOW, in reply, stated that it would not be for the benefit of the public service that he should enter into too much detail in answering the question of the noble and gallant lord. He was, however, glad to be able to inform him that a considerable number of the heavy guns forming the armament of Colombo were now on the spot. A further important issue would probably be made in May. All the quick-firing guns were finished and were awaiting shipment. He hoped that the whole armament of Colombo would be finished by the end of the coming financial year. (Hear, hear.)

MARCH 17.

In the House of Lords—

GOVERNMENT DOCKS AT BOMBAY.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked the Secretary of State for India whether any progress had been made in the construction of Government docks at Bombay since his last statement to the House on that subject, and whether any correspondence with the Bombay Government bearing on the subject could be laid on the table of the House. There could be no doubt that there was pressing necessity for the immediate construction of such docks, owing to the fact that there were no docks available for the repair of large vessels within 2,000 miles of Bombay.

VISCOUNT CROSS said it must be borne in mind that the docks were required for Imperial and not for Indian purposes. A correspondence had been going on for some time between the different departments concerned, and the result had not been satisfactory. The Admiralty had sent this answer:—

"The Admiralty are strongly of opinion that a first-class naval dock is required at Bombay, but under the pressure of other claims upon the Government it is not possible at present to allot Imperial funds to cover a share of the cost of the construction of a dock of this nature. It would be inexpedient at the present time to lay any papers on the subject before Parliament."

He might explain that a trust dock was rapidly proceeding, although, perhaps, it would not be so large as was required. He was told this dock would be ready in 1891 if the present rate of progress was maintained. He wished he could say more in reply to the noble lord, but this was as far as he could go.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked whether the Government would have the power to use the dock if wanted.

VISCOUNT CROSS thought it would be so.

In the House of Commons—

OCEAN PENNY POST.

MR. HENRIKER HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether, as the Australian Colonies were not in the Postal Union, ocean penny postage could be established to Australia without interfering with the Postal Union; whether, under the Postal Union regulations, any two Powers signing it might make a special arrangement concerning themselves only; whether there was a special clause in the said regulations which would enable England to establish ocean penny postage with the United States, by and with the consent of the United States Government; and whether Great Britain could withdraw, if necessary, from the Postal Union by giving six months' notice.

MR. RAIKES: As the Australian Colonies are not in the Postal Union it would presumably be within the competence of Her Majesty's Government to establish a penny postage to Australia without interfering with the Postal Union. It is not likely that any Government in this country would take such a step without due consideration of the wishes and interests of the Australian Colonies. Under the Postal Union regulations no two Powers parties to the convention could make special arrangements concerning themselves only, at variance with the fundamental principles of the Union. The only latitude allowed is to neighbouring countries, which, within a radius of 30 kilometres are permitted to come to mutual arrangements for the adoption of lower rates of postage. There is no special clause in the convention which would enable this country to establish ocean penny postage with the United States with the consent of the United States Government. Great Britain could certainly withdraw from the Postal Union by giving a notice of twelve months if Her Majesty's Government thought it wise to incur the risk of cutting off its postal arrangements with the rest of the civilised world.

THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

The House went into Committee on the Navy Estimates.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON's statement explanatory of the Estimates, which had been previously circulated and published, contained the following passages:—

"The estimated expenditure for the year ending March 31st, 1891, borne on the annual votes presented to Parliament is £13,786,600, being an increase of £101,200 over the sum voted for the preceding year. This is independent of the expenditure which is to be covered by the £10,000,000 provided in the Naval Defence Act of last Session, and which is at the disposal of the Admiralty for the building and equipment of thirty-two war vessels enumerated in schedule 1 of that Act, and which are to be completed for sea within five years from the passing of the statute.

"An agreement, subsequently embodied in the Imperial Defence Act of 1888, was made in 1887 at London between the Imperial Government and the representatives of the Australian Colonies, by which a squadron of sea-going vessels was to be provided for the special protection of the floating commerce in Australasian waters. The ultimate cost of this squadron was to be divided between the Home and Colonial Governments, the former providing the funds for the construction and armament and the officers and men for the manning of these vessels. In return an annual subsidy was to be paid by the Colonies for twelve years for the additional protection afforded by this force. The ships will be completed in the present financial year, and provision is made in the Estimates for the officers and men and stores necessary to commission them. A portion of the subsidy payable is taken as an appropriation in aid of the vote.

"A further provision for the officers and men required for the floating defences of the Indian Government is made under votes A and I, the Indian Government paying the full cost of the service rendered.

"Thus the number of officers and men to be provided is increased by the imposition of these new duties upon the Navy, and in return the appropriations in aid of naval votes are largely augmented by the payments receivable from the Australian and Indian Governments."

PROGRESS OF SHIPBUILDING.

"In order to make clear the advance in shipbuilding during the past year, it is necessary to classify the vessels in course of construction accord-

ing to the separate and distinct financial arrangements which have been made to meet their cost.

"First in order are the ships built both by contract and in the dockyards contained in the old shipbuilding programme sanctioned prior to April, 1889. The whole cost of these vessels is defrayed from the Parliamentary votes.

"In the second place must be considered the ships to be built under the Naval Defence Act of last Session. These comprise (a) 38 ships to be built in the dockyards; and (b) 32 to be built by contract.

"(a) The thirty-eight dockyard ships are to be paid for by moneys annually voted by Parliament, but any balance unexpended at the close of the year out of the funds appropriated to their construction is to be carried to the credit of the account in the forthcoming year.

"(b) The cost of the thirty-two ships to be built by contract is to be defrayed by a fund of £10,000,000, so placed at the disposal of the Admiralty as to enable the whole of these vessels to be laid down and completed with the utmost celerity. No part of this sum is borne on the votes presented to Parliament.

"Thirdly.—The Australian squadron was built under the Act of Parliament already referred to, and the funds were provided under a special arrangement. No portion of the capital representing the first cost of this expenditure is contained in the annual votes.

"It will thus be seen that the cost of the vessels in the categories 2 (b), and 3 is excluded from the Estimates now presented to Parliament. But in order that Parliament might be in possession of the progress of and expenditure on the whole of the ships building and completing, a form of account has been specially framed for publication in the Estimates in which full information is given concerning all these vessels."

"The dock subsidised by the Admiralty and built by private enterprise at Halifax is practically completed, and will accommodate any ship at present in the Navy.

"The Admiralty have been carefully considering the provision of a dock at Gibraltar, and have selected a site for it. They have every hope that the dock will soon be undertaken by private enterprise, with help and encouragement from the Imperial Government.

"Plans for the proposed naval dock at Bombay have been prepared by Sir J. Coode, under instructions from the India Office, but no funds have as yet been allotted for the purpose."

SIR J. COLOMB, in the course of his speech, said: This Admiralty would live in history for having inaugurated the policy of obtaining contributions to the maintenance of the Navy from India and the Colonies; but at present the contribution was very small. The total value of British commerce was 1,100 millions. Of that, 650 millions belonged to the United Kingdom, and 450 millions to the remainder of the British Empire. Under the present arrangement the United Kingdom would pay for naval protection £1 for every £46 of her commerce, while the outlying parts of the Empire would pay only £1 for every £4,000 of their independent commerce. He should like to know whether the boilers of the ships building for the Australian Squadron had been adapted to the burning of Australian coal?

ADMIRAL FIELD called attention to a grave deficiency which had existed for many years in the want of a dock at Bombay. He described it as a public scandal. If the Treasury would not grant the money, surely the Government could bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Indian Government to make them do this work. The feeling of naval men was also in favour of a dock at Gibraltar, and he hoped the noble lord would tell the Committee that the plans were in course of preparation, that the contracts were being prepared, and that the work would be undertaken before the summer passed. He also wished to know whether the lengthening of the dock at Malta, which was agreed upon, had been carried out yet.

ADMIRAL MAYNE wished to know whether the question of the stores at Gibraltar had been considered by the Government. He quite agreed with the observations of his gallant friend about the dock at Bombay.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said the Admiralty had had the question of Gibraltar under very close consideration. The question of a site for the dock was practically decided in favour of the New Mole, which would have to be lengthened. There were objections to a commercial company's undertaking the construction of a dock. There was a consultation now going on between the Admiralty and the Colonial Office. He found the stores at Gibraltar to be of a very superior character. He regretted that there had been an unfortunate delay about the dock at Bombay and a difficulty about the allocation of the expenditure, but he hoped the matter would soon be settled. The coaling arrangements at Plymouth would, he trusted, soon be completed.

MR. SHAW-LEFEVRE desired to call attention to the expenditure on Ascension Island, which seemed to be unnecessarily large. The question was whether the island was really of any value to us, and whether it ought not either to be abandoned or the force on it reduced to the smallest possible dimensions. The cost of communication was very heavy, and the island was extremely barren, with scarcely vegetation enough for the support of a few cattle and sheep.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said: With regard to Ascension, he could assure the right hon. gentleman that the expenditure had not been sanctioned until the Government had satisfied themselves as to the desirability of retaining the island. It was a very salubrious place and an excellent sanatorium. Of all our naval stations in the neighbourhood of the north-west coast of Africa it was the most important.

On the vote for £1,200 for additional naval forces in Australasian waters,

In reply to MR. SHAW-LEFEVRE,

LORD G. HAMILTON said that the Legislatures of the Australian Colonies, with the exception of Queensland, had agreed to pay a certain contribution towards the maintenance of an extra naval force in their waters, and he had every reason to believe that that contribution would be paid.

"The movement grows and acquires momentum from day to day. There is a gradual increase, both at home and in the Colonies, of adherents to the cause—of people, that is, who believe that Federation is the only alternative to ultimate disintegration, and who, consequently choose the former without hesitation. Everything seems to be working in favour of Federation."—*Daily Chronicle*.

Colonial Cadetships.—Up to the present time our Colonies, if we except Canada, which has sent us a number of young officers from its Royal Military College at Kingston, have not responded very freely to the privilege accorded them, Australia being only represented by one officer from New South Wales, while New Zealand has also one solitary representative in a former subaltern of its Rifle Volunteers.—*Globe*.

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H. F. WILSON.
JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. (Vice-Pre-
sident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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[FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD

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Imperial Federation.

MAY 1, 1890.

IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY *versus* FAIR TRADE.

OUR valued correspondent who writes to us from Montreal over the signature of "Manu Forti," already well and favourably known to our readers, addresses himself to the subject of Imperial Reciprocity in a manner that will ensure his letter being read with much interest. We shall avail ourselves of the opportunity to make clear the attitude of this Journal towards the subject under discussion, which has been somewhat misunderstood. Our correspondent criticises both our attitude towards the Fair Traders and some remarks we threw out in our March issue as to the possible effect of internal preferential duties in provoking retaliation by foreign states. As to this latter criticism, we may refer "Manu Forti" to the answer we gave on this head in our April number (which had not reached Canada when he wrote) to another correspondent nearer home—an answer, we are afraid we must say, amounting in effect to a request to read the passages criticised a little more carefully. We quoted our own language, and pointed out—first, that the argument was expressly directed to the case of a transition period only; and, secondly, that in putting it forward we had been careful to say that we did so for the purpose of eliciting opinion on what seemed a new point, and not as expressing our own convictions. Much of what our correspondent has to say on this point therefore is, so far as we ourselves are concerned, beside the mark. As to our attitude towards Fair Trade, some further reference to this also was made in our April issue; but as our correspondent again refers to it, it will be as well to repeat once more as categorically as possible the view we take.

And first of all we must disclaim any wish whatever to be "ungracious" towards the Fair Traders, whether they are also Imperial Federationists or not. With Fair Trade as such we have no sort of quarrel, any more than, for example, with Bimetallism. They are matters which do not concern us one way or the other, and upon such subjects this Journal can have and ought to have no policy at all: they are outside our subject altogether. But the Fair Traders have, for a considerable time past, adopted Imperial Reciprocity as a plank in their platform, and have been "running" the two policies together as one. Now we hold, and this is all that we have been saying since the matter engaged our attention, that the two policies are not only distinct, but are mutually destructive. Our correspondent, like many others, says, "No; you can have Imperial Reciprocity, and then extend its benefits to foreign nations that agree to reciprocate, which is Fair Trade." Quite so. But when the reciprocity becomes international it ceases to be imperial. There lies the whole gist of the matter in issue between us and those who have taken exception to our position on the subject; and we think the position one rather difficult to assail. We can perfectly well understand people being both Fair Traders and Imperial Federationists. Only we wish them to keep the two aims distinct. They may favour Imperial Federation, and they may at the same time, as members of the Fair Trade League, be anxious to bring about a universal system of reciprocity, international as well as imperial. But they should recognise that in the matter of reciprocity they must elect whether it shall be imperial or international. We would ask our correspondent whether his colleagues of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, who are moving, and moving strongly, in favour of the imperial form of reciprocity, would be prepared when they have obtained it, to invite the United States, for example, to make one of the "family party"? A good illustration of the effects of this confusion of thought, as it seems to us to be, which allows people to advocate both forms of reciprocity, is afforded by a brisk correspondence that has been going on in the *Yorkshire Post* under the heading "Fair Trade and Imperial Federation." No doubt the discussion arose out of something fairly described by this collocation of terms; but we have searched through numbers of subsequent letters, still appearing under the same head,

without finding so much as the least reference to Imperial Federation, and scarcely to Imperial Reciprocity. The discussion has fallen, as was natural, into the old groove of Free Trade *versus* either Protection or Fair Trade. At the risk therefore of appearing "ungracious," we find ourselves unable to accept Fair Traders, as such, as allies of Imperial Federation. If they or any section of them will make their election between International Fair Trade and Imperial Reciprocity, and decide to surrender the former for the sake of the latter, and will work for the latter object as one of the means and elements of Imperial Federation, we shall be only too happy to welcome them as allies, just as we welcome those who work for common measures of Defence or an Imperial Penny Post as means to the same end.

In saying so much, however, we must not be understood to be expressing any opinion very much in favour of the feasibility of a scheme of Imperial Reciprocity. There is no one, we suppose, who wishes to see the Empire knit together in the closest bonds, of a federal character, that circumstances will allow, who would not hail with satisfaction any plan by which the conflicting interests, whether real or supposed, of the various parts of the Empire could be so reconciled as to admit of federal union in fiscal as in other matters. But for ourselves, we are not sanguine that the consummation of any such scheme will be possible for some time to come. Before that time comes, the Fair Trade League, or somebody else, will have to achieve one of two things. They will have either to convert the electors of the United Kingdom to a fiscal policy that, whatever it is, is not Free Trade; or they must convert the Colonies to a policy that, whatever it is, is not Protection. We speak neither as Free Traders nor as Protectionists. We may deplore that the one policy reigns at home, or the other in the Colonies, because the antagonism keeps us asunder. But it does not matter which of the two we think ought to give way. There, again, this Journal has, and ought to have, no policy. We only note the facts that exist before our eyes. At the same time we must not lose sight of the distinction, which our correspondent gives us the credit of having pointed out from time to time "with tolerable clearness," between a reciprocity based on preferential duties only, and a complete Zollverein, or absolute free trade within an Empire having but one Customs frontier. But the difference is one of degree rather than of kind. Still, a difference of degree goes for a good deal with people who do not worship shibboleths; and something in the shape of preferential treatment, it is quite conceivable, may not be altogether impossible of attainment within a measurable distance of time. Mr. Howard Vincent has lately pointed out that no further back than fifty years the Colonies enjoyed such a preference in the home markets. But, then, fifty years ago there were no Colonies putting prohibitory duties on British goods, and Britain had not Free Trade; and the result of the introduction of that policy is that, in the present state of opinion, at any rate, the electorate would regard such a preference as contrary to principle; and, further, that the people of the United Kingdom having nothing left to "take off" by way of preference, could only give it therefore, if they would, by means of "putting on" something as against foreigners—and to that, as we have said, they have yet to be converted. Something, however, in this direction—at least to the extent of the Hofmeyr scheme—may not impossibly become a practical question before very long. Canada, we know, is looking round for something of the sort; and in opening their ports to British manufactures, the Canadians, or some of them, believe their own would have less to fear than from American competition similarly encouraged. Whether Australia would be at all inclined to make any move the same way is open to much greater question.

SOME REVIEW ARTICLES.

THE April magazines and reviews contain several articles upon subjects more or less connected with Colonial policy in its Imperial bearings. We propose to make special reference here to two or three of them most directly dealing with Imperial Federation. A writer in the *Fortnightly*, in an article headed "A National Want: a Practical Proposal," appeals for the establishment of a Magazine of Imperial Defence, in which officers of Her Majesty's services may

give to the public, without incurring official reprobation, those valuable views upon Imperial Defence which, as things are, having once been committed to the sheets of an official memorandum, are relegated thenceforth and for ever to the tomb-like obscurity of departmental pigeon-holes. Whether or not the powers that be would entertain the idea of such a semi-official publication we are unable to say. Meanwhile all writers are not bound by the discipline of silence imposed by Government upon official people, and Sir Charles Dilke avails himself of his liberty, in the pages of the re-constituted *United Service Magazine* (hitherto known as *Colburn's*), to reiterate the views expressed by him in "Problems of Greater Britain" upon the necessity of a General Staff; and of the inclusion in it of representatives of the Colonial forces. The whole British Empire, he urges, needs consistent and united organisation for defence. "The principle of self-preservation" should be disentangled from the petty political questions by which the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies are "often hampered and sometimes embittered." The Colonial Office, he goes on to say, has no concern in any military matters, and is already involved in these political questions. It is "not a Colonial Office, and not British Cabinets, changing like the pictures of the kaleidoscope," which can meet the Colonies on such a footing as to bring about the adoption of common measures of defence. "The scientific organisation of our defensive forces under a General Staff, in which all parts of the Empire producing military talent would find representation, can alone solve the problem of Imperial defence." It should be noted that this article was written before the publication of the report of Lord Hartington's Commission. On this subject of defence, Sir Charles Dilke is all for the immediate application of Imperial Federation; but it is the federation of Executives rather than of Legislatures. There can be very little doubt that a beginning could be more readily made in this way than by any form of representation on legislative bodies; and such a beginning, beyond its intrinsic advantages in meeting the immediate necessities of the case in the most pressing of all the problems awaiting solution by the federal method, could scarcely fail to have the ulterior effect of paving the way for legislative federation, the necessity for which would soon become obvious as a means of exercising united control over the united Executive. It may perhaps be allowed us to mention here in fairness to those within the League who have specially devoted attention to defence matters, that a proposal almost identical with that of Sir Charles Dilke for a General Staff was formulated last year in a report of the Defence Committee, of which Sir John Colomb is chairman. We drew attention last month to another suggestion of first-rate importance—the decentralisation of the dockyards and arsenals—in which those inside the League had been working on the same lines as Sir Charles Dilke.

In the same magazine, the *United Service*, Sir George Baden-Powell, M.P., has a short article on "Imperial Federation," with the sub-title "Works versus Words." It contains some easily understood figures, and lucid statements of fundamental principles that will be useful to readers whose acquaintance with the subject is only beginning. These statements of principle are for the most part unexceptionable; but we do not quite understand for whom, besides himself, the writer means to be speaking (though for ourselves we should have no objection to be included in the first person plural in this particular case) when he says, for instance, "the idea *we* deal with is to preserve the integrity of the Empire." He cannot be professing to speak for the League—the very name or existence of which by the way is by some curious coincidence never once mentioned—because, in common with the Duke of Argyll and Sir Charles Dilke, and possibly one or two other statesmen of Cabinet rank or commanding political status and influence, Sir George Baden-Powell has felt himself better able to serve the cause of Imperial Federation from outside, from the platform of his own recognised position in the political world, than as a mere member of the League, towards which, for the rest, he has usually played the part of the "candid friend." The article justifies its sub-title by pointing, usefully, to the "works" beyond the domain of "words"—notably the work of common defence—that have already been done, or are in course of doing—

by the agency of the League, only Sir George Baden-Powell forgets to say so.

The most thorough, and, where all are so favourable, one of the most appreciative estimates of Sir Charles Dilke's great work that we have seen is contained in an article rather than a review under the title of "Problems of Greater Britain," from the pen of Mr. Frank Hill, in the *Universal Review* for April. Speaking of the practical objections to any scheme of Imperial Federation yet propounded, the reviewer recognises with his author, that "time and circumstances may find the solution which at present it seems to pass the wit of man to devise. When it comes, it may come as something obvious and inevitable." Mr. Hill recognises also the weight of his author's observation that an increase of the power of the Crown (or other central executive authority) is essential to the working of a federal system, and discusses with much political insight, the reconciliation of such a shifting of the balance with the inevitable growth of democratic power. The partial breakdown of the House of Commons as an instrument of government, and the consequent decline of the representative system in public estimation, he agrees with many political thinkers of the day in believing, will have a tendency to introduce in a more direct form than it now exists, the principle of the *Referendum* into our Constitution. And though he sees that to refer directly questions of peace and war "to excitable and fluctuating public sentiment, would be to run the risk of alternating between rash aggressiveness and pusillanimous capitulation," he yet leans to Lord Beaconsfield's favourite doctrine of the "direct exercise of power by the people, acting on and through the monarch." We are glad to see Mr. Hill insisting that the absence of any definite scheme, like the plan an architect can easily enough draw of a house, is no objection to the ultimate realisation of a system of Imperial Federation. A most able Australian writer and speaker on these subjects, Mr. D'Esterre Taylor, recently met this common objection by asking "Where had been the scheme of Australian or of Canadian Federation before the time came for putting it into practice?" As Mr. Hill says, "the thing will come about if a feeling of nationality and allegiance, the recognition of common interests, and the sense of mutual advantage, suggest or necessitate a closer union:" otherwise not. He strikes the right note when he tells us "not to hurry matters, but to wait for the development of events, and to take occasion by the hand, as it may present itself." No words could be better chosen to express what has consistently been, and we trust will continue to be, the policy of the League. Indeed, throughout his article, Mr. Hill shows a complete appreciation of the problem of Imperial Federation, and a thoroughly just estimate of the questions of policy involved in it.

UNIFORM IMPERIAL POSTAGE.

If any questioned the amount of favour with which the introduction of a cheap and uniform rate of postage throughout the Empire would be regarded in this country, the acclamations that from all quarters greeted Mr. Goschen's announcements on the subject would effectually dispel any such doubts. We are afraid the public satisfaction may turn out to be a little premature; but even if the change of policy is destined to remain for the present rather more abstract than concrete, its official adoption is nevertheless exceedingly valuable as the admission of two very important principles to which the Treasury and the Post Office respectively have hitherto offered a stubborn opposition. The first great principle admitted by this part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget is the surrender of a portion of the increasing surplus from Post Office Revenue for the purpose of affording increased postal facilities to the public who use the Post Office. Upon this point all Chancellors of the Exchequer, and not least Mr. Goschen himself, have always assumed a very firm attitude, declaring that not one penny would they surrender of the proceeds of that very comfortable form of taxation afforded by the sale of postage stamps. The second principle also is one that, up to the present time, the Postmaster-General has opposed on the ground that to incur further loss on the conveyance of mails to the Colonies and Dependencies

would be to tax the many for the benefit of the few. This argument we ourselves combated, in writing on the Postal Jubilee last February, when we also contended for the surrender of a portion of the surplus, for which Mr. Shaw Lefevre and the Secretary of the Post Office, Sir Arthur Blackwood, had appealed. By consenting, as the Government now does, to carry mails to the Colonies and Dependencies, already carried at a loss, at a cheaper and uniform rate entailing still further loss to the revenue, they not only recognise the claim of correspondence going to other parts of the Empire to share with inland correspondence whatever good things the Exchequer may have to give on the side of postal facilities generally, but they do this on public and Imperial grounds—on the ground that the correspondence is within the Empire—a most important principle that would have been lost sight of if Mr. Henniker Heaton's idea of a cheap "ocean" postage had been adopted, since that embraced countries outside the limits of the British Empire. So far therefore we may fairly congratulate ourselves, and all those who see in postal reforms of this character a link in the golden chain of Imperial Federation; and up to this point, too, we may congratulate the Government in having taken a step in a direction that is extremely popular, and having taken it on public and patriotic grounds.

But there is another side to the shield. In the first place, everybody who read the passage in the Budget speech, or the apparent *communiqué* that appeared in the *Times*—under the title of "Uniform Imperial Postage"—on the same morning as the report of the speech itself, must have been struck by the fact that the realisation of this promised boon is conditional only. Mr. Goschen's opening words in introducing this matter were:—"We propose, if we can persuade other interested parties to do so, to deal with the question of the postage to India and our Colonies, and to reduce all rates," &c. And the explanatory statement in the *Times* says:—"Mr. Goschen's postal reform is, unfortunately, conditional only." Very unfortunately, we think. The statement goes on to explain that it depends on the willingness of the Colonies to assent to bear their share of the loss, and to express a hope that their patriotism will lead them to do so without delay. The writer then says that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could hardly force such a reform upon the Colonies, and continues:—"He might, no doubt, reduce the rates for outward correspondence, and leave the Colonies to do as they like with the letters they send home; but such a course, taken without previous negotiation, would scarcely wear a friendly aspect." Of course he might have done so; and what in the world was there, or is there, to prevent such previous negotiation? Why could not Mr. Goschen or Mr. Raikes have said to the representatives of the Colonies and Dependencies concerned:—"We propose to reduce the postage on our letters to you to a certain uniform rate lower than that at present ruling. It will entail further loss, which we are prepared to face. Are you prepared to do likewise? We know that your financial circumstances as to postal matters are not so flourishing as ours; and if you cannot see your way to reciprocating in this matter, at any rate there can, of course, be no possible objection to our reducing the rate on our side, since the loss is ours, not yours. We propose to do so, and trust circumstances may before long enable you to complete the good work by following suit?" But no; it appears, from the language quoted, and from what we can gather from other sources, that Mr. Goschen's intention is to put his promise into effect only on condition the Colonies will do the same. Now there is not, so far as we know, any great reason to suppose that the Colonies will consent. They already carry on their postal affairs at a great loss; there is no cry among their people for cheaper postage, and they are extremely unlikely to incur so large an additional expense for an idea. We may be wrong: we hope we are. Mr. Goschen may, and indeed ought, unless his proposal was merely illusory, to have some good grounds for believing that Australasia, in particular, has changed her mind on this subject. But we confess we shall be surprised to find the Colonies agreeing to this scheme in time for Mr. Goschen to spend a sixpence of that £80,000 which he has, on paper, set apart to meet the estimated loss on the transaction in the current year.

If our belief is right, and the Colonies do not consent, Mr. Goschen will find himself obliged to waive his condition, and deal with the question in the manner indicated above.

Passing from this aspect of the question, and assuming all things in favour of Mr. Goschen as regards it, there is another view of the concession, which, in the tumult of popular approbation and gratitude, must not be lost sight of. This proposal is called by the title we have set at the head of this article, "Uniform Imperial Postage." But is it truly so? In a sense it is so, if by Imperial postage we understand only postage between the various separate groups that make up the Empire. But it is not a uniform Imperial postage in the fuller sense of a rate of postage that is uniform for all parts of the Empire, whether between places situated in the same group or in different groups. What we hope to see ultimately accomplished is the establishment of a universal post within the Empire at the same rate as that now obtaining in the United Kingdom, and likely very soon to obtain within the limits of other groups wherever it does not at present. Of course we could not expect this great change to have been brought about all at once; and must be thankful for the concession of the principle of the thing, so far as it goes, and for the actual reduction offered—when we get it. It is as an instalment that the proposal has been recognised and greeted on almost all sides. We could have wished it, however, put at almost any other sum than twopence-halfpenny. That sum is ominous, smacking as it does of Postal Union; and, indeed, this is claimed for it as a merit in the *Times* statement already referred to. It is, we fear, almost too evidently intended, by assimilating the charge to that of the Postal Union, to bring the outstanding Colonies into that fold, and have Imperial postage a mere branch of the International Union. That is a policy that cannot be too strenuously opposed. We must not rest until we have won our liberty of action within the Empire, at whatever cost to Postal Union susceptibilities. Whatever its uses on the Continent of Europe, the Postal Union is bad all through, fiscally and politically, from a national and from an imperial point of view; and no more of our connection with it must be left standing than does not interfere with national and imperial interests. We need not repeat what we have so lately said upon this matter. The Postal Union must not be allowed to stand in the way of a uniform Imperial Postage at any sum that may be found feasible. Up to the present it has not been demonstrated that a penny rate could be established without a greater loss than it is perhaps quite reasonable to ask for. But when the Postal Union obstacles have been brushed aside, as they will have to be when the public understands the situation, and certain other reforms have been effected in economic and administrative customs and official traditions that have outlived their time, we are not without hope of seeing a way opened of extending to the whole Empire the application of postal principles and rates now applied in the United Kingdom only, without any undue addition to the claims hitherto made upon the revenue.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE QUEBEC LEGISLATURE.

[BY A CANADIAN CONTRIBUTOR.]

IF it be true, as stated in a letter I have received, that the English newspapers gave more prominence to the resolutions of the Quebec Legislature declaring its hostility to Imperial Federation than to the resolution on the motion of Mr. Mulock, one of the leaders of the Liberal party, passed by the unanimous vote of the Dominion Parliament, it is simply indicative of the crass stupidity of some of the English with regard to the affairs of their own Empire. This Legislature of Quebec is at present composed of a large majority of members who were elected on the most disloyal issue ever raised in this country, namely, on an appeal by Mr. Mercier to the French to condemn the Dominion Government for allowing the execution of Riel to take place, notwithstanding

that he had been twice a rebel, the first time having, as chief of a self-constituted Provisional Government, committed one of the most atrocious and barbarous murders ever recorded, that of Thomas Scott, a loyal Orangeman, for no other offence than that of declaring himself true to his Queen and his country. Mr. Mercier succeeded in arousing the worst passions and prejudices of the French-Canadians to resent this execution as an insult to their nationality, Riel being either a French-Canadian or a half-breed. The utterances of Mercier and his friends throughout the whole electoral campaign were rank treason, but he succeeded in obtaining a French "Nationalist" majority. This is the majority that has passed the resolution in question. But although they have been compact and solid on pretty nearly every question that has come up, on this question alone the leader failed to obtain the votes of all his supporters, the number voting for it being but 31 in a House whose membership is 65.

Not a single representative of a constituency in which there is any considerable English element voted with the majority. Dr. Cameron, the member for Huntington; and Mr. James McShane, for Montreal West, both Government supporters, refused to vote; as also, to his credit, did Dr. De Grosbois, a Government supporter and a French-Canadian. The Opposition unanimously protested against the resolution, and if they left the House instead of waiting to take part in the vote, it was because they refused to be made victims of what they denounced as a piece of sharp practice on the part of the Government, one of whose members sprang to his feet immediately after the moving of the resolution, and "caught the Speaker's eye" before one of the leading members of the Opposition who rose at the same moment, and deprived the latter of the opportunity of putting on record what his views of the question were, by moving the previous question, which shut out any amendment. The vote was immediately taken thereupon, and not a word of discussion took place beyond the speech of the mover, who is a notorious little firebrand and Anglophobe. The fact remains that not a single member of the Opposition in any way countenanced the resolution; and it is safe to say that the entire English delegation, together with the best and most respected of the French-Canadian members, virtually opposed it. The resolution can be only compared in importance with one passed some few years ago in the little French island of Dominica, one of the British West Indies, in favour of annexation with the United States. The only fact that it may be said to emphasise is that there is among the French, whether in France, in Canada, in Dominica, or in any other part of the world, a very considerable degree of hostility to the British. That that element will permanently hold power even in this French Province is altogether out of the question. Mr. Mercier may possibly carry the next election with a reduced majority, because the Riel question has been succeeded by the Jesuit question, Mr. Mercier having sold out his Liberal followers for the support of the Church; and what that means may be understood when I mention that, according to the last census taken, the Roman Catholics in the Province of Quebec numbered 1,170,718 out of a total population of 1,359,027. Of course, these conditions are reversed in all the other Provinces, in which the Roman Catholic population, all told, numbers only 621,264 out of 3,065,783. Unless this Jesuit Act, which many Protestants regard as an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, had stemmed the tide, he would already have become thoroughly discredited, as he certainly does not possess the confidence of the respectable people even of his own race. Now, it could not be expected that all this should be known or remembered by English papers, but at least they should have known better than to attach more importance to a resolution of less than half the members of a Provincial Legislature, which is not a Parliament, than to the unanimous voice of both parties in the Dominion Parliament, representative of eight Provinces. This simply illustrates the deplorable fact that English newspapers do not look to the proper source for their Canadian information. They allow American newspaper correspondents to serve up whatever suits their own hatred of the British Empire, and that is swallowed without question by the sleepy and listless John Bull.

* * In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMERCE: BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I think your note upon Sir Rawson Rawson's figures, as these are given in the last number of the Journal, is too sweeping in its terms. I must plead guilty to being one of those who believe and advocate that our trade with our Colonies possesses more vitality than our trade with foreign countries. The following figures may be interesting, and, I think, prove this:—

	1870.	1888.
Total Trade with the following Foreign Countries—viz., Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Russia, and United States	Imports ... £148,942* Exports ... 117,672	Imports ... £213,363 Exports ... 128,227
	£266,614	£341,590

* 000's omitted.

Increase 28 per cent.

	1870.	1888.
Total Trade with the following Colonies and India—viz., Australia, Cape, Canada, India, and Ceylon	Imports ... £54,005* Exports ... 41,313	Imports ... £74,070 Exports ... 78,270
	£95,318	£152,340

* 000's omitted.

Increase 60 per cent.

Here are taken the principal countries and Colonies and a period of eighteen years. I do not think you can safely argue from so short a period as the four years embraced in Sir Rawson Rawson's figures. Moreover, during these four years there occurred a severe drought in Australia and a financial panic in New Zealand.

It is more, however, I think, upon the amount of trade per head with Colonies as compared with foreign countries that stress should be placed; and here, as you know, the contrast is very strong.—I am, &c.,

F. FAITHFULL BEGG.

Bartholomew House, E.C., April 8th, 1890.

A PROTEST FROM CANADA.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I notice in the March number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION that you suggest that if the British Empire were to adopt a strictly family policy in its trade relations—Great Britain discriminating in favour of the Colonies as against foreign nations and the Colonies reciprocating—the United States and other countries might retaliate by imposing very heavy export duties on such goods as wheat and cotton; and that in such an event dire disaster would result, and you ask for an answer on this point. In reply I will say, perhaps bluntly, that if it is admitted that any tariff which any nation, or combination of nations, could erect against Great Britain could bring the once proud mistress of the seas to her knees, then the sooner we drop all idea of Imperial Federation, or even a continuance of Empire, the better.

It is just as important to the United States to sell their wheat and cotton as it is to Great Britain to buy it, and the latter could stand an interruption to this trade just as long as the United States could.

And now that I have taken up my pen, usually employed in more routine work for the League, I will draw attention to several questions. While I write, the most ancient Colonial possession of the British Crown, the island of Newfoundland, is in a blaze of indignation over what the people believe to be a further sacrifice of their rights to French aggression, and talk is heard of an appeal to the United States for annexation as a way of escape from an intolerable injustice.

This whole question of the French rights and aggression in Newfoundland must be settled, and that speedily, by an extinction of these rights, or grave disaster may result. England is solely responsible for this trouble, and must remove it if she does not wish to lose the Colony. What matters it to a rich country like England if the buying out of the French rights should cost a few millions sterling? She is responsible for the blunder, and must pay for it, and will do so, if not in gold then in Empire.

For if the British flag is replaced by the stars and stripes in Newfoundland the loss will not stop there, but the process once

begun will not be stayed till Britain's Empire on this continent has passed away.

In the number of your journal for July last, in replying to what you were pleased to call "a rather amusing article" in the *Montreal Star* on the Behring Sea Question, you suggest, though you waived the objection, that it might be urged that the Colonies, and therefore Canada, get quite as much defence as they pay for.

Though you waived this point, I, at least, am not prepared to do so, and reply that Canada has paid every penny that she was entitled to pay under the constitution as it exists, and more.

If the constitution is anomalous that is Great Britain's fault, not ours, as she made it. I said that Canada has paid more than she was bound to pay, and, as an instance, I recall the Fenian raids, when Canada was invaded by those who were England's enemies rather than her own. The expense of repelling them fell chiefly on us; and when, in the negotiations for the Washington Treaty, the one Canadian representative, Sir John Macdonald, one among ten, suggested that the claims for losses inflicted by the Fenian raids were, so far as they went, a fair offset to the Alabama claims, the American Commissioners simply refused to acknowledge them, and the English Commissioners hadn't backbone enough to press the matter.

And now as to this Behring Sea dispute, permit me to draw your attention to the extraordinary difference between Great Britain's treatment of this question and her action in regard to Portugal's aggression in Africa.

For years past the British flag, which is as much ours as yours, has been no protection to Canadian vessels upon the high seas, but has been insulted with the utmost impunity, vessels seized and confiscated, crews imprisoned, and other outrages too numerous to mention, and when we appeal for protection—and, mark you, we have no power to send armed cruisers to protect our own vessels upon the high seas—we are told to have patience, that the Government is in communication with the Government at Washington, and is not without hope of arriving at a satisfactory settlement, and this farce goes on from year to year, and our seamen are prevented by these acts of piracy from following their lawful calling.

But a Portuguese officer in a remote corner of Africa ventures to commit some aggressive act, not half as serious as those perpetrated upon our vessels by United States revenue cutters, and instantly Lord Salisbury sends the Portuguese Government a sharp demand for reparation, enforcing it by a threat of a naval demonstration in the Tagus. Now, what is the reason for this difference? Your suggestion of "votes counting four on a division" will not apply, as Africa is no more represented than is Canada in the House of Commons. Why is it? Americans say that England is a coward and a bully, bullying small nations which she knows dare not fight her, and cringing to big ones that she fears may do so. Is this true? It looks like it.

—Yours truly,
H. H. LYMAN.

Montreal, March 29th, 1890.

IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—There are several references in your March number to a subject that has received a certain amount of attention in Canada, and I should like to be permitted to offer a few suggestions upon it. It is that of Imperial Reciprocity. You have yourself from time to time pointed out with tolerable clearness that there is a tangible distinction between this proposal and that of a Zollverein, or the establishment of absolute free trade within the Empire, and a uniform tariff against foreign countries. But both you and some of your correspondents, quite unnecessarily, as it seems to me, fall foul of the Fair Traders. Is it not a little ungracious for the League journal to go out of its way to speak slightly of a movement whose advocates have certainly adopted a very friendly tone towards Imperial Federation, and towards that aspect of it that certainly has a strong attraction for many of the Colonists, namely, the adoption of the principle of a discriminating tariff?

I shall try to define in a few words what I understand by Imperial Reciprocity, and then show to what extent it seems to be consonant to the doctrines of the Fair Traders. The best exponents I have known of Imperial Reciprocity propose some such policy as this, that the various self governing countries of the Empire—those having control of their own fiscal policy—should unite in the policy of imposing upon imports from foreign countries—including breadstuffs, but not necessarily including raw materials for manufactures—a small duty which shall not be levied on the produce of the British Empire. Apart from this the several countries to remain perfectly free to collect other duties or not on British and foreign imports just as they see fit.

The advantage which the several countries will get from this is a preference in one another's markets over foreigners. But inasmuch as this would evidently be a much greater benefit to the Colonies than to the Mother Country, her market being greater than theirs even combined, the further proposal is made that the whole of the product of this duty, wherever collected, should be applied to meeting Imperial expenses, and to this

extent relieving the taxpayer of the Mother Country who now alone has to pay for the army, the navy, and the diplomatic and consular services. It is also proposed that in the administration of this fund, pending the formation of a more formal Federation, the contributing Colonies should have an advisory voice, but not such as to diminish the responsibility of the Imperial Government towards the Imperial Parliament. And I should deem it fair and just that exemption of the Colonies from the duty levied on foreign nations should be conditional upon their assuming this contribution to the Imperial exchequer, so that it will not be discrimination in favour of the Colonies as Colonies, but in their favour as parts of the Empire joining in the contribution for Imperial defence.

On the other hand the fair trade proposal, as I understand it, is that the Mother Country should impose similar duties on imports from foreign countries, including breadstuffs but not including raw materials, but that any foreign country which would repeal their protective duties as regards British products should be relieved from the operation of that special tax.

Now it seems to me that there is something of value in both suggestions, and that it is possible to combine the latter proposal with the former. There would be nothing conflicting with the principle of the Imperial revenue duty to provide that any foreign country which admitted the products of the whole British Empire into its markets on precisely the same terms as the products of their own subjects or citizens, and whose tariff did not otherwise seriously conflict with the British tariff, should be entitled to be relieved from the operation of the Imperial revenue duty.

I do not consider this as by any means an essential part of the original proposal, but I do say that it is quite a possible one, and one that the Colonies would be ready to consider if the subject were thrown open to fair discussion, without a foregone conclusion being determined upon by the statesmen of the Mother Country. Indeed there is a special merit possessed by the fair trade idea to which I shall allude in a moment. Meantime I think we should hail the Fair Traders as friends, since they unite with us in attacking the unreasoning and almost fanatical adherence of perhaps the majority of English public men of the older generation to the sacredness of free trade, regardless of political or national consequences. It would be fairer to give the right hand of fellowship to Fair Traders, while still leaving them to work out their scheme on their own lines, and not committing ourselves to their protective doctrines, than to antagonise a sincere and intelligent body of men whose aims are in many aspects identical with our own.

And now, sir, if I may add a few words on your own objections to the article that appeared in *Young Australia*. You conjure up the terrible possibility of retaliation on the part of foreign nations. You seek to alarm the people lest they should exercise an undoubted national right to frame their tariff in the interest of their Empire, by the supposition that the United States may clap on an export duty of 50 per cent. on cotton, on wheat, and on bacon exported to England. This line of argument reminds me forcibly of some of the passages in Demosthenes' Philippics. The spirit that raises such a fear is the spirit the great Greek patriot execrated in the minds of his indolent and cowardly fellow-countrymen, who dared not call their souls their own for fear of what Philip might think or do. Demosthenes told the Athenians wisely and well that in the presence of such a spirit if there were no Philip, a Philip would rise up to deprive them of the national prerogatives they were too mean and too unmanly to exercise. It argues an extreme degree of pusillanimity to urge such threat, but since it has been urged it is necessary that it should be fairly faced. And there are many sufficient answers to it.

First of all the policy of Imperial Reciprocity itself would be dictated by no sentiment of hostility towards foreigners. It would be based on the manifestly just principle that countries contributing to defend the Empire should be more favourably treated than those that did not. The enlightened public opinion of the world would therefore not sanction retaliation on the part of any foreign country for the adoption of such a policy. The foreigner would have no more right to feel aggrieved than they have with the United States for having absolute free trade between all the states of the Union and protective duties against the rest of the world, or than they have to resent free trade within the German Zollverein and the duties it levies on imports from other countries. Secondly, if the suggestion made above to harmonise the Fair Trade and the Imperial Reciprocity proposals were adopted, an offer would be made to every nation by which it could secure the benefits of treatment in British markets on the same terms as British subjects, provided they would give to the British the same treatment in their markets as they gave to their own subjects or citizens. This would surely absolutely disarm hostility, and would destroy any plausible grounds of justice or reason which the foreigner could urge even in his own country in support of the adoption of the retaliation policy you suggest. It would be only wilful malevolence that could take offence at our policy.

Coming, however, to the United States in particular, there are special reasons why there is little to fear in the direction

indicated. The Americans have already constructed their tariff purely with a view to their own self-interest: if it were not that it was decidedly opposed to their interests, they would have long ago imposed an export duty on things they deemed it necessary for England to have. But so injurious would it be to the United States' interests to impose an export duty that such a proposal would practically create a rebellion in the southern and western States. Such a retaliatory measure would be to all intents and purposes a war measure, and the interested parties would not sanction such a destruction of their interests to gratify a mere piece of national spite. The owners of the cotton plantations—the farmers of the western States—would raise such a hurricane of opposition to the imposition of such an export duty that it would sweep out of existence at the ensuing election the Government that proposed it. Nor is it the case that the Government of the United States has control of the tariff. It is under the control of Congress, and the representatives would certainly not agree at the mere mandate of the executive, and where we were doing no injustice to them, to a policy calculated to ruin their most profitable industries. They might bluster, but they would not act. For the United States could not instantaneously absorb all the cotton now sold to England in the mills in their eastern States. These could not step into the markets now held by England, were it even for lack of ships. And the other foreign markets, with the possible exception of France and Russia, are fully as well disposed to the British Empire as to the United States, and they would not co-operate with the latter in a policy of impotent revenge.

Lastly, the chief effect of the imposition of an export duty on cotton by the United States would be to stimulate to an enormous extent the development of cotton production in other quarters of the world, and that to the permanent injury of the United States. India, Egypt, the West Indies, and South America have all to a greater or less extent the power of producing cotton, and the imposition of a 50 per cent. duty by the United States would be the very thing to stimulate it to a degree that would be the marvel of the world. I remember a discussion that took place at the meeting of the British Association in Montreal, when Mr. Stephen Bourne read a paper on the interdependence of the several countries of the British Empire, in which he made the assertion that long staple cotton of the southern States was pretty nearly the only article that could not be produced in the British Empire. In the discussion that ensued, Mr. Chadwick, who was introduced as a large cotton manufacturer, while vigorously combating, as a free trader, Mr. Bourne's proposal for a discriminating, or rather a prohibitory and coercive, duty, said that the cotton manufacturers knew very well how they could dispense even with the cotton of the southern States, and he as a practical and intelligent man evidently knew what he was talking about.

As to wheat, if the people were put into the North-West of Canada, that country could easily in one year be in a position to produce more wheat than England could consume. There would be a perfect stampede among the farmers of the western States into the North-West of Canada and the United States would find it rather difficult to collect export duties on the men. And even to collect an exorbitant export duty on the grain would take an army of tax-collectors more than the United States could get together in two years. All of this would be simply playing into our hands and making our policy the more certain of absolute success. And besides Canada, what with India, Egypt, New Zealand, Australia, and even Russia, there would be nothing to fear on the score of a short supply in England's markets.

For bacon, the pork industry of England itself could rapidly be put in a position to supply the deficiency. The annual slaughter of pigs is about equal to their number at a given moment, and the agriculturists would only have to look a little lively to take hold of this industry with its splendid profits and to retain it permanently. In fine the people of the United States are keen-sighted enough, and would be the first to recognise that such a policy as you suggest would simply be to shut themselves out permanently from what are now their most profitable markets.

Of course, I have been speaking of extreme measures and I think it can be abundantly shown that we are not at the mercy of any power. I have only to add with regard to any slight temporary disarrangement there might be, that during the American war, notwithstanding that the cotton operatives of Lancashire were subjected to severe hardships, they were well able to, and did, bear the strain, though in that contest they had no immediate concern. Put them to the proof again, not wantonly, but if forced to it by foreign injustice, and I am satisfied we can depend upon the working men of England to show energy and determination enough to assert their right to govern themselves and their Empire as they see fit, and not to submit to the dictation of any foreign power.

Why then should such a bugbear be raised? Why should it be supposed that the British people are such cowards that they are to be deterred by fear from carrying out the policy they deem the proper one in the interests of their Empire? There

is no doubt, however, that such a policy will have to be undertaken by a resolute will. No weak-kneed statesman—afraid of a little popular clamour from a small interested coterie, or over-awed by the blind self-sufficiency of theoretical philosophers, who have not gone among the voters, and especially Colonial voters, and who dream of carrying on popular government without regarding the sentiments of the people—will ever dare to grapple with such a problem. But let a man of a strong character take the thing in hand, and he will speedily find that the spirit of the nation will not brook foreign dictation, but will support the man who is brave enough to trust to the resources of our own Empire in case any foreigner should attempt by an unjust and hostile policy to defeat our legitimate national aspirations.

Montreal, March 15th, 1890.

MANU FORTI.

LE CANADIEN.

WE mentioned last month, in writing of Mr. David's Anti-Federation motion in the Quebec Legislature, that his compatriot, the editor of one of the chief organs of French-Canadian opinion in the Province, had exposed its logical and constitutional defects. *Le Canadien* has devoted several articles over the signature of its editor to this matter, from one of which we reprint the following extracts, leaving the writer to speak in his own language, with a view of perhaps bringing home more forcibly to the minds of our readers that it is a veritable French-Canadian that speaks. Such language from a leading publicist among that group should have a quieting effect on the apprehensions of those to whom doubts of French-Canadian loyalty assume the proportions of a bugbear. M. Tarte says:—

"Je suis devenu partisan de la Fédération Impériale longtemps avant d'être membre de la Ligue, parce que je suis et ai toujours été absolument hostile à l'idée de l'annexion aux Etats-Unis. Après publication de quelques-uns de mes écrits sur le sujet, on m'a demandé si je consentirais à entrer dans l'association. J'ai répondu que j'en ferais partie avec grand plaisir. Je pensais alors et je pense plus que jamais aujourd'hui, que toute association d'hommes résolus à défendre nos institutions et le lien que nous unit à la Grande-Bretagne, s'impose au patriotisme de ceux qui voient clair dans la politique de destruction nationale dont messieurs Mercier, David, etc., sont les adeptes. Je les considère comme les agents actifs et les complices du groupe dont M. Wiman est l'esprit dirigeant, et qui a pour objet l'union politique du Canada avec la République Américaine.

"La Ligue est un instrument de résistance aux tentatives de désintégration et de trahison. Je suis de la Ligue, et je sais que l'instrument dont je me sers n'est employé que pour défendre la Couronne, à laquelle je souscris de tout mon cœur allégeance, parce qu'elle protège sûrement les libertés et les intérêts qui me sont chers—l'autonomie des institutions qui ont contribué au développement rapide de ce pays et qui le conduiront à des destinées plus glorieuses encore, si seulement ses habitants ne prêtent pas l'oreille aux démagogues et aux écervelés. . . . La Fédération Impériale ne demande pas et n'a jamais demandé de 'modifier' la constitution de cette province et du Canada. Elle est, au contraire, ardemment favorable aux institutions existantes. Si j'avais eu un siège dans la législature, j'eusse donc dû, en devoir et en honneur comme membre de la Ligue, insister pour que cette partie de l'amendement Desjardins fût rendue plus claire, de manière à ne pas laisser planer sur une association aussi importante que celle-là le soupçon de projets entièrement opposés à son esprit et au but de sa fondation. . . . Je vais mettre M. David, l'Electeur et M. Mercier dans mes confidences. Voici la proposition que j'aurais rédigée, et dont j'eusse donné avis le lendemain du jour où M. David transmet aux ordres du jour ses résolutions.

"Considérant que cette Chambre n'a en sa possession aucun document officiel ou autre qui la mette en état de se prononcer, en ce moment, sur le caractère ou les intentions de la Ligue de la Fédération Impériale en ce que a rapport à la province de Québec, et qu'il serait imprudent de porter, sans connaissance de cause, un jugement sur les intentions des hommes d'Etat éminents et des milliers de citoyens de la Grande-Bretagne, du Canada et des diverses possessions britanniques, qui font partie de cette associations ;

"Considérant aussi que les questions de commerce, de relations commerciales et d'industrie, sont du ressort exclusif du parlement du Canada, et qu'il est dans l'intérêt du bon fonctionnement de nos institutions et de l'autonomie bien entendue des provinces qu'elles ne se rendent pas coupables d'empiétement dans le domaine du pouvoir central ;

"Il est résolu que cette chambre affirme solennellement son opinion que la prospérité et le bonheur du peuple de cette province résident dans son attachement à la constitution dont il jouit, sous l'égide bienfaisante de la mère patrie, dans son respect inviolable des droits de toutes les races qui habitent notre territoire, dans l'application équitable des lois et des règles constitutionnelles, dans la mise en vigueur d'une politique d'économie et de retranchement, dans la développement et l'amélioration de notre système d'instruction publique, et enfin dans une loyauté sincère à notre Dame Souveraine la Reine."

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE returns for March show that the check to importation noticed last month has continued, but it must not be overlooked that the increase in March, 1889, as compared with March, 1888, was large. The exports, however, contrary to those of February, exhibit an unfavourable record as regards volume and value, with a moderate increase of average price of British goods.

MARCH, 1890, COMPARED WITH MARCH, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
2,103,000 ... to ... 2,294,000 = 9.1 per cent.
2. Value of imports has decreased from—
£36,265,000 ... to ... £36,140,000 = 0.3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£17 4s. ... to ... £15 14s. = 8.7 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has decreased from—
2,583,000 ... to ... 2,537,000 = 1.8 per cent.
2. Value of exports has decreased from—
£27,463,000 ... to ... £26,394,000 = 4.0 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£10 12s. ... to ... £10 8s. = 1.9 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,203,000 ... to ... 2,276,000 tons = 3.3 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. 3d. ... to ... 12s. 10d. = 25.2 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has decreased 2.9 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has decreased from—
1,114,000 ... to ... 1,020,000 = 8.4 per cent.
2. Value of exports has decreased from—
£26,334,000 ... to ... £24,928,000 = 5.3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£23 12s. ... to ... £24 8s. = 3.4 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH.

1. Although the tonnage employed in the import trade has increased 9.1 per cent., the total value of the imports has decreased 0.3 per cent., and the average price has decreased 8.7 per cent. This is attributable to a change in the character of the articles imported. There has been a large increase in bulky goods, such as live animals, wheat flour, Indian corn, fresh meat, eggs, cured fish, lard, spirits and wine, and a decrease in less bulky and more valuable articles, such as tobacco, chemicals, and above all raw materials for textiles, in which latter the falling off has been 14.5 per cent.

2. It must, however, be noted that in numerous cases the decrease in value is not owing to a falling off in the volume, but to a reduction in the price. Tobacco represents a remarkable example of this. The quantity has increased from 3 to 4½ millions lbs., or 50.3 per cent., while the value has decreased 1.1 per cent., and the price 42 per cent. This must be owing to some exceptional transactions, as the consumption has increased 2.6 per cent., and the return of re-exports, though showing a reduction in price, does not show so great a fall.

3. The main features in the export trade have been a large decrease, amounting to 15.9 per cent., in the class of yarns and textile fabrics, and a still larger decrease in the export of metals and machinery. The large increase of the latter in January and February, which had been continuous for many months, has been converted into a decrease:—

			Metals.	Machinery and Mill Work.
January	...	Increase per cent.	17.0	21.5
February	...	"	33.9	20.2
March	...	Decrease "	0.1	3.0

The increase of 23.9 per cent. in raw materials is confined to coal. In sheep's wool, the only other specified article in this class, there has been a decrease of 30 per cent.

4. The continuous increase in the proportion of tonnage outwards, which is employed in the shipment of coal, calls for notice. In the year 1887 it amounted to 54.7 per cent. of the total tonnage cleared with cargoes from the United Kingdom; in March, 1889, it amounted to 56.8; and in March, 1890, to 59.8 per cent. The total tonnage cleared in March, 1890, shows a decrease of 1.8 per cent., and the tonnage cleared with merchandise, exclusive of coal, a decrease of 8.4 per cent., but clearances with coal show an increase of 3.3 per cent.

5. In connection with the decrease of tonnage outwards, the shipments of bunker coal for the use of steamers in the foreign trade show a decrease for the first time since the generally unfavourable month of June, 1889.

6. The exportation of iron and steel has fallen off 6 per cent. in quantity, but the average price has risen 10.7 per cent.; that of pig iron has decreased 20 per cent., but the price has risen 37.4 per cent.; that of railroad iron has fallen off 4.3 per cent., but the price has risen 27.5 per cent.; that of tin plates has fallen off 32.2 per cent., and risen in price 15.9 per cent. The value of machinery has fallen off 12 per cent.; on the average of the last two months it had risen 20.8 per cent.

7. The parcel post shows a decrease of 8 per cent. outwards, and a trifling increase inwards.

8. The decrease in the value of British and Irish exports was 6.5 per cent. There was an increase in that of Foreign and Colonial exports of 5.4 per cent. The average of the whole showed a decrease of 4.0 per cent.

A CHARTER OF NATIONAL UNITY.

ONE of the results of Mr. Parkin's Yorkshire campaign has been to elicit a proposed Charter of National Unity from Professor Ransome, Professor of Modern Literature and History in the Yorkshire College, Leeds, favourably known to persons interested in Imperial subjects by his excellent little work on "Our Colonies and India: How we Got them, and why we Keep them." The Charter is contained in the following letter addressed to the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Yorkshire Post*:—

GENTLEMEN,—Though I am quite in agreement with those who hold that it is the business of statesmen to find a plan, and of public opinion to set them to work, I believe that the cause of national unity would gain if its advocates would adopt some brief schedule of aims, to the attainment of each of which they should bend their energies. For this purpose I suggest that they should take a leaf out of the book of the old Chartists, and formulate the following points:—

1. That there should be, for Imperial purposes, one army and one navy, with one uniform and one flag (maintained by contributions agreed upon from time to time, due regard being paid to the needs and resources of the various sections of the Empire), backed by a system of local militia and coast defence, under the direction of local authorities.

2. That with a view to giving every British subject an equal chance of serving the Empire, examinations for entry to the Imperial Civil Service, the army, and the navy should be held in every quarter of the Empire.

3. That in the Imperial Court of Appeal judges conversant with Colonial practice should always sit in Colonial cases.

4. That a penny postage should be established throughout the Empire, and that everything should be done to make inter-Imperial postage and telegraphic communication as cheap and complete as possible.

5. That every effort should be used to create the closest and most favourable trade relations within the British Empire.

6. That all the self-governing sections of the Empire should have a constitutional voice in matters of Imperial concern.

Some of these things are easy of attainment; some are difficult; not one is impossible. I would say, in the words of O'Connell, "Gentlemen, there is your Charter: agitate for it, and never be content with anything less."—I am, faithfully yours,

CYRIL RANSOME.

Leeds, March 28th, 1890.

P.S.—As Mr. Parkin has taken such a leading part in bringing this matter home to us, I have forwarded him a copy of this suggestion for what it is worth.

Commenting upon the letter of its correspondent, the *Leeds Mercury* says:—

A material service to the cause which has called forth in Leeds the impressive demonstration of united opinion which we reported yesterday, is rendered by the draft of a "Charter of National Unity," put forward in a letter we publish this morning from Professor Ransome. That draft brings together, in a clear, effective, and easily remembered form, several, at least, of the principal objects which Imperial Federation, whenever established, may be expected to secure, and after which every Imperial Federationist cannot fail to strive. Much more may conceivably be attainable as the ultimate fruits of the movement which has now, we believe, taken firm hold of the sympathies of great numbers of thoughtful and patriotic men and women in Yorkshire. Even if only some of the points included in Professor Ransome's Charter were to be won within a moderate length of time, it would be a hundred times worth while to have taken part in advancing national unity so much as it would then have been advanced. But those who work for that movement ought certainly not to be satisfied in obtaining less than what is claimed in the very interesting brief schedule of aims which is now before our readers. Each of the objects there mentioned would bring much good in itself, and the winning of any one—and how much more of all of them!—would constitute in a very real and practical form the fulfilment of the national unity ideal. Moreover, this "Charter" cannot fail to impress, as a singularly attractive combination of aspirations, many of those who are not yet enlisted in the cause of Imperial Federation. From every point of view, Professor Ransome's suggestion, therefore, is a very satisfactory and useful fruit of the campaign which Mr. Parkin has been waging during the past two months with such remarkable earnestness, ability, and resource.

The *Yorkshire Post's* comments are as follows:—

Mr. Parkin, in his speech on Imperial Federation at Huddersfield on Tuesday night, discussed in a friendly spirit some of the suggestions which Professor Ransome threw out in his letter in the *Yorkshire Post* after the Leeds meeting. These suggestions of Professor Ransome's do much to bring the question of Imperial Federation within the range of political debate, all the rest of the talk, eloquent and inspiring as it is, being only like firing in the air. . . . This letter of Professor Ransome's,

according to Mr. Parkin, must not be treated as an answer to the demand for a plan of Imperial Federation, but Mr. Parkin accepts it as far as it goes, as grouping together a number of the great national objects which every man may work for in that connection. And with certain reservations we quite agree with Mr. Parkin. Professor Ransome has done a great deal in his book on our Colonies to prepare the public mind for the consideration of the question of Imperial Federation, and his suggestions, coming as they do at the close of Mr. Parkin's series of stirring and suggestive addresses in Yorkshire, will do much more to put the question in a form in which practical men can discuss it.

The first of these suggestions of Professor Ransome is rather a suggestion for the Colonies than for ourselves. Are they prepared to contribute to the cost of Imperial defence, and if they are, under what conditions? . . . We are all practically agreed as to the desirability of an inter-imperial penny postage; and we hope Mr. Raikes and Mr. Goschen will see whether it is not practicable to bring about this much-needed reform at once. It will do more to bring the Mother Country and the Colonies together than anything else in the world, and to prepare both for still closer union. But the fifth and sixth suggestions raise very deep and far-reaching constitutional questions. We are all practically at one, we believe, upon the fifth point, if our Colonies will meet us half-way; but this is more a Colonial than an English question, and we shall be glad to hear what the Colonies are prepared to do, and when we know that, and know more than we do at present what the Colonies are prepared to do towards the defence of the Empire, we can easily discuss the question of giving the self-governing sections of the Empire a constitutional voice in matters of Imperial concern. That of course is where the chief difficulty will arise with ourselves; but pending the production of a plan by the Imperial Federation League, these suggestions of Professor Ransome's, endorsed as they are provisionally by Mr. Parkin, constitute a fair basis for discussion; and we are glad to see the ideas of Mr. Parkin thus put into a shape in which they can be discussed.

AUSTRALIAN NATIVES AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

LAST month we gave some account of the meeting of the Melbourne Branch of the Australian Natives' Association, at which it was a subject of discussion whether the Association was or was not a political body; and we pointed out in a note that the Association as a whole did not seem to have much doubt on the point, since it had just been holding a Special Session to discuss the undoubtedly political question of Australian Federation. From the report of another meeting of the Branch in the important centre of Ballarat, that Branch, at any rate, seems to have gone a step further in the direction of defining the actual political attitude of its members towards Imperial as well as Colonial Federation. In our columns devoted to the Progress of the League last month, we gave a few brief extracts from the paper on Imperial Federation, read before the Ballarat Branch of the Australian Native's Association, by Mr. Henry D'Esterre Taylor, a full report of which now reaches us in the pages of our contemporary, *Young Australia*. There is no report of the discussion in the paper owing, doubtless, to the absence of reporters from the meeting of what is only a private Association. But in view of the Separatist tendencies displayed by some of the Victorian natives under the leadership of Mr. Purves, Q.C., the statement that "in the discussion which followed no word in favour of Separation was heard," is full of significance.

The following extracts from Mr. Taylor's admirable paper are all that our space allows us to give. We regret very much not being able to reproduce it *in extenso*. The report from which we take them is prefaced by the remark that the Branch before which the paper was read is the most powerful and numerous in Victoria; and adds:—"When we say that it was well received, and that in the discussion which followed, no word in favour of Separation was said, although most of the speakers professed to consider Federation impracticable, we think we are justified in congratulating Mr. Taylor on doing good work, and ourselves on the healthy change that is gradually coming over the Association."

"Federalists are constantly charged with dealing in too much sentiment. Let us take practical things. It is claimed that Australian Federation will reduce the cost of government. That depends on which plan—the American or Canadian—you adopt. The latter, in subordinating its Provincial Parliaments, reduced the number and dignity of its provincial officials, and, according to Sir Charles Tupper, reduced the general expenses of government, and increased its proportionate resources. The former, in maintaining the sovereign rights of individual States, gave officialdom and the political class claims which they have not forgotten to press. They do not pay their President much to boast about, and they do boast of it; but they do pay themselves heavily, but don't boast about it.

"The annual cost of governing the United States is £716,000 sterling, according to the American almanac, out of which, in salaries and allowances (including £25 per annum each for postages and newspapers), its politicians pay themselves £660,000 sterling. The President is elected every fourth year. American papers estimated that the last election cost the country over £5,000,000 sterling, or £1,250,000 for each year he held office. Add this to the cost of the Republican system, and it becomes the dearest system in the world, after that of Russia. Our economic gain from Federation will depend on whether we adopt the cheap Canadian or the extravagant American plan. The Republic of France costs £506,000 sterling a year, out of which its politicians pay themselves £414,000. The cost of a Republican system of government does not appear to vary much from that of any other form. It is only that the money is differently distributed. Everybody learns what the head secures; but its great absorbent power lies in its tail, which very few attempt to examine. The annual cost of governing Great Britain is set down at £576,000. The Civil List (which absorbs £375,000, about two-thirds of the whole) is voted for fixed purposes by Parliament every year, and only nominally in the Queen's name. This expenditure was made subject to Parliamentary control by an arrangement made at the Queen's accession, Her Majesty at the same time surrendering to the nation those revenues from which it was formerly paid. These have increased so largely that in 1885, after setting £74,000 aside for various purposes, there was £380,000 profit to pay into the national exchequer. That is to say—these profits paid the whole Civil List, which therefore cost the country nothing by taxation, and reduced the annual cost of its government to £196,000. 'The comparison is most favourable to Great Britain,' writes a leading English paper, 'and the loyalty which now prevails throughout Her Majesty's wide and vast dominions, need not be diminished by any reflections on the cost of our system of government.' *Under an Imperial Federation we will remain a part of the cheapest governed first-class Power in the world.*"

"The teachings of history show us that the twin sisters, commerce and prosperity, travel hand in hand, and the particular lesson they carry to us is the absolute necessity of keeping perfectly open our great commercial highways. Australia is the terminus of three great commercial routes, a fact which guarantees our future greatness and prosperity far more than any internal sources we possess. If Russia got possession of Constantinople and dominated the Levant she could close the Suez Canal against us. The Eastern question in Europe is really a great trading question. Is Russia to dominate and control the great commercial route through the Mediterranean, or is it to be free as at present? Looked at in this aspect, it is an Australian question, and if Britain withdrew from it altogether, Australia would require to be there to protect her own dearest interests."

"The taxation to provide such a naval power for Australia as would render her independent, not of Britain but of foreigners, would be both ruinous and unbearable. There is not an Australian statesman who would venture to propose it. There is not an Australian voter who would cast a vote for it. When the Separatist brags that Australia can defend herself against the world, if Britain replied: 'Then you don't require ships which cost half a million each from me,' and when he declines to pay a small share of his own defence, she further replied: 'Then I won't tax starving dock labourers any more to defend a rich people who won't defend themselves,' a great many rash and foolish tongues would be stilled on this point probably for ever. For the Imperial Federationist, these difficulties absolutely do not exist. Imperial Federation sweeps them all away. Our connection with Britain secures a navy for us. She protects our wealth in all parts of the world, and has done it for a century without money and without price. Who else would do it for us? Would the States? Try them. And yet there are a few who would just throw it all away."

"We are often told that Australia could defend itself against any enemy that could land here. But it is not very likely that an enemy would fight forts and batteries for wealth it could take on the sea without fighting for it. It is not necessary to argue it. Though it would involve some large admissions, we might concede all such claims without much affecting the question of defence. It is a navy which will settle this. I would, however, remind you that we have immense territories far away from any forces which we possess, which we cannot, and could not, defend for very many years. We would be as helpless against aggression as South Africa, if independent, would be against a second-rate Power like Portugal. Portugal has given a very straightforward reply to the very confident assertions of the Separatists; that if we were independent no European Power would molest us. Two forcible old sayings rush into the mind: 'Assertion is not argument,' and 'There is no confidence like the confidence of ignorance.'"

"If she became a foreign nation, she must accept a foreign nation's place. Her securities are at present quoted from 3 to

15 per cent. higher than those of the best foreign nations. Assuming that an independent Australasia would occupy a position equal to these (and it is assuming a good deal), her national credit would be depreciated by about £10,000,000 on the amount of her present debt. This marks the difference in the value of British and independent security, and teaches the plain lesson that any means by which we can increase the security we have to offer have an enormous cash value, and that any means by which we tamper with it must be most deeply injurious. These lessons have a direct influence on the claims now being pressed, to allow the British trust funds (stated to exceed £70,000,000 sterling) to be invested in our securities. The only Colonial securities in which these funds can be invested at present are those guaranteed by the British Government. Our loans are not guaranteed, so you see the difference is purely one of security. We have to convince the British courts and the British owner of trust funds that our securities, over which he can have no control, are as good as those over which he has, together with a guarantee, through his own Government. And how do we go about it? It is a matter of history. About April, 1888, an agitation in favour of Separation was fostered, for which this association was held largely responsible, and declarations which appeared to be clothed with some authority were made, fixing the time to separate at 'the next generation,' or 'fifty years,' the latter being the very term for which some of the Colonies were then issuing, and have since issued, loans. Then Queensland made a claim to elect her own governors, described by the Secretary of State as 'involving a change in the Constitutions granted to the Colonies,' a diplomatic form of describing Separation. Of course, London investors and London papers were fully impressed by the change which Separation would make in the value of Australasian securities. Indeed, it would be difficult for them not to understand that they were meant to be, and that they were getting a friendly hint that if our securities were not quite up to the tip-top standard now, they were not likely to get better in 'the next generation,' or 'in fifty years.' Now it is a fact that British courts granted this permission to invest the trust funds in Colonial securities in August, 1888, but withdrew it again in the following November. . . . It is safe to say that if these funds had been available, the South Australian loan of January, 1889, would not have failed; that the New South Wales loan of July, 1889, would not have brought a less price than that of July, 1888; nor would the prospects of the Victorian loan now awaiting issue be so undetermined."

"As Britain borrows at a less rate of interest than we do, the issue of Australasian loans as part of an Imperial British stock would enable us to borrow at a lower rate than we can do either as separate Colonies or a federated Australasia. Every half per cent. per annum in the rate of interest we pay for our borrowings, public and private, would save over £1,350,000 a year from being drained out of the Colonies in interest alone on their present debts, which you must remember are annually increasing. This is a real, hard, rattle-your-money-in-your-breeches-pocket argument for those critics whose souls cannot rise above practical things; who want to know, you know, the practical advantages of Imperial Federation. In economy, commerce, defence, and finance, there are enormous practical advantages to be derived from both Australasian and Imperial Federations."

"We are informed that Australia holds an 'isolated' position; that it, combined with the neutrality Separation will secure for her, makes 'the necessity for Colonial defence, a costly sentiment which will cease altogether with the severance of the political connection.' It is said that an independent Colonial flag will protect our commerce; that we would gain enormously by being able to make our own commercial treaties; and that even at the worst Britain, having to defend her own trade, would necessarily have to defend us too. So far as isolation is concerned, it is an exploded idea. Where ships carrying goods can go in fleets, ships carrying guns can go too. We have often heard of the isolation of the United States. . . . Her commerce has destroyed her isolation, as our commerce has destroyed ours, and, like her, we must be, in some way, able to defend it."

"I have always considered the argument that independence will secure us from being involved in Britain's wars with other nations as the strongest the Separatist has yet put forward; so much so that I am prepared to accept it as final, and to be converted to his views—on one condition, viz., that he shall show that as an independent State we will be free from wars with these other nations on our own account. That, I think, is a perfectly fair condition, and, to my mind, the reply to it settles this question. I point out to you that France, Germany, Holland, the United States, Russia, and China have settled themselves all around us, and that the most powerful among them have shown plainly that they mean to stay there."

"If Holland and her navy augment the strength of Germany, it would require the whole force of Great Britain to 'dominate' Australian seas. If Australia stands alone, she

separates herself from that dream for ever. We are surrounded by powerful foreign nations. Each is a possible, if not probable, enemy of the future. Separation cannot give a single guarantee against wars with some or any of them in the future, but would rather expose us to their aggression. Look at Portugal's action in Africa. Imperial Unity will secure us against either, in the future as in the past. If we ever have to fight for life and honour, it is better that we should do it as a part of a great British Federation, and under the protection of its mighty wings. Remember, neutrality for Australia in Britain's quarrels reads, also, neutrality for Britain in Australia's difficulties. An independent Colonial flag is simply another expression for the neutrality we have been discussing. Its price is too dear a one to pay for any advantages it offers. It is meant to protect British-Australian trade when Britain may be at war. As any other independent flag would do it just as effectively, there is no guarantee that Britain would use it, except when the Separatist assumes, as he often does, that Britain would display a loyalty to her separated Colonies that he is continually urging those Colonies to refuse to show her."

"If the argument that Britain would have to defend us in order to defend her own trade, is a good one, it would apply equally to other countries with which she does as large a trade as she does with us; say the United States, and that is absurd. It's the small boy's cry of 'I'll get my big brother to punch your head,' and is another acknowledgment of weakness that is in itself a strong argument for Unity. But it's a miserable ideal to found a nation upon."

"The British constitution is so free that Thiers, the great Frenchman, declared that 'he found greater liberty existing in London than in Washington,' and he would have found more in Australia than in either. To adopt the Republican ideas of countries other than our own would involve sacrificing some of the liberties we now enjoy, and I don't believe a man in the room would do it. It is a remarkable fact that the Civil wars of modern times are to be traced principally in Republics. I believe the Republican who desires to see Britain herself a Republic would rather see a strong Republic comprising all the British dominions than a number of petty ones scattered over the globe. Now, I claim every such consistent Republican as a National Federationist, as it would be to the advantage of his cause to throw his whole weight into the cause of British Unity, leaving the question of government (Monarchy or Republic) to be decided afterwards."

"National Federation is received with enthusiasm wherever a few Britons are gathered together, and in the short space of five years has developed into the greatest British movement of the present half-century. When we reflect on the wonderful advantages of such a National Federation, the enormous development of resources, the promise of a world of peace, which the advancing civilisation of centuries, assisted by 1900 years of Christianity (I speak in no irreverent spirit), has failed to secure, then we realise that we should stand shoulder to shoulder with our Canadian brethren, taking time from their time, keeping step with their step, in the great march towards the consummation of a magnificent and practical ideal."

HELP FROM THE MIDLANDS.

It is satisfactory to find that some at least of the English newspapers are not misled into confounding Senator Boulton's scheme of representation with Imperial Federation rightly understood. The *Birmingham Daily Gazette* after some prefatory remarks upon the resolution in the Dominion Senate, showing a correct appreciation of its merits, proceeds:—"We may, of course, dismiss such a plan of Imperial Federation as that submitted to the Canadian Senate without further comment upon its own merits. But the great question which it raises is pretty certain to engage the attention of British legislators for many years to come. No plan has commended itself generally to the Imperial Government and to the Colonies; but come when it may, the initiative must be with the Colonies themselves. Federation must be reciprocal. The safety we should guarantee to the Colonies must be, to some extent at any rate, paid for by the assurance that Colonial aid will be tendered to us at any great crisis in our history. And this is no trivial responsibility. Girt by the seas, we think very little of the enterprise of foreign Powers as far as our own shores are concerned, but we watch the course of events in Eastern Europe because they may affect the freedom of our intercourse with India; we have to be on the alert in Africa to safeguard our Colonists there from the enterprise of Serpa Pintos; Australia has had occasion to invoke our attention to the occupation of the New Hebrides by France; and the French nationality is still strong enough in Canada to make it possible that if the tie with Great Britain were broken the Canadians might not be permitted to establish an independent dominion without molestation. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that our foreign and our Colonial policies, if not identical, are at least inextricably interwoven."

"Before the precise form of Federation is decided upon it, will be necessary for the Colonies to discuss whether or not they are prepared for it. It is true enough that if any one of our Colonies were threatened just now, we should concentrate the whole force at our command to preserve it. And therefore we are not surprised to find some Colonial speakers saying they have already all that they require in the way of Mother-Country ties. That is a selfish and short-sighted view to take. Let us suppose that Canada were assailed. The Imperial Navy and the Imperial Army would be drawn upon to the utmost of their power in order to save it. But India, Australasia, and the African Colonies would do nothing. "It is no concern of ours," they might say, and the Constitution as it at present exists would justify them in their isolation. Yet is it no concern of theirs? Supposing that, in the struggle to save Canada, British power were crippled, what then? The Russians might swoop down upon India, the Germans might show their teeth to our African colonists, and even Portugal might revenge itself for a recent snubbing, while France would be free to work its pleasure in the Antipodes. The British Empire, after all, is like a body and its members—one part cannot suffer without inconvenience to the rest. And it must not be forgotten that in order to be effective Federation for purposes of defence must embrace also a hearty Commercial Union. One of the most peculiar features of the debate in the Canadian Senate to which we have referred was that some of those who supported the motion are known advocates of Commercial Union with America. No one who is sincerely anxious to prevent the Dominion being swallowed up by the States can advocate that course, for political union would inevitably follow upon the establishment of Free Trade between the States and the Dominion. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in Ulster just before he went out as Fisheries Commissioner, told the Canadians pretty plainly that they need not expect Great Britain to stand by them in danger and difficulty if they decided upon a course which would be seriously prejudicial to British trading interests. The ideal of Imperial Federation is that the whole vast Empire which owns the Queen's Sovereignty should be united for mutual help in commerce, as well as for defence in danger. As a celebrated Canadian writer has said, 'It should not be England and her Colonies, but they should be integral parts of one great whole—all counties of Great Britain. There should be no taxes on Colonial produce, and the Colonies should not be allowed to tax manufacturers' goods; all should pass free, as from one town in England to another—the whole of it one vast home market, from Hong Kong to Labrador.' When that ideal is realised, Greater Britain will cease to have any rivals in the world, for the greatest of Foreign Powers will be puny compared with it."

AGAINST BRITISH CONNECTION.

(Toronto Empire.)

No opportunity is missed by the anti-Canadian journals for having a fling at the Mother Country, in pursuance of the scheme of tearing asunder the British Empire and surrendering one of its fairest portions, Canada, to a foreign Power. The trouble as to the Newfoundland fisheries is now being utilised in this manner. The *Mail* declares that the Imperial authorities "always sacrifice Colonial interests," that "we in Canada have suffered perhaps more than any other Colony," and prophecies that we will suffer again as regards both the Behring Sea and our Atlantic fisheries. We are told that "we Colonists can scarcely expect Britain to be a very strenuous or determined advocate of our rights," and it is urged at length that we are allowed no control or voice in such matters. These are all impudent false assumptions. When, since Canada has been a Dominion, have its interests been sacrificed, or has it suffered through its connection with the Empire? When has Britain neglected the strenuous and determined advocacy of our rights? When have we been deprived of control or a voice in our own affairs? We have been consulted as to our wishes, represented in negotiations, and loyally supported in the maintenance of our rights. Unpatriotic journals and politicians like the *Mail* and its allies have raised a clamour as to asserted Imperial neglect of our interests, or pressure upon our authorities; but when the time has come for the publication of documents, these fabrications have been refuted, and the cordial co-operation of the Imperial authorities has been made manifest. We have not the slightest doubt but that the present Grit insinuations that the Mother Country has been wanting in the advocacy of our interests in any negotiations now proceeding will be as triumphantly refuted in due time.

Mr. Albert Rutson.—Members of the League will have heard with regret of the death of Mr. Albert O. Rutson, one of the founders of the League and a member of the Executive Committee, from the commencement. He was Private Secretary to Lord Aberdeen, then Mr. Bruce, during his tenure of the seals of the Home Office, and has always been actively engaged in politics and in County work in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

AN IMPERIAL REVENUE.

(Leeds Mercury.)

NOTHING could more surely embarrass the cause of Imperial Federation, or retard the realisation of its grand ideal, than to insist upon its relation to any special fiscal system. Yet, as will have been seen by those who have read the reports of the various meetings which have been lately addressed by Mr. Parkin, there is great proneness to thrust the fiscal part of the question into the discussion. . . . But, fortunately, and as a matter of indisputable fact, the introduction of this question in any such shape is not only unnecessary, but is wholly foreign to the actual conditions of our Empire. These conditions differ absolutely from those of any of the various existing Federations, to which, with our English love of a precedent, we turn for suggestion, if not for guidance, in dealing with our own problem. The two great Federations to which we naturally thus turn are the United States and the German Empire. Each of these has its common fiscal system, deriving its Federal or Imperial revenue from a system of Customs duties, Excise, and Postal and Telegraph profits common to all the States comprised within it. We, too, should need an Imperial revenue to meet our Imperial expenditure, on whatever principle or method of apportionment this Imperial expenditure should be devised. This expenditure would, of course, have to be fixed and voted by the Imperial or Federal Legislative authority, whatever shape that, again, might take; and the apportionment amongst the States, Colonies, or other members constituting the Federation would have to be also paid and voted by that authority. But with the methods or systems upon which the apportioned quotas should be raised that authority need not at all concern itself. It is here that the difference between our conditions and those of the German Empire and the United States comes in, and of necessity asserts itself. Germany has its one continuous frontier; so have the United States; and a common fiscal system is therefore not only possible, but convenient, and even necessary. Germany could not have one Customs tariff for its Northern boundary States, another for its Western, or Southern, or Eastern; nor could the United States, without introducing endless conflict and confusion. But our conditions are the very reverse of these. Instead of four frontiers, we have forty times four, and even more. A common tariff system would be pleasant enough, and wise enough, if we could at once agree upon what would be the best system, and equally acceptable to all. We know, however, that this is impossible, and, happily, it is wholly unnecessary. We might conceivably agree upon a common system of excise duties and of post and telegraph charges; but even agreement upon these is improbable; and it, too, is needless. What remains for us is that, having agreed upon the proportionate contributions to be made towards the common Imperial expenditure—that expenditure, moreover, being, so far as convenient, locally effected—each Colony, or other member of the Federated Empire, should raise the amount of its individual contribution exactly according to its own wisdom and convenience.

ON VISITING THE COLONIAL COLLEGE AT HOLLESLEY BAY.

THE English air is shrill with notes of spring,
The English earth is quick with many a blade,
And, lo! within yon curving flats embayed,
Shimmers the English sea. O birds that sing,
O emerald buds that blustering March doth bring,
O waves with chequer-work of gold inlaid,
Never, methinks, may your remembrance fade
For these, afar in lone lands sojourning!

Brothers! your country greets you with a cheer,
Lords of the plough and plain, whose rich increase
One day unnumbered barns and byres shall fill,
While to each young undaunted pioneer
She gives this word to bear across the seas,
That, wheresoe'er he goes, 'tis England still!

March 14, 1890.

H. F. WILSON.

Addled Brains.—In his paper recently read before the Royal Colonial Institute on "Australia Re-visited," that veteran Colonist Sir Arthur Hodgson said:—"Our Australian Colonies must be first welded into one as a preliminary to Imperial Federation. Imperial Federation is no hothouse plant, and does not require forcing. . . . Our Colonies have nothing to gain, but everything to lose, by secession—an absurd idea limited to the addled brains of a few young and inexperienced Australian politicians."—*Colonies and India*.

Opinion in Yorkshire.—The long and interesting annals of public meetings in Yorkshire, a county in which that agency for the treatment of important subjects, whether local or national, has throughout the present century played a conspicuous part, present very few parallels to the meeting held in the Albert Hall, Leeds, yesterday evening, on the subject of Imperial Federation. . . . The West Riding by numerous meetings, crowned by that of last night, has pronounced emphatically in favour of putting this great subject in the front rank of national questions. We do not believe that Yorkshiremen will be content with the declarations they have already put forward. They will watch the attitude of statesmen with keen attention.—*Leeds Mercury*.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

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Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

MAY 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. PARKIN'S campaign in Yorkshire has been the means of eliciting from the Prime Minister an expression of opinion in regard to Imperial Federation more favourable than that which he has recently been believed to hold. In acknowledging the receipt of the resolution on the subject of Imperial Federation recently passed at the public meeting presided over by the Mayor of Leeds, LORD SALISBURY says: "I am deeply sensible of the importance of a movement which has for its object to draw closer the ties which bind England and her Colonies together, and secure a fuller co-operation between them for the defence and advancement of common interests. These are objects which her Majesty's Government, and I believe all statesmen of all parties, have earnestly at heart, and no effort will be wanting on our part to further the attainment of these important ends by the adoption of any measures it is in our power to take, and which are likely to be efficacious for the purpose." We always had our doubts whether LORD SALISBURY, in his famous "Ten Letters" speech, was really thinking about Federation of the Empire, and not of some other federal schemes then being mooted. At any rate, it is entirely satisfactory to find him now holding the same language he formerly held in a Queen's Speech, and on other public occasions.

READERS in Canada will have been puzzled, and, we fear, somewhat unpleasantly exercised in mind, by an expression which—through one of those strokes of misdirected genius developed in the heat of the compositors' room—we were made to use in our article last month referring to the resolution of the Quebec Assembly. MR. DAVID was described as "MR. MERCIER'S Frenchman." To have pointed to his nationality at all was in the context obviously a superfluity. To have done so in such terms would have been more, it would have sounded like an ill-bred sneer. The "intelligent reader" of the article, if he took the trouble to think at all about the phrase, would perhaps have divined that "Frenchman" should have been read "henchman."

We did not want to be rude, and call MR. DAVID his leader's "jackal"; but from the position he is understood to occupy in the party, and the kind of political odd jobs he is credited with alacrity in performing for it, we ventured to sum him up by the use of the quite inoffensive term "henchman." *Apropos*, we desire to call attention to some extracts published in another column, from a further signed article in *Le Canadien* on the subject of MR. DAVID'S resolutions from the pen of its able editor, MR. ISRAEL TARTE, and an article in our leading columns on the same subject from a Canadian contributor.

IN pursuance of the resolutions of the Executive Committee mentioned in our last issue, the Postal Committee of the League adopted the three following resolutions:—

1. That the introduction of a cheap uniform rate of postage, and a uniform postage stamp for use between all parts of the Empire, would not only be of great material advantage, but would also mark the fact of Imperial unity, and help to ensure its permanence.

2. That it is desirable that such portion as may be necessary of any future increase of net postal revenue in the United Kingdom should be applied to this object.

3. That it is desirable that an inquiry, by Royal Commission or otherwise, into the whole question of Imperial inter-communication should be instituted forthwith.

Acting under the instruction conveyed to it by the second of the aforesaid resolutions of the Executive, the Postal Committee has placed itself in communication with the various Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom, and has transmitted to them copies of the three resolutions above set out, with a request that, if approved by their Councils, resolutions to like effect should be forwarded to the Prime Minister. The subsequent announcement made by MR. GOSCHEN in his Budget speech is treated of in a separate article.

PROFESSOR RANSOME'S "Charter of National Unity," which will be found elsewhere, accompanied by the comments made upon it by perhaps the two leading papers in Yorkshire, will, we think, prove of service in the same way as the Circular of Inquiries issued from Ottawa. The Professor has grouped the points about Federation anew, and his "schedule of aims," thrown into the form of a charter, will give people a fresh *point d'appui*. The Executive Committee have authorised the publication of the "Charter" in the form of a leaflet among the literature circulated by the League, care being taken to guard against the supposition that its contents are in any way "officially" adopted otherwise than as a useful epitome of some of the principal objects aimed at in Imperial Federation. If it will not be thought ungenerous to "look a gift-horse in the mouth" when presented to us by an old ally, but new member of our body, who has done such good service as PROFESSOR RANSOME, we should hazard the criticism that as a "Charter" its propositions are not quite well co-ordinated; subsidiary matters, and even such a "separable accident" (to speak pedantically) as the identity of soldiers' uniforms throughout the Empire, being placed on a level with such a fundamental and distinctive feature as granting to the self-governing sections of the Empire a constitutional voice in Imperial affairs.

THERE are two passages in SIR CHARLES DILKE'S chapter on Victoria to which the reception, by the most influential branch of the Australian Natives' Association, of MR. D'ESTERRE TAYLOR'S paper on Imperial Federation, reported in another column, affords a pleasing commentary. SIR CHARLES DILKE said:—"In Victoria, the young Australian party has not taken up a definite position upon the question of Imperial Federation, or generally of relations with the Mother Country." And again:—"The reaction against the Imperial Federation idea which was noticeable in 1889 throughout Australia was marked among these younger men"—the young Australian party in Victoria. We know, and our readers know, that under the leadership of MR. PURVES some of the branches in Victoria had taken up, if anything, an antagonistic line to everything savouring of Imperial Federation, if not indeed of the British connection itself, albeit SIR CHARLES DILKE is quite correct in saying that the party as a whole had assumed no definite attitude.

It is not claimed now that MR. TAYLOR and his co-workers have converted their brethren in the Association to the doctrines of Imperial Federation. What they do appear to have done is to have opened the eyes of a good many of those who followed MR. PURVES, and considerably undermined his influence and that of his party, by making the incipient separatists and localists feel ashamed of the doctrines and policy which allow them to be branded with names they don't like the sound of. And that is a good work: the wall has been breached.

MR. LYMAN, who writes to us from Montreal, has done yeoman's service to the League, and any communication from his pen deserves every respect and consideration. We may, however, with all such respect, make a few remarks on some points in our correspondent's letter not dealt with elsewhere, as some other points are in replying to similar criticisms from other sources. MR. LYMAN says in effect that Canada pays all she is asked to pay for the protection afforded her. Even as to this we might join issue with him by reference to the question of the fortification of Esquimalt, referred to in our last issue, a case in which Canada has not taken upon herself the responsibility recognised by other Colonies of sharing the expense of such defences with the Mother Country. We might go further and say that neither has Canada undertaken to pay any proportion of the expense of naval defence in her own waters. As a matter of fact the Mother Country does in the long run gratuitously protect Canadian shipping, Behring seizures notwithstanding, and in the last resort defends Canadian territory against forces beyond Canada's own power to repel. But is this a state of things Canadians are willing to see continue for ever, even if the other party to the question were willing? We commend to MR. LYMAN'S perusal COLONEL DENISON'S language at Guelph reported in another column.

THE truth is that MR. LYMAN'S point raises the whole question of Imperial Federation. So long as the Old Country pays all the cost of protecting the Colonies, she must do it her own way, and the Colonies have no valid right to find fault with the way she does it. As an Imperial Federationist, MR. LYMAN must see the moral. We must say a word on our correspondent's outburst of indignation against the Imperial Government in respect of the Behring Sea and Newfoundland Fisheries Questions. We hold no brief to defend the foreign and colonial policy of English Governments. But, for ourselves, we have learned to suspend judgment in these cases, because, as the *Empire* well points out under the title "Against British Connection," it generally turns out in the end that the Government was not so wrong and base as we thought, after all. There is one rather important distinction which we would commend to MR. LYMAN, and others who may think with him, between such questions as the Behring Sea and Newfoundland Fisheries and the Portuguese aggressions in Africa. The latter was an actual invasion of territory claimed by Great Britain, with a view to its subjugation and annexation by a foreign Power. Such an act, if it is to be checked at all, must be checked instantly, and by the strongest measures. The Fisheries questions admit of parley and admit of a *modus vivendi*. There is no need there for an ultimatum until negotiations have proved fruitless.

THERE is, of course, another answer to the charge about "cringing to big nations and bullying small ones"—that, namely, relating to the liberty taken by a weak State, presuming on its weakness, that a first-rate Power would not think of taking. But all this has been said often enough, and we are content to leave that part of the matter to take care of itself. The Behring Sea difficulty appears to be in a fair way to solution by diplomatic negotiations, in which the Dominion Government is itself taking part. The experience gained of what the settlement of questions by diplomacy really means and involves is quite as valuable as the actual assistance given, though that must always be great, by Colonial statesmen acting in concert with Imperial diplomatic agents. It is a pity the Newfoundland Ministers

were unable sooner to accept the invitation of the Home Government to a personal conference in London on their Fisheries question. The excitement in the Colony is natural enough, though too much importance need not be attached to sensational articles and the threats and heated outbursts of angry meetings. That the *modus vivendi* could not have been submitted to the Colonial Government in its final form before ratification was a misfortune; but it is not quite clear that this was the fault of the Colonial Office.

AUSTRALIAN opinion on the results of the Melbourne Conference may now be said to have settled down into a state of hopeful, but not over-sanguine, expectancy as to the outcome of the questions that will be submitted to the Legislatures of all the Colonies in their forthcoming Sessions. Not that any section of the public doubts the ultimate attainment of Australian Federation; but it seems to be rather widely felt that the people are as yet scarcely up to the level of their leaders on the question, and that by no means the same degree of unanimity is likely to be attained in the Parliaments as among the Ministers in conference assembled. When the Parliamentary discussions begin, the treatment of the subject will descend to a lower plane, and all the local and sectional views and jealousies will have full swing. The Tariffs Question has of course been recognised throughout the Press, as it was in the Conference, as the "lion in the path;" though some fail, with SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITHS, to see anything so terrible about the beast after all. The Free Traders in New South Wales have determined to make a stand for the maintenance of their policy towards all the world; while South Australia, anxious for her nascent industries, complains that to knock down inter-colonial barriers just yet would throw a manufacturing monopoly into the hands of Victoria, who has already nursed her industries into a position of commanding strength. There can be next to no doubt that when this question is settled at all, it will be on the basis of inter-colonial Free Trade and Protection against the rest of the world; but for the present it is quite possible that the two Colonies referred to may, on opposite grounds, delay this consummation.

THE attitude of New Zealand towards Australian Federation was clearly indicated at the Conference itself; and this, together with most of the other salient features of that meeting, was to be sufficiently collected from the telegraphic reports upon which our March article was based. The views of the New Zealand delegates to the Conference appear to be shared throughout their Colony by the Press and by politicians—MR. BALLANCE, the leader of the Opposition, holding similar views as to the "isolation" policy of New Zealand. Fiscal considerations, conditions of defence, and the treatment of Native affairs, are all declared to stand in the way of New Zealand's federating with Australia. For naval defence New Zealand finds herself able to work, in common with the Australian Colonies, on the lines of the existing Imperial arrangement. But CAPTAIN RUSSELL, one of the delegates at Melbourne, explained, and apparently with much force, in an "interview" with a journalist, that there is no room for joint action in the case of land forces. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this attitude of isolation tends to leave New Zealand even more absolutely dependent than the continental Australian Colonies, if united, would be, upon the maintenance of the Imperial connection—a result her politicians seem to recognise, and to accept with something more than equanimity.

THE Ottawa Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada conceived the fruitful idea of eliciting the general opinion of all who have any opinion to offer by circulating a series of questions upon the principles underlying the idea of Imperial Federation, and some of the points likely to be fraught with most difficulty in execution or found to divide opinion the most. This is quite in accordance with the objects and methods of the League, which are well stated in the prefatory observations accompanying the questions to be:—"(1) To promote the discussion of means whereby the permanent unity of the British Empire may be maintained.

(2) To further the development of the resources and promote the interchange of the products of the several parts of the Empire. (3) To resist any measures tending to disintegration." The Questions, the text of which will be found in another column, are many of them, as the *Toronto Week* points out, of the character known as "leading," or, to be more precise, of the kind which old-world folk called "pregnant" questions, inasmuch as not by their form but their matter they contain involved within themselves the expected answer. To have questions such as these placed before them cannot fail to lead thinking men a long way along the road to becoming converts.

THE full text of the speeches delivered in the Dominion Senate on the occasion of MR. BOULTON'S resolution favouring the representation of Canada in the Imperial Parliament and in the "Imperial Privy Council," confirms, on the whole, the view we took, upon the briefer telegraphic reports, of the character of the motion itself. Our regret is that MR. BOULTON, who deserves thanks for his courage in bringing the question forward, should have courted defeat by the special form of his proposal. Some of the comments made on the debate in the home as well as the Dominion press justify the apprehensions we expressed, that the collapse of a motion putting a false issue before the House would be regarded as a defeat of the cause of Imperial Federation at large. When MR. BOULTON has given to the conditions of the problem more thorough study and consideration, he may yet be able in his place in the Dominion Senate to do good service to the cause which he evidently has at heart.

THE Melbourne *Age* says that the neglect of Colonial affairs in the home press is a grievance that is to a great extent in process of removal, and cites some of the Colonial headings to which we have recently called attention, as in the *Daily Chronicle* and *Morning Post* with their "Greater Britain" and "Our Australian Colonies." But, unless it is much belied, the *Daily News* is not exactly up to date in this new field of knowledge. The *Age* credits it with the following "gem of journalistic fatuity" culled from a recent number:—"IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—SIR W. C. ROBINSON, SIR F. N. BROOME, MR. PARKER, and SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL had an interview with LORD KNUTSFORD at the Colonial Office yesterday, and laid before him the views of New South Wales on the Imperial Federation scheme." On one subject, by the way, this newly developed attention at home to Australian affairs appears not to be exactly to the liking of the people most concerned. There is no rose without a thorn. In the paragraph we are quoting from, the *Age* says:—"Perhaps even a little too much attention has of late been paid to Colonial financial matters, as the advisers of the Victorian Government in London could testify." There is an ingenuous frankness about that confession that disarms criticism.

A CORRESPONDENT of *Young Australia* expresses the opinion that the feeling is rapidly changing which inspired the active opposition encountered by us among democratic communities on the ground of the false "Imperialism" attributed to us on account of our name. We are heartily glad to hear it, and trust the prognostication may prove true; for a more shallow and ignorant form of opposition never existed, but it had all the imperviousness to reason and explanation characteristic of prejudiced ignorance. As the writer says, if *the people* can be got to accept the fact that our movement is consistent with Liberal and Democratic ideas, ultimate success is only a matter of time. He would, therefore, make it a point to break down the supposed antagonism of phrases, and establish identity between Federal and Democratic principles in all the surroundings of Federation—Australian and Imperial. He thinks the opposition will then die of inanition. "A Democrat can't oppose Democracy, or a Federalist, Federation."

THE projected mission from the Dominion Government to Australasia, for the purpose of opening up trade between those two great centres of British life, has been postponed,

on the ground that the present time is inopportune, the Australasian Governments being very fully occupied with their own federal schemes. It is felt, too, in Canada, that negotiations of such a character as those contemplated would be far more easily conducted, and with far greater prospect of a successful issue, with a single Federal Government in Australia than with half-a-dozen fiscal authorities all pulling different ways. Meanwhile, individual effort continues. MR. OPPENHEIMER, Mayor of Vancouver, addressed in the early part of the year an open letter to the Managers of the Orient Steamship Company, inviting their attention to the opening of a line of steamers between British Columbian and Australasian ports. In a letter covering these documents, addressed to Boards of Trade in the Dominion, he points out that there is to be a line of steamers subsidised by England, Canada, and Australia, as soon as Australia consents to pay her share, England and Canada having already agreed to their portions of the subsidy, and invites the co-operation of those Boards in pressing the matter upon the Governments concerned. We believe there is a great future before this line of inter-colonial trade.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the LEAGUE is fixed for THURSDAY, 22nd inst.

Invitations are being issued for the evening of Thursday, the 8th inst., when the Earl of Rosebery, President of the Imperial Federation League, will receive the members of the Council at the offices, 30, Charles Street.

A paper on "The Defence of the Empire" will be read by Major-General Sir Richard Harrison, K.C.B., C.M.G., commanding the Western District.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THURSDAY, APRIL 17TH, 1890, AT NOON, SIR JOHN COLOMB, K.C.M.G., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The monthly report of the Secretary was received. On that report it was proposed by Sir Frederick Young, and seconded by Sir Rawson Rawson, that a hearty vote of thanks be given to Mr. Talbot Baines for his personal exertions in the cause of the League, and that he be invited to become a member of its Council. The resolution was carried unanimously.

It was also proposed by Sir Rawson Rawson, and seconded by Mr. Youl, that the paper read by Mr. H. D. Taylor before the Australian Native Association at Ballarat, reported in *Young Australia* of March, be reprinted and issued as a pamphlet.

The report of the Defence Committee was read and adopted.

The report of the Finance Committee was read and adopted.

The report of the Communications Committee was read, and after discussion—in which part was taken by Mr. Ralli, Mr. Beadon, Sir John Colomb, Mr. Youl, Sir Frederick Young, Sir Rawson Rawson, and Mr. Parkin—was adopted.

The report of the sub-committee appointed to consider how best to employ the services of women in the work of the League was read and adopted.

The Hastings Branch of the League was affiliated, the Secretary having reported that the rules had been complied with.

A special meeting of the Executive Committee was ordered to be summoned for the 1st of May, at 11.30 a.m., to consider the financial position of the League. The consideration of a memorandum by the Hon. T. A. Brassey, dealing with this subject, and appended to the report of the Finance Committee, was deferred to this occasion.

A letter addressed to the *Leeds Mercury* and *Yorkshire Post* by Professor Cyril Ransome, of the Yorkshire College, Leeds, embodying a "Charter of National Unity," was considered. It was resolved that the six clauses of the Charter should be issued as a leaflet by the League, with a preface which was settled by the Committee.

On the motion of Sir Frederick Young, seconded by Sir Rawson Rawson, it was resolved to issue as a leaflet the text of the *Loyal Address* to the Queen adopted by the Dominion Parliament.

The Secretary was instructed to forward to the Library of the University of Toronto a complete set of the publications of the League.

The Committee then adjourned.

The Aldershot Military Society.—Among the lectures arranged to be given before this society will be one upon "Imperial Federation, and the Defence of the Empire," by Mr. G. R. Parkin.—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

All our Colonies, as well as the United States of America, have a common interest in our peaceful retention of India, inasmuch as they are thereby secured an undisturbed free trade with that country; and it is the growing importance of this commercial connection to them that will at last bring about their Imperial Federation with the Mother Country.—*Athenaeum*.

A NEW ZEALAND VIEW.

THE leader of the Opposition in the New Zealand House of Representatives, the Hon. John Ballance, some little time ago, gave his views on Federation questions, Australasian and Imperial, to a representative of the Christchurch *Star*. From his remarks on these topics we make a few extracts as especially interesting to our own readers:—

"You see," said Mr. Ballance, "we have already a Federation—Imperial Federation—the

FEDERATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

It is a Federation greatly to our benefit, for it defends us against the world, and takes a great many responsibilities off our shoulders. It is adapted to our present circumstances, and it will develop as those circumstances develop, just as our Constitution has developed in the past. We cannot say what it will be in any given time, but we can say that, as the occasion arises for some new departure or some further adjustment, it will be found. The last development is the new partnership in the Australasian squadron, by which we have agreed to pay an appropriation of the cost."

Our readers will not fail to contrast these expressions with the view of the same relation in the extracts from the Melbourne *Age*, to which we have called their attention. Mr. Ballance recognises the benefit of the connection; but recognises at the same time the reciprocal obligations, and the necessity of periodical readjustment of the relation in the course of its natural evolution. The same contrast is apparent in what follows:—"Coming to defence," continued the New Zealand politician, "I contend that our first line of defence is the fleet, as General Edwards and all the authorities before him have invariably told us. We have entered lately into a treaty with Great Britain about the fleet, which, as I have already explained, is equivalent to a step forward of an existing Federation. We should have to surrender that advantage if we entered into an independent Federation with Australia, which cannot have a fleet like that

FOR TWO CENTURIES

to come. Let us remember that Great Britain built actually a better class of vessels for this partnership than she had covenanted to do. There was no huckstering about our ally; she simply rose in this matter to a high sense of national responsibility. That is a connection worth keeping."

His interviewer remarked here that the point made by the other side was that British wars are, and will always be, carried on without our consent, and that if we became detached and independent, no living creature would interfere with us.

"Yes, I know. The second of these points is the

QUINTESENCE OF FOLLY,

and the first is the quintessence of selfishness. No living creature touch these rich countries! Europe is in a very unsettled state, of which no one can tell the outcome; but we may all shrewdly guess that there will be great hunger among unscrupulous and powerful nations. Look again at the Chinese nation, only just beginning to develop its gigantic power. Can anyone tell that the Chinese nation will not be a great menace in these seas one day? Then as a pretext of fighting us, the unscrupulous, who also are strong, do not seek for a good pretext; any kind of pretext will do for them. And the tone of Australians, let me remark in passing, is not always conciliatory. So much for the folly.

NOW FOR THE SELFISHNESS.

To hear Australians talk one would think that they insist on doing all the dictating. England must go to war with France to give them satisfaction against a peril in New Hebrides, but if she attempts to defend her own great trade interests by coming near to a war with Russia, Australia must fly out to independence. As for realising that such a war must necessarily be for the benefit of British trade—for the Russian policy is exclusive and narrow—and that the benefit of English trade is felt by the Colonies in proportion to their growing importance, the Australian selfishness is not sufficiently enlightened to realise these things."

After some further discourse upon the advantages and the reverse to New Zealand in joining an Australasian Federation:—

"Then, Mr. Ballance, the upshot of all this is, that in your opinion we should do very much better to keep to the Imperial Federation we have, than fly to the Colonial Federation we know nothing of, except that in all probability it must be something very bad?"

"Decidedly. That is the view I have been inculcating."

"There is one point you have not touched upon. It is this: The Australians tell us that if we federate we may retire whenever we find the march of federation is justifying our fear. What have you to say to that?"

COULD WE RETIRE?

"I have to say this, that the right to withdraw would never be conceded, no matter what the agreement might have been.

Remember, we should be five out of thirty-five, and there would be precedent against the five. The State of South Carolina before coming into the American Union made a special stipulation reserving the right to go out at discretion, but the majority discovered that circumstances had altered, or that there were fresh circumstances; in short, gave one of those reasons which determined majorities have always at their command, and the right of South Carolina to secede was heard of no more. No, sir, let us stay as we are. There is no necessity to change, and

FEDERATION IS BEING DEVELOPED

within decent limits and proper. We passed an Act about our share of the cost of the fleet the other day. When a change is required we shall pass another Act, retaining the power we hold—the power of absolute equality of terms of negotiation for each fresh case as it arises. If we keep out of the Australian Federation, we shall keep our rights and privileges intact, our dignity, self-respect, and our national buoyancy unimpaired. We may also, by our example, restrain the Australians from pushing their Separatist tendencies to extreme limits."

MR. PARKIN AT LEEDS.

ON March 27th a public meeting, representing all shades of political opinion, was held in the Albert Hall, Leeds, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. G. R. Parkin, on the subject of "Imperial Federation." Mr. Parkin (says the report in the *Leeds Mercury*) has spoken on the subject in all the chief towns of Yorkshire, with the result that widespread interest in the important question has been excited. There was a fairly numerous attendance at the meeting. The Mayor (Ald. Emsley) presided, and, besides Mr. Parkin, he was supported by Mr. Ernest Beckett, M.P., Rev. D. r. Talbot (Vicar of Leeds), the Hon. and Rev. A. T. Lyttelton (Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge), Mr. W. Beckworth (President of the Leeds United Liberal Association and President of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Thomas Marshall (President of the Leeds and Birston Ash Liberal Unionist Association), Principal Bodington, Mr. Pridgin Teale, Mr. J. Rawlinson Ford, M. C. F. Tetle, Mr. John Hepper, Mr. C. Pebody, Professor Ransome, Mr. T. D. Yates, Mr. O. Eddison, Mr. Thomas Dawson, Mr. G. R. Portway, Mr. J. Earnshaw, Mr. James Buckley, Mr. Horace Marshall, Mr. E. C. Denton, and Mr. Talbot Baines.

The CHAIRMAN, who had a hearty reception, said they were met to consider a subject which they all agreed was an important one. It was not only important, but no doubt there were difficulties around it, as there were around all important questions, which it was desirable should be considered before any practical course was suggested. No doubt the meetings which Mr. Parkin had attended—and since he came there some two or three months ago he had attended a great many, and they had been reported in a way which must have been very gratifying to him—must have educated many people on this question who before were in a great degree ignorant of it. He pointed out the importance of the subject of Imperial Federation from a commercial point of view.

MR. TALBOT BAINES read extracts from letters from a number of gentlemen who regretted that they could not attend the meeting, and expressing sympathy with its aim.

Sir Lyon Playfair wrote:—"If I could squeeze another engagement into my book for this month, I would do so for such a purpose as federation of our Colonies. But there is no room. I have made pledges for every day up to the 31st, when I leave for Paris."

Mr. W. L. Jackson, M.P., in his letter, stated:—"I am afraid it will not be possible for me to come to Leeds on Thursday, that being, as you know, a Government night. I am in entire harmony with you in your strong and, as I believe, patriotic desire to do everything we can to draw closer and closer the bonds of Imperial unity; and I agree that the last Conference, and the excellent Memorandum on the subject by Mr. Stanhope, did much in this direction. So that you may rely on any help I may at any time be able to give."

Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., wrote:—"I would gladly sacrifice a good deal to have the pleasure of being on Mr. Parkin's platform. But unfortunately I have to give an address on Friday (28th) in Surrey, while I have to give another on the Saturday in the Skipton Division. So I am afraid I cannot give the time for an extra journey to Yorkshire. I am most thoroughly and heartily at one with Mr. Parkin in his efforts to promote and strengthen the unity of the Empire, and should have been very glad to listen again to one of his stirring and powerful appeals."

Mr. Gerald Balfour, M.P., wrote:—"I fear I cannot arrange to be in Leeds next Thursday, but I need not tell you that I am in hearty sympathy with the general object of the meeting to which you are good enough to invite me. The drawing closer of the ties which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country, and the Mother Country to the Colonies, is eminently one of those objects for which Englishmen may unite as Englishmen, unmindful of the differences that separate them on questions of party politics. And if that object can be promoted by glowing eloquence and enthusiasm, it will not be easy to find a better worker in the cause than our friend Mr. Parkin."

Mr. Frederick Baines wrote as follows to the Mayor:—"Allow me, though from home, to express satisfaction at the assembling of my fellow-townsmen for the third time within a few months, and for a second time under your worship's presidency, to consider the subject of Imperial Federation. It is, I believe, a subject justly claiming thoughtful attention and repeated discussion among Englishmen. England and her Colonies seem to have reached a stage in their history and development when a momentous question naturally arises which will soon need to be decided. This is, whether the ties which have hitherto bound them together shall be severed through a belief on the

part of the Colonies that independence will bring them benefits otherwise unattainable, or those ties shall be made indissoluble by a common conviction that separation would mean weakness to each, and that union is strength whether for war or peace. For my own part, I believe such union would be the best security to all against war and for peace. Should the result of public meetings at home be a settled conviction to this effect, we may then look with confidence to our statesmen, and those who lead Colonial opinion, to devise the constitutional machinery by which the great end shall be attained."

Mr. R. Wigram stated in a letter:—"To my great regret I am prevented by an important engagement from attending the Imperial Federation meeting. I hope you will have a crowded attendance to consider this great working man's question. No party politics enter into the provision of work for our vast population; and Imperial Federation means, in my opinion, that we shall endeavour to utilise to the utmost the trade and defensive capacities of England and her Colonies. I hope every Leeds man will consider this question with an honest desire to find a satisfactory solution."

Other letters of regret expressing similar views were received from Mr. W. Beckett, M.P., Mr. J. S. Mathers, Mr. A. Lawson (President of the Leeds Conservative Association), Mr. T. W. Harding, and Dr. Edisson.

MR. PARKIN, who was received with hearty cheers, said he could not easily express in words the intense interest he felt in addressing the meeting. He had been referred to by the Mayor as an enthusiast on this question of national unity. If they had all seen our Empire, and studied it as he had done, he believed every man and woman amongst them would be as great enthusiasts as he was on the question; but so convinced was he that the arguments he had tried to put before the people of this country rested on a solid foundation of reason, that he had always endeavoured to restrain as far as possible his enthusiasm as such. He confessed that if anything could stimulate his interest in the subject to a still deeper extent it would be the way in which the hard-headed and practical men of this country had given him during the last few weeks a hearing. This was the fourth time he had been asked to address an audience in Leeds, and each time the audience had been larger than on the previous occasion; and in speaking to a large number of Chambers of Commerce and other bodies in Yorkshire, he had invariably found that after he had exhausted all he could say on the subject in one evening those who had heard him were anxious that he should return and carry the discussion still farther. Leeds was the largest town in the greatest county of England, a county which had persistently in the past taken a leading part in all the great political movements of the country, and he was perfectly certain that if he could turn the mind of Yorkshire to this question it would go farther than anything else to turn the mind of England and the whole British Empire to it. Never was there any political question presented to them which had a greater claim upon their support and enthusiasm than this had. The feeling existing here with regard to Imperial Federation was showing itself in every part of the world. . . . The connection of our great Colonies with us could only be continued on condition that they had a full voice in the affairs of the Empire of which they were parts, and the supreme question which our statesmen had to consider was how that change could be made, how we could fit ourselves to the new development that had come about in our political system. (Cheers.) It was because they could not shirk the question that he was anxious there should be no apathy with regard to it in this country. The Mayor had said that England did not want to lose her great Colonies. He (Mr. Parkin), as a Colonist, said the Colonies did not want to lose the Mother Country. (Renewed cheers.) The Colonies had proved their allegiance to England in every possible way. He did not believe that the feeling of attachment to the Mother Country had been stronger in Canada during the last 100 years than it was to-day. He believed the same with regard to Australia. The best minds in the Colonies were in favour of perpetuating the connection. On the other hand, he was sure that the feeling in the Colonies would largely depend on the feeling here. It was urgently necessary that the question should be taken up at once by public men. Statesmen in the past did not think it was necessary to study Colonial questions, and thus we lost the United States. We did not want to see another set of Colonies go. It should be remembered that if we lost our present Colonies, we could not gain fresh ones as we did in the past. There was not now another fifth of the world which we could acquire as Colonies. Other nations were now looking for Colonies, and ready to absorb land as such, in order that they might thereby spread their commerce in other parts of the world. The growth of our Colonies had changed the balance of the world's affairs, and our political interests demanded some reconstitution of the Empire. . . . Under what conditions were they the workshop of the world? Let them go to the remotest quarters of the world, and they would see two things. Colonists who come home are impressed, as he was, with the enormous and concentrated energy that they had here in England. But if they went across Canadian prairies they would see men raising wheat for them, from Canadian forests they got their timber, and Canadian fisheries were drained for the supply of this country. On Australian sheep-runs nearly 100,000,000 sheep were being fed to supply the mills of this country; and it was in these vast areas abroad where they were producing that the greatness of the Empire was illustrated just as much as here. (Loud cheers.) They were the great industrial race of the world, and the conditions of steam power, which brought the world more and more closely together, had intertwined the interests of working men in the centre of the Empire here with the interests of working men in the remotest part of the Empire. . . . After showing that the ocean unites and not divides the distant parts of the Empire, and dealing with the question of defence, Mr. Parkin proceeded:—"It was asked, What was the feeling of Colonists with regard to Imperial Federation? Take Australia. He did not pretend to deny—in fact, he had been struck by a certain feeling in favour of separation in Australia. In some ways he thought it was natural, in other ways he thought it arose from the fact that they had not thought out the conditions of their life. Since Canada had

been federated there had undoubtedly been a tendency to draw closer to this country, and he thought the same would come in Australia. But was it to the interest of Australia to remain connected with this Empire? There was a body of Australians who would say they thought that, living as they did apart from Europe and European complications, it would be much better for them to break off from England and go upon their own lines. In some respects that seemed a plausible and natural thing to say. But he thought the answer to it was emphatic and complete. Where did the Australian trade go? Almost entirely to this country. The safety of that trade depended upon the safety of the Suez Canal and other waterways, and the presence of Britain, rather than the presence of Russia, in India. He had constantly told Australian audiences that it would pay them in any great emergency to spend millions of pounds to help Great Britain to keep those waterways open. Then, again, Australia was a great borrowing country, and England was the greatest money-lending country in the world. The interests of this country and of Australia were common. Then, as to Australia getting rid of European complications by breaking away from this country. Germany and France owned islands in the vicinity of Australia, and these nations would be likely to menace Australian liberty. Australia was the most exposed country, navally, in the world, and it would be more likely to get into European complications separated from this country than if federated with it. Sir William McGregor, who was now administering New Guinea, had stated that after watching German and French movements in the southern seas, he was satisfied that an independent Australia and New Zealand would mean a general divide between France and Germany within a comparatively short time. He had often been asked in this country whether the tendency of things in Canada was not towards annexation to the United States. Canada had stood for a hundred years beside the most prosperous nation of modern times, and there had never been a moment when, if it had asked for connection with that nation, it could not have got it; but in spite of that, Canada had always remained loyal to her connection with this country, and that feeling prevailed still. . . . When people asked what degree of unity he expected to get in this case, he replied that he could not tell; he wanted to get all that was possible. He was satisfied that there was no Empire in the world that had more completely the elements of organic unity than ours had—a common language, a common literature, a common religion, and common interests. All the things that bound people together existed, and he would go for as entire a national unity as it was possible to get. (Cheers.) It might be said that the question was a difficult one. Let them think of the dismemberment of the Empire, and they would see difficulties infinitely greater than were to be encountered in effecting Federation. And with reference to difficulties, he would ask them where there was a nation with such a wide range of experience to fall back upon in taking up such a work. The whole history of Britain had been a gradual accommodation of enlarged conditions of political life.

At the conclusion of Mr. Parkin's address, which was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, MR. ERNEST BECKETT, M.P., moved the first resolution as follows:—

That this meeting, representing all parties among the citizens of Leeds, cordially thanks Mr. Parkin for his eloquent and convincing address on the subject of Imperial Federation; that it records its deep sympathy with the movement for drawing closer the bonds which bind England and her Colonies together, and for securing a permanent and complete co-operation between them for the advancement and defence of common interests, and it desires to impress upon the statesmen of this country, and especially upon Her Majesty's Government, the desirableness of seeking by consultation with the Government and leading public men of the Colonies, and in all other ways, to strengthen and develop the effective unity of the Empire.

In the course of his speech he said:—"If they cast their minds two years back, they would remember that a Colonial Conference was held. Now, he should venture to suggest that a Colonial Conference should be held every year. (Cheers.) The English race believed in discussing all great subjects like that. They would never get a satisfactory solution until it had been thoroughly thrashed out, and it could not be discussed and thrashed out upon a satisfactory basis unless representatives from all the Colonies were met together in Conference—(cheers)—and they could only meet together in Conference by the invitation of the English Government. He could speak personally to the effect that that Conference produced in Australia. He saw many of the leading men of all the Colonies that made up Australia, and every one of them said that that Conference in England had had a most beneficial effect, and desired to have it repeated. Well, it should be repeated—(cheers)—and he should say that the initiative in this question of Imperial Federation ought to come from the Colonies. It was more for them to make proposals than for us. We were the stronger, the more numerous party, and any proposal coming from England had rather the appearance, little as they might intend it, of being forced on the Colonies. They knew perfectly well that any proposal that came from them would not be forced upon England; that if we consented it would be by our own free will; but directly a proposal proceeded from England the Colonies looked upon it with suspicion, and a great number of Colonists would use hard terms concerning them, and say that the English people, finding that the Colonies were a great advantage to them, were desirous, so to speak, of stealing a march upon them, and, by forming some sort of a Constitution for them, wished to draw them into bonds in which the Colonists themselves would lose their freedom and right of initiative. Now, they must sweep that impression away, and therefore he should entirely join with Mr. Parkin in saying it would be unwise for any statesman in England at this present moment to propose a plan in detail.

MR. W. BECKWORTH said he felt it a very great honour to be allowed to second the resolution. It seemed to him there were two questions to determine, so far as Imperial Federation was concerned. What they had heard from Mr. Parkin would, he thought, very largely help them to answer those questions. First of all, was Imperial Federation desirable in the interests of the Mother Country and of the Colonies?

And then, was, it practicable—was it capable of accomplishment? With regard to the desirability, Mr. Parkin had given them some very solid and substantial reasons, some of which would commend themselves to their minds with more weight and conviction than others. He confessed that to his own mind the one which had the strongest weight and power was the fact that if Imperial Federation was brought about, it would be necessary that the Colonies should have some voice in the direction of the foreign policy of this country. That voice and that power would, he thought, in all probability be given to the side which promoted the first interests of this country—he meant the maintenance of peace. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) There would, he believed, be very much gained in that way by the avoidance of European complications to which we should otherwise be liable. There was an argument, to which he did not attach very much weight. It had been urged in part by Mr. Parkin. The alternative was set before us that if we failed to bring about Imperial Federation, it would necessarily follow that this country must sink from being a first-rate to being a third or fourth-rate Power. He did not believe that would happen. The supremacy of this country depended to a very large extent, almost exclusively, on the national resources, on the trained, the inherent skill of the work-people, and upon the mental and moral stamina and strength of the nation. He did not see in this respect the slightest sign of decay, and he did not think, therefore, that we should be likely to sink into the position some would fain put us. As to the practicability of Federation, he agreed with much that had been said by Mr. Parkin and Mr. Beckett. Many people alleged that the scheme would practically break down when the time came to construct a plan. He had faith, however, in the political genius of English statesmen—(cheers)—assisted as they would be by Colonial statesmen, who were quite as far-seeing as those who guided the destinies of this nation. (Hear, hear.) When the time was ripe a plan could be formed which would adequately meet the situation. It would be very unwise for the Imperial Federation League to bring forward any plan at present. Such a course would simply divert attention from the main principles—from the very heart of the question.

MR. THOMAS MARSHALL, having spoken in support of the resolution, it was carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR BODINGTON, in moving that copies of the previous resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and to the Marquis of Hartington, remarked that the meeting had spoken with no divided voice, and he believed possessed no divided mind on the subject. That being so, it was eminently fitting that the opinion of the meeting should be communicated to their leading statesmen. . . Imperial Federation, he said, appealed to their love of peace, for he did not believe any of the Continental leagues of peace would equal a league of peace within the British Empire. (Loud applause.)

MR. DENTON seconded the motion. He said that the question was undoubtedly one of very great importance; but if it was more important to one class than another it was to the great bulk of the toiling millions of this country and the Colonies. (Applause.) They ought to do everything in their power to draw closer the bonds of union, in order that if the time should ever come when any Power attempted to touch a part, the whole might rise as one nation to repel the attack. In his opinion, it would be a crime against posterity if Federation were not carried out to its fullest extent. If they did not carry it out, those who came after them would upbraid them for their neglect. (Hear, hear.) The motion was adopted.

THE REV. DR. TALBOT (Vicar of Leeds) moved, and MR. TALBOT DAVIES seconded, a vote of thanks to the Mayor for his co-operation and able conduct in the chair.

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

BARRIE BRANCH.

A MOST enthusiastic meeting of this branch was held on March 10th. Representative men of all political parties were present, and testified, by repeated applause, to their interest in the subject.

The President, MR. SPRY, occupied the chair.

Among those present were Mayor Pepler, Reeve Burton, Deputy Reeves Fletcher and Wells, Dr. McCarthy, Major Rogers, Inspector Morgan, Mr. Sanford (County Treasurer), Captain Wish, W. E. Sherwood, J. R. Cotter (County Attorney), and many more prominent citizens. There were many ladies present.

MR. J. M. CLARK, one of the vice-presidents of the League in Toronto, introduced the subject. He pointed out that the question of the future of Canada was an important living issue which pressed for solution, and that the question of Imperial Federation had been brought within the sphere of practical politics. It was admitted on all hands that our present Colonial position was not a permanent one, and could in the nature of things only be a temporary position. The speaker then discussed the proposition of Canadian independence, and showed the fallacy of the arguments by which it was supported. Were Canada to declare her independence, she would only enjoy such rights as her stronger neighbour permitted. Such an independence would be an expensive sham and a disastrous unreality. Annexation to the United States was a future distasteful to the people of this country, and opposed to its best interests. Mr. Goldwin Smith had predicted that within ten years Canada would, by economic causes, be absorbed in the United States; but that was more than ten years ago, and annexation was now farther off than ever, and its advocates were yearly becoming fewer and more ashamed of themselves. Mr. Clark then discussed the commercial aspects of the question, and showed that commercially Canada would be much better off under Imperial Federation than under either annexation or independence. After referring to difficulties in the path, he continued, dealing with the absence of a matured plan—we were not of a race given to the manufacture of paper constitutions. The British Constitution was a glorious evolution, and was capable of

being adapted to meet the exigencies of a great and free Empire. Under Imperial Federation, Canada would retain full power to deal with purely Canadian affairs. The noble principle of local self-government would not be interfered with, but would be extended and developed, and Canadians would enjoy the full privileges and rights of British citizenship. The speaker then denounced the misrepresentation of Mr. Mercier, the Quebec Nationalist, as to the aims and objects of the League, and answered in a manner satisfactory to the audience, a number of objections. The remarkable progress of the League was then dwelt on, and it was pointed out that Toronto had the strongest branch of the League in the world.

COLONEL G. T. DENISON next addressed the meeting and showed that we could not expect to remain as we are. He referred to the forces that are working to bring about annexation with the United States through commercial union, &c., and proved by statistics the vast strides that Canada had made in recent years in agricultural development and commercial prosperity, as well as the advantages that would result to Canada from Imperial Federation.

MR. F. E. P. PEPLER, Q.C., Mayor of Barrie, in an able speech moved a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers of the evening, and announced himself as thoroughly in accordance with the principles of the League. He said he was much impressed with the argument of Mr. Clark that the League would be a League of Peace. The League he said was making steady and most satisfactory progress. MAJOR ROGERS seconded the vote which was unanimously carried.

After Colonel Denison and Mr. Clark responded, the audience rose and sang "God Save the Queen," and the very successful meeting was closed.

OTTAWA BRANCH—CIRCULAR OF INQUIRY.

OUR readers will remember that at the annual meeting of the League in Canada (reported in our issue for March) the President of the Ottawa Branch, Mr. Sandford Fleming, tabled a series of questions prepared by his branch for the purpose of eliciting public opinion upon a number of crucial questions connected with Imperial Federation. The meeting, having approved the series of questions, they are now being circulated throughout the Dominion, accompanied by a memorandum, headed "British Federation," pointing out that though it is not, as many suppose, the function of the League to propound schemes for a new constitution of the British Empire, the duty of inquiry and consultation does come within the sphere of the League's legitimate operation.

The following are the

QUESTIONS.

1. Is the existing political union between the United Kingdom, Canada, and the other parts of the British Empire generally satisfactory?
2. Is it desirable that the union as it exists, or with modifications, should be perpetuated?
3. Is it probable that some re-arrangement of the relations between the Dominion and the rest of the Empire will be called for by circumstances in the near or distant future?
4. If it be probable that at no distant day modifications in these relations will become necessary, and may on some emergency become imminent, is it desirable earnestly to consider the question in all its bearings, in order that any change may be established with wise deliberation?
5. In any re-organisation of the Empire which may be necessitated by the progress of events, is it essential that every separate community under popular government should be consulted in a constitutional manner?
6. In any possible new relations between Canada and the other portions of the Empire, should all political rights now enjoyed be substantially maintained?
7. In a closer political union should Canadians, equally with other British subjects elsewhere, have a voice in affairs which are of common concern to the whole Empire?
8. In what way should all British subjects have a voice in Imperial affairs? through their respective governments, or parliaments, or otherwise?
9. If it be advisable, as some think, to establish an Imperial Council, or Senate, or Upper House, or Central Body of some kind to deal with and be supreme in matters common to the whole Empire, should representation in such Central Body be in proportion to population, or to the amount contributed to common revenue; or on what principle should representation be based?
10. In such a union as that contemplated in questions 7, 8, and 9, in order to give to British subjects everywhere advantages not enjoyed by foreign countries, would it be desirable to adopt what has been termed "A British family trade policy?"
11. Would it be desirable to give in whole or in part the advantages of the British family trade policy to foreign countries agreeing to reciprocal terms?
12. If British subjects in Canada and elsewhere (in the outer Empire) be placed on an equal footing with British subjects in the United Kingdom, so as to obtain equal benefits from expenditure for common purposes, should all bear some share, and eventually, as Colonial wealth increases, a fair proportionate share in the expenditure?
13. Would it be advisable to raise the revenue for such expenditure (question 12) in the manner suggested by Mr. Jan. Hendrick Hofmeyr, of the Cape of Good Hope, at the Colonial Conference of 1887, by means of a small *ad valorem* duty, to be levied generally, and independently of existing tariffs, on goods entering any part of the Empire from foreign countries? or in what way should provision for the expenditure be made?
14. Referring to questions 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13, would it be desirable that British subjects outside the United Kingdom should at one step assume the higher duties and responsibilities contemplated, or that full citizenship should be assumed by degrees, according to the conditions and circumstances of each individual community?

FORMATION OF A BRANCH AT GUELPH.

A PUBLIC meeting was held in the City Hall at Guelph, Ontario, on 28th March, when a branch of the Imperial Federation League was established in the Royal City. The meeting was large, the hall being filled, and was as unanimous and enthusiastic as the warmest advocate of Imperial Federation could have wished. The speakers of the evening were Colonel George T. Denison and Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P.

The meeting was presided over by Mayor Gowdy, and on the platform were Colonel Macdonald, Alderman Taylor, Alderman Howard, Rev. J. S. Smith, Dr. Campbell, Messrs. Thomas Goldie, Edward O'Connor, William Alexander, Charles Davidson, George Bruce, Hugh Walker, H. Murton, John Worsfold, John M. Bond, John Moore, Mr. MacCormack, James F. Kidner, and others.

COLONEL DENISON, in the course of his address, dealing with commercial union, spoke as follows:—Now, ladies and gentlemen, if we are going to send things for sale to them that they produce themselves, it is not much of a market for us. But if they were only going to carry out commercial union that would not amount to anything. The Canadian people would settle that very quickly. (Applause.) But there are many elements of danger in connection with this thing. These people will not stop at simply advocating an idea of that sort. They have given up the idea of commercial union, and they are now getting ready to try and get this country by some more forcible method. The *New York World* recently advocated an expenditure of five or six million dollars to be used in our elections, as if the Canadian people would sell themselves like a lot of sheep. The *New York World*, if that were tried, would soon find what kind of stuff the Canadian people are made of—(loud applause)—as Dr. Beers told them in Syracuse, Canada is not for sale. (Renewed applause.) Now they are working out another scheme. They are arranging to spend 349,000,000 dol., on building an enormous navy. What does that mean? A friend of mine in Boston said to me the other day: "Colonel, the only thing that prevents the Canadian people from now being in arms in the defence of their country is the fear of the British ironclads." (Applause.) Now, then, if these conspirators who are trying to bring about the annexation of Canada wish to bring it about by forcible methods, it would be absolutely impossible for them to induce the right-thinking, decent people of the United States—and I am glad to say that there are millions of them—to start a war upon a peaceable and inoffensive neighbouring people, unless they were under the belief that we Canadians wanted them to come to our relief. I say it would be impossible ever for them to induce the people of the United States to commence a war for the conquest of Canada unless they were told that we wanted them, and that we would welcome them with open arms. And every man who to-day in Canada would say one word in favour of annexation, every man who would say a single word to try and lead in that direction, takes a direct step towards bringing armed hosts into this country. (Applause.)

After presenting the alternative of annexation, the speaker entered fully into the advantages to be derived from Imperial Federation. He continued: Why could we not arrange to pay something towards keeping up a few ships to guard our fish down on the borders of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which the English North American squadron is doing for us now? Any of our shipowners going abroad to foreign parts use the consular service of England, and the English people pay for it. When I was in St. Petersburg some years ago, I made use of the English ambassadorial service, and I was treated with the utmost consideration; and, in fact, I found it a great deal more useful than if we had one of our own, for it represented a great Empire. (Applause.) Now, Canada does not pay a single farthing for that, and I felt that I was sponging a little. (Laughter and applause.) Do our people understand that they are sponging on the ratepayers of England? The Manchester cotton spinner or Birmingham workman pays 11 dol. 60 cents a year taxes, while we in Canada only pay 7 dol. 22 cents per head per annum. Those who look with favour towards independence ought at least be willing to be independent to that extent. Those who might favour annexation and the payment of 10,000,000 dol. per annum to a foreign pension fund should not object to this. (Hear, hear.)

He went on to deal with the question of Reciprocity, and expressed the opinion that the agricultural classes in England would be favourable and carry great weight, and that the manufacturers would also agree, if the matter were properly put before them.

Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P., also spoke at some length.

A resolution recommending the formation of a branch was moved by the Rev. J. C. Smith, seconded by Mr. Thomas, and "carried by every man in the hall coming to his feet as soon as it had been seconded."

At the conclusion of the business of the meeting, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Mulock for his action in reference to the Loyalty Address in the House; and the meeting sang "God save the Queen" before separating.

Queen's Own Sergeants Dine.—At the annual dinner of the Sergeants' Mess of the Queen's Own Rifles, held in Toronto, an innovation was introduced into the toast list in the form of the toast of "Imperial Federation." The toast, which was vigorously responded to by Colonel G. T. Denison, was enthusiastically received.

A Quebec Audience loudly applauded Professor Roberts, of Nova Scotia, when in the course of a lecture he repudiated annexation as the destiny of this Canada of ours. He frankly admitted that it was difficult to decide between independence and Imperial Federation, unless by the latter we could become more direct subjects of Queen Victoria, instead of subjects of her subjects.—*Toronto Empire*.

IMPORTANT MEETINGS IN THE PROVINCES.

CROSSHILLS.

MR. PARKIN addressed a meeting at Crosshills on 21st March. Mr. John Bigg, J.P., presided, and was supported by Messrs. R. B. Ackroyd, J. Bairstow, J. C. Horsfall, C. and J. P. Wolfenden.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the speaker, referred to him as one who was worth listening to, having had considerable experience of the subject under discussion. He asked the lecturer to modify the remarks he had prepared for them that evening in such a manner as would suit their individual circumstances. It would be more profitable to them, and would be a greater advantage to others, than if the speaker were to speak to them simply as an audience he did not know. That meeting was representative of fully 250,000 people living in manufacturing villages in various parts of Yorkshire, under peculiarly happy conditions.

After speaking at some length upon the course of trade, he concluded: There was such a large amount of goods exported, that unless England could export her goods we should be driven back upon ourselves, simply to make our own clothes, and supply our own home wants. That meant that their mills would be standing, and they would be losing their wage. If the lecturer would turn his attention to that branch of the subject, and show them what could be done to avoid that disastrous state of things, he would have answered a question which was forcing itself more and more upon the minds of all thinking men in those manufacturing districts, and he would have answered a question also which affected seriously the interests of every man, woman, and child in the whole country. (Applause.)

MR. PARKIN, who was well received, alluded to the vast field which the chairman had invited him to cover in his remarks. He was not there that night to give them advice, but he was there to mention to them certain considerations which appealed to the ordinary mind of the ordinary working man, and particularly the working man in this part of the world. The subject which he was to speak to them about was whether this Empire was to remain a united State, or whether the great Colonies were going to spread off and form separate countries by themselves; and that, he contended, was essentially a working man's question. He went into some of their great woollen mills and he saw hundreds of people employed in working at those great piles and bales of wool, and the question arose, Where would that industry be if the supply of wool was stopped? It would be exactly where the industry of Lancashire was twenty-five years ago when they were cut off from their supplies of cotton, and when there was a tremendous strain upon the charities of this country in order to help the population keep body and soul together. Then again, he would ask them, suppose their Australian wool were cut off from being shipped through the Suez Canal route, what would be the result? It would mean that two-thirds of the mills in the vicinity of Bradford would close within two or three weeks. That fact, and the others he had put before them, showed them that the question was one of intense interest to the working man, not only of this country, but of our Colonies. The interests of the two were so closely woven together that they could not be possibly separated; they were more closely twisted and intertwined than the finest thread they had in their mills. The speaker proceeded to contrast the position of England at the present moment, from a commercial point of view, with its position fifty years ago, showing the marvellous growth which had occurred, pointing out how this country was dependent upon the outside world for its raw material of commerce, and showing how, with that dependency, there had grown an enormous increase in the facilities for producing goods.

A resolution urging the Government to summon another Conference, proposed by MR. J. C. HORSFALL, and seconded by MR. JAMES BAIRSTOW, was carried unanimously, the Chairman expressing his regret that more could not be done for so great a cause.

HALIFAX.

Under the auspices of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce, Mr. G. R. Parkin delivered an address on "Imperial Federation" at Halifax on 19th March. There was a large audience, over which Mr. T. H. Morris, the President of the Chamber presided, among those present being Mr. James Bairstow, Mr. Alf. Arnold, Mr. F. Ramsden, Mr. J. B. Farrar, Mr. John Leach, Mr. William Gaukroger, Mr. E. M. Wavell, Mr. J. Moodie, and Mr. T. S. Hingley.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Mr. Parkin, remarked that in inviting that gentleman to address them, the Halifax Chamber of Commerce felt that they ought not to be behind other towns which had enjoyed the advantage of hearing his views on Imperial Federation. So lately as on March 14th it was moved, in the Dominion Parliament in Canada, that the time was thought to have arrived when Canada should secure a certain measure of representation in the Imperial Parliament. In the Australian Colonies a strong movement was going on at the present moment for the federation of the Colonies themselves, and it was natural that England should not be behind in any scheme which would bring the Mother Country into closer relations with the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Even if not from the point of view of sentiment, then on commercial grounds unity between England and her Colonies was essential. (Applause.)

MR. PARKIN, who met with a cordial reception, observed that what the advocates of Imperial Federation urged really was the importance of the permanent unity of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) Yet the word "Federation" ought not to be an unfamiliar word to men who read and thought, and kept their eye on the great current of the world's events. This was from an historical point of view essentially an age of federation. They had only got to look around the world to see that. After a reference to the great work of German Federation during the last twenty-five years, if they looked, he continued, across the Atlantic, they saw half a continent—the great Anglo-Saxon offshoot of the British race—building up one of the most enormous nations the world had ever known. There were only three possible nations of the very first rank in the future of the world's history. One of them must be Russia, the other must be England's commercial competitor, the

United States, and the only other individual nation that could exist was Britain. She had the choice between two destinies. She had to choose either between allowing her great Colonies to drift off by themselves, and sink back into the position of an island; or she could adopt the larger and nobler destiny of consolidating her political strength with her vast offshoots, and thus she would hold in the future as she had in the past that grand leadership of civilisation, commerce, and Christianity, which was the noblest destiny she could have. (Loud applause.) If there was any nation in the world that had a paramount and supreme reason for consolidating its physical and political strength and other resources, it was to be found in the greatest industrial race of the world. (Hear, hear.) In an age when the despotism of the world, and the Continental nations were concentrating all their powers, it was not the time when England could weaken herself by allowing her Empire to fall to pieces. (Applause.) Having referred to the question of a scheme of Federation and the difficulties attending it, Mr. Parkin said that what he wished to work for, and what every man ought to work for, was such a unity as they could get. If he could not get anything better, he would be satisfied with a great union for offence and defence. Something that would protect the trade of the Empire, and make the working man in Australia and the working man at home feel that their products would pass to and fro without danger. (Hear, hear.) The public men of the Empire should consider the relations of the two, and try in every way to mitigate the difficulties which existed now, and work them out on a better foundation. He had been going round the British world, and his own feeling was that there was the material in this Empire in the form of national sentiment, in the current of national blood, and the strong British feeling that existed that would give them an organic unity as strong as any nation ever possessed. (Applause.)

MR. ALF. ARNOLD moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin, and remarked upon the responsibility of the masses upon the question, and incidentally to the help which a scheme for intercolonial penny postage would give to the movement.—MR. T. ENGLAND seconded the motion, which was adopted amid loud cheers.

HUDDERSFIELD.

On 1st April, Mr. G. R. Parkin, M.A., addressed a meeting in the Victoria Hall, Huddersfield, held under the auspices of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce. Mr. J. H. Sykes, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, presided, and amongst those present were Mr. George Thomson, Sir Joseph Crosland, Mr. W. D. Shaw, and Mr. Talbot Baines (Leeds). The attendance was only moderate—a fact to be accounted for by the unfortunate coincidence of a “political” meeting on the same evening.

The CHAIRMAN said: Undoubtedly the subject upon which Mr. Parkin was going to address them was one of vast importance, not only to ourselves, but also to our Colonists. Wherever Mr. Parkin had been in Yorkshire he had found that his audiences were with him in desiring that some means should be found for cementing the union between this country and the Colonies.

MR. G. R. PARKIN, who was most cordially received, then addressed the meeting. During the last two months, he said, he had addressed some twenty or twenty-five meetings in Yorkshire on the subject of Imperial Federation, and under conditions which made it a little difficult for him to get up and speak on the subject again. People in Yorkshire were so trained and accustomed to political thought that they expected the newspapers to report very fully what had been said, and he found as he went round the county that about half the persons to whom he was introduced told him that they had been reading very closely what he had said. . . . They might ask why, if this were such a pressing matter, they had not heard more about it in the last few years. He thought he could tell them why. It was because during the last fifty years in English history the most amazingly rapid change had been going on that the world had ever known, and the change had been so rapid that people were only just beginning to see it. In Canada and Australia, too, the Colonists had been so overwhelmed with the tremendous task of developing the various communities and federating and uniting themselves together, that they had only discovered lately what lay before them. Not only had the industrial condition changed, but so had the political, and the point to which he wished to draw attention was that the political conditions were such that they had got to face a great change in the national system. He would argue it from the inner political instinct that he found in himself, and which he was sure existed in the mind of every man he saw before him. The primary political instinct of every British subject was that he did not consider he was a British subject until he had a direct voice and vote in the direction of the country in which he lived. (Hear, hear.) . . . It was to the interest of a trading and manufacturing country to combine with the countries which possessed the producing areas of the world. The command which this country now had over these areas placed this nation in a position which no other nation had ever been in, and to a large extent secured it from such disasters as he had alluded to. (Applause.) It might be asked, was it equally true of the Colonies that they were dependent upon England for their position in the future? Personally, as a Canadian, he believed that there was no future which could approach in its good and usefulness, he might almost say in its necessity, to the people of Canada as a close and intimate political and commercial relationship with England would produce. As to Australia, no more fatal blow could be struck at that Colony than the rupture of the connection with Great Britain. (Applause.) They might say, was the union possible? and his answer was that it was their particular glory that, as they had spread and grown, and as each political difficulty had arisen, they had found the political expediency which was necessary to match it; and he said that if the statesmen of this great Empire, trained as they were, and with such great industrial interests, could not combine the nations into one united whole, they were unworthy of the traditions of statesmanship which they had inherited.

Mr. Parkin read Professor Ransome's “Charter,” the text of which, embodied in a letter to the press in Yorkshire, will be found in another column, and proceeded to comment upon it in the following

terms. He said it was not to be treated as an answer to the demand for a plan of Imperial Federation, but that it grouped together a number of the great national objects which every man might work for in that connection. He himself would put the sixth clause, relating to the endowment of all the self-governing sections of the Empire with a constitutional voice in matters of Imperial concern, second on the list of the objects of the Imperial Federation movement, which would thus include defensive unity, political unity for common purposes, equality of citizenship throughout the Empire, and judicial unity. The fifth clause of Professor Ransome's letter was one to which all could subscribe, whatever their views on fiscal questions, and all must agree that fiscal difficulties within the Empire would be most likely to obtain satisfactory solutions by the freest and fullest discussion among the statesmen of the Empire. Speaking of Professor Ransome's reference to penny postage, Mr. Parkin said that its establishment would, so far as our Colonies were concerned, make us stronger than the building of half a dozen ironclads. (Applause.) It would give a cohesion to the Empire which it had not had before. He believed that when the matter was once fairly put before the country penny postage would be established within a year.

SIR JOSEPH CROSLAND moved—

That this meeting urges upon Her Majesty's Government to invite a second conference of representatives of the governing communities of the Empire similar to that held in 1887,

and in doing so remarked that the subject on which Mr. Parkin had spoken was a most interesting and a most important one to this country. It was one which had been in the minds of many people for some time, and one respecting which the more they thought about it the more they must be convinced that something must be done to secure the closer union of Great Britain and her Colonies.

MR. SHAW, who seconded the motion, expressed his pleasure that the question had been removed altogether out of the region of the faddists, if it ever was in that region, and was now recognised as one of the practical questions, if not the practical question, of the day. The faddists of the past, however, would in time come to be reckoned the true statesmen, the men who had foreseen where the interests of England lay, and tried to shape their course accordingly. (Applause.) Among such men was the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and in the present day they had Lord Rosebery giving with all the force that belonged to his character his adhesion to this scheme. (Applause.) The movement was altogether in accordance with the tendency of the times, and was therefore bound to succeed.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. MR. G. THOMPSON proposed and MR. D. JOHNSON seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin, who concluded the meeting by giving, in answer to questions put to him, some valuable information on the bearings of the question in Canada, with especial reference to the position of the French Canadians.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, “Imperial Federation,” 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request.

The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

CRAYFORD.—On March 19th, a meeting was held of the Prince of Wales Lodge of the National Conservative League, at Crayford, when about fifty members were present.

MR. G. R. MORTON, the master of the Lodge, who presided, read a very interesting paper on “Imperial Federation,” in which he said they had from their earliest years been accustomed to hear the British Empire spoken of as vast and gigantic, without absolutely realising the grandeur of that description; but it was absolutely true that this empire was the greatest known in the history of the world, whilst its moral greatness was still grander. He proceeded to argue that the maintenance of this vast empire was of vital importance to us as a manufacturing nation, and spoke of the loyalty of the Colonies, and the benefits of our sway in India. He advocated a commercial union, preference being given to products of our Colonies, which they desired to export to us, and they should give preference to English-made goods, thus securing financial advantage and safe markets. A preferential market could only be created by a preferential duty. This would be a departure from what was called “Free Trade,” but would it not be better to draw our food supplies more entirely from our own people than from Russia and America, with their hostile duties? The whole subject was very fully treated, and a vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by Mr. I. Studdert, and seconded by Mr. Mullett, was carried with applause.

HOLLESLEY BAY COLONIAL COLLEGE.—On March 14th, Mr. H. F. WILSON, a member of the Council of the League, who was accompanied by the Secretary, Mr. A. H. LORING, delivered an address on Imperial Federation to the students of the Colonial College at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk. Mr. Wilson and his colleague found a very attentive and appreciative audience, numbering about 100, and consisting almost entirely of the pupils. Mr. Robert JOHNSON, the Resident Director of the College, presided, and in opening the meeting said he was sure that all present would give the two gentlemen by whom he was supported a hearty welcome, as they had attended that evening to address them upon what was really one of the most important subjects

which Englishmen could contemplate. (Applause.) He doubted not that very diverse views were held by different members of the College, not as to the importance of Imperial Federation, but as to its practicability, and as to the method in which it could be carried out. It was a subject which had often been discussed at that College, and although they could not presume to know much about it yet, many of them did feel a great deal of interest in it. (Applause.) None of them wished to see this great country of England—let us not be over-boastful, but it was in many ways a great country—(applause)—sink into the position of a second Holland or a sixth-rate European Power. He believed the bond of union would have to be a light one, and he doubted very much whether any bond of Federation would be permanently successful which did not include the United States—that was to say the federation in some way or other of all English speaking people.—Mr. A. H. Loring, who followed, observed that Mr. Wilson and he regarded it as a privilege to be able to put the views of the Imperial Federation League before the students of that College, because they believed that the future of the Empire largely depended upon the views which were adopted by gentlemen such as those he was addressing, who were going out to develop the great resources of the Empire, and to make their homes in the far-off lands which had been won for them by their forefathers. He alluded to the vast expenditure entailed upon the taxpayers of the United Kingdom by the defence of the enormous territories included in the British Empire, and pointed to the fact that the inhabitants of those countries had no representation in the discussion of Imperial affairs, such as questions of peace and war and their relations with other countries, maintaining that such an anomalous state of affairs could not continue. He concluded by expressing his belief that those in Australia who advocated its separation from the British Empire had not reckoned up the cost and the danger of attempting to carry out their proposal.—Mr. H. F. Wilson, who was very warmly received, delivered an eloquent address, which was listened to throughout with much evident interest. The “foundation of this great Empire, and how it might best be preserved,” formed a theme the magnitude of which it was impossible to over-estimate. Many of those he was addressing that evening were going, as their forefathers had done before them, with British pluck and enterprise, to seek “fresh woods and pastures new,” and to all of them the subject of his address was more important than perhaps any that could be brought forward. He was sure that those who went from the Colonial College would play no mean part in upholding the position and safeguarding the interests of the Mother Country wherever their lot might happen to be cast. (Applause.) Addressing himself at the outset to the first part of his subject, “How this great Empire was founded,” Mr. Wilson gave many valuable details connected with the rise and progress of most of the principal Colonies. Going next to the second part of his subject, “How may this great Empire best be preserved?” he said he unhesitatingly replied, “By the adoption of some system of Federation.” He pointed to the extraordinary change which had come over political personages in England with regard to our Colonial responsibilities. The Colonies were once regarded as expensive luxuries. The views of the entire nation had changed; we now heard no more of the separation thought so inevitable fifteen years ago; and all great statesmen recognised the growing importance of our Colonial Empire. Mr. Wilson attached much importance to the Imperial Conference held in 1887. He devoted a good part of his address to this point, in order to show how important was the establishment of periodical Conferences of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire. He sketched out the great idea of a central council of the Empire, in which every self-governing part should be represented, and which should deal with all Imperial questions. The concluding portion of Mr. Wilson’s address was devoted to an explanation of the objects of the League. This great question was one which the coming generations could not ignore; and he heartily recommended it to their attention. (Applause.)

LONDON: KENNINGTON.—Mr. F. Faithfull Begg addressed a meeting at the Wheatshaf Hall, Lambeth, on 20th March, under the auspices of the Kennington Conservative Association. The Hall was well filled, Mr. H. S. Foster occupying the chair. In the course of his address Mr. Begg said that our Colonial trade during the last twenty years had shown greater vitality than that with foreign countries. He thought that one of the great questions of the future must be that of international tariffs; and it would be idle to deny that tariff questions must enter largely into the discussion of any plan for Imperial Federation. The Mother Country was rich in stores of accumulated wealth. The Colonies were rich in land, forests, metals, and minerals. What was wanted was an arrangement whereby these different kinds of riches could be made mutually advantageous in the fullest degree. By combination we could dictate to other nations any fiscal policy we chose. We also wanted combination for mutual defence, and improved means of intercommunication, and especially a cheap Imperial post should be aimed at. He had no sympathy with a doubting policy, and he did not believe the question could be evaded, but must be faced in the immediate future. Mr. Faithfull Begg was frequently applauded during the course of his address, and replied afterwards to various criticisms by speakers who followed.

LONDON: WEST SOUTHWARK.—At the West Southwark Conservative Club, Blackfriars Road, on March 31st, Mr. T. Paxton Barrett, of Canada, delivered an interesting address on Imperial Federation. The chair was occupied by Mr. W. F. Drew, Conservative candidate for West Southwark.

NORTHWICH.—On March 25th, under the auspices of the Northwich Debating Society, at a meeting held at Northwich, an address, entitled “Imperial Federation,” was delivered by Mr. Henry Holbrook, late Minister of Works, British Columbia. The Rev. R. Marsh presided, and there was a large attendance. In the course of his address Mr. Holbrook said:—“They would see the vastness of the proposal when they considered the extent of the British Empire, and remembered the

300,000,000 of people who took from Great Britain 91½ millions of their manufactures, which kept the factories of Lancashire employed and their salt works at Northwich going. At the present time, they had many trade enemies. They had Russia bidding for the trade of India and China; they had to compete with France and Germany; and the United States were most active against them in competing with the trade they had with Canada, and they were now asking them to admit their goods duty free, and charge duty on English manufactures. To show how Northwich was interested in the Canadian trade, he would just give them the returns up to June, 1889. They imported into Canada coarse salt for fisheries, from Great Britain, 72,335 tons, and ditto from the United States, 18,089, or a total of 90,024, on the free list for duties. Salt for domestic and other purposes, on which duties were paid, they imported from Great Britain in bags and barrels, 3,652 tons, in bulk 75½ tons; whilst to the United States, in bags and barrels they forwarded 761 tons, and in bulk 1,180 tons. They would see from the above how it was to the interest of every man, whether capitalist or workman, in Northwich, to encourage their trade by having constant employment. A discussion ensued, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

PLYMOUTH.—An interesting discussion took place at the Plymouth Institution, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Chapman, on “Our Colonies and their Relations to the Mother Country.” Notes of an intended address by Mr. F. Phillips, who was unavoidably absent, having been read, the Rev. W. Binns opened the discussion. He was decidedly of opinion that some system of Imperial Federation was an ideal at which we should aim, and that we should be unworthy of our position as members of a great Empire if we allowed any petty and paltry opportunisms to stand in the way. The interests that seemed to be divergent were not, in his opinion, really so. He was strongly inclined to think that if some such scheme as had been hinted at by the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and since then by Lord Rosebery, and other statesmen on both sides of politics, were fairly debated, they would be able to hit upon some *via media* for the establishment of that Greater Britain which they all desired. Dr. Oxlard agreed that the Colonies had no desire to drift away. Nothing would unite the Colonies to us in closer bonds than the penny post, which had been asked for during the past thirty years. The Colonies wanted larger populations to develop their resources. After some remarks from Mr. R. N. Worth in confirmation of the unsatisfactory nature of the postal service, the discussion was continued by Mr. Norman, who, while regarding Imperial Federation as a splendid conception if it could be carried out, was inclined to think it impracticable for various reasons.

REVIEWS.

The Colonial Year-Book, 1890. By A. J. R. Trendell, C.M.G. With Introduction by J. R. Seeley, M.A. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1890.

THE appearance of a new publication of such importance as *The Colonial Year-Book* dealing exclusively with Colonial matters, would, in any case, be an event worthy of especial note by us; but that such a work should be projected and launched with aims directly and avowedly favourable to the cause of Imperial Federation, is a proof of the growth of the idea and the hold it is obtaining on men’s minds, as well as an example of the practical side of the movement. *The Colonial Year-Book*, as its name implies, is a great deal more than a mere directory or gazetteer for office use; it is at once a comprehensive and exhaustive book of reference, brought up to the latest date, invaluable to the politician, the merchant, and the journalist, and a succinct history of the Colonies of Great Britain individually and collectively. Its broad aim is “to set forth in a convenient and attractive form the whole story” of Colonial enterprise. This being the object and the point of view, the new venture is appropriately sent forth to the public with an introduction by Professor Seeley, in the form of an historical essay (occupying some sixteen closely-printed pages), dealing with the growth of the Colonial Empire as the same subject is treated in the Colonial chapters of the same writer’s *Expansion of England*. Naturally, therefore, there will not be found in the introduction much that is new to readers of this journal, among whom we can hardly be wrong in assuming that few are to be found who are not already familiar with Professor Seeley’s illuminating work.

The historical and Imperial scheme of the book having been thus well expressed and emphasised at the outset, we cannot help regarding it as a mistake or a misfortune that this characteristic should have been lost sight of in the arrangement and order of the chapters in the body of the work itself. Each separate Colony finds its place in alphabetical order. Even from a practical and utilitarian point of view we should be inclined to regard this as an error of judgment in a work where consecutiveness is more wanted than rapidity of reference as in a mere directory; and to the higher aim of the writer as expressed in the preface just now referred to, the arrangement appears to us fatal. Instead of presenting the British Empire on a connected and systematic plan, based upon its historical and geographical growth, the alphabetical arrangement gives us nothing but “a fortuitous concourse of atoms.” Whatever may have been the reasons—and they were doubtless weighty

ones from some point of view—that induced the author to have recourse to this “unsystematic system,” we trust that he may see his way in future issues to adopt an arrangement not only in harmony with but logically essential to the scheme of his work. The information given is derived almost exclusively from official sources; and we can conscientiously recommend the book to all and sundry.

Pocket Atlas and Gazetteer of the Dominion of Canada. By J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S., etc. London: John Walker & Co. 1890.

THIS handy little volume is framed on the model of the *Pocket Atlas and Gazetteer* of the world, which have met with so much popularity, and is intended as the forerunner of other such localised atlases and gazetteers. It contains thirty-six remarkably clear and well executed maps, and an index of places, which is also a brief gazetteer, extending over more than two hundred and fifty closely-printed pages. An Introduction serves as an epitomised handbook of the Dominion. The volume has been revised and edited by Dr. J. M. Harper, of Quebec. The typography and finish are excellent.

Yet another patriotic song from Canada. “Up with the Union Jack.” Song and chorus by E. G. Nelson (St. John, New Brunswick, A. T. Bustin, 1889). This is a rousing patriotic song founded upon the Laureate’s

“One Life, one Flag, one Fleet, one Throne.”

FRENCH COLONIAL UNION.

AT a moment when the word Federation is a subject of so much discussion by the Press and the Legislature, it is worth while to chronicle a movement going on in this country [France] for establishing a union of those Colonies which France has established in various parts of the world.

It will be fresh in the memory of our readers that an International Colonial Congress formed a part of the programme of the Universal Exhibition last year. At the close of that Congress a desire was expressed for the summoning of a Congress purely national, to continue the discussion of questions specially affecting Algiers, Tunis, and other French Colonies and Protectorates. The result was the election of a committee to draw up a scheme, and, in a word, undertake all the preliminaries for such a Congress.

At a meeting held on November 16th the committee reported the result of their labours, and the result was the formation of an organisation committee with instructions to make definite arrangements for the Congress.

The patrons of the movement include a large number of literary, scientific, political, and military celebrities, all of whom take a deep interest in a subject appealing so directly to their patriotism. Among them we may cite MM. Spuller, Duruy, Constans, Barbey, de Brazza, Francis Charmes, de Lanessan, Le Myre de Vilers, Ferdinand de Lesseps, together with a number of Generals, Admirals, and other prominent Frenchmen.

At the last sitting the chief subject of discussion was a resolution proposed by Baron Michel in favour of suppressing Colonial Deputies and Senators, and replacing them by Colonial Delegates, each representing the geographical group of his section. The resolution was opposed and ultimately negatived, but the question is not definitely settled, and the resolution will be brought forward again.

Baron Michel, with cordial frankness, has confided to our representative his Colonial experiences, and after what he said it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the French are as apt for colonisation as Germans and Anglo-Saxons.

The Baron, who has travelled all over the world, is perfectly alive to the national defects. “France,” he says, “knows perfectly well how to form Colonies. Did she not Colonise before England? Wherever she has set foot the spirit of assimilation has made itself felt. In my travels I even found a Colony of Normans beyond Manila.

“Our political troubles at home are the cause of all our difficulties abroad. Our revolutions, our want of stable Governments are ruinous to our Colonies. Instead of Deputies and Senators who know only the countries they represent, and who take part in voting the Budget and laws affecting the metropolis, my idea is to have a group of delegates who concern themselves exclusively with the Colonial group.”

In pursuance of his inquiries on the subject of Colonial assimilation our representative had an interview yesterday with M. Chabannes, of the Colonial Section of the Ministry of Marine. On announcing himself as seeking information for *The Galignani Messenger*, M. Chabannes, with that slight accent so dear to French ears, gave him a piece of most important information. “It is a mistake,” he said, “to suppose that the object of the Congress is the federation of our Colonies. It is their assimilation. There are seven sections representing an equal number of Colonial groups, viz., Antilles, Africa, the

Far East, etc. Each group ought to be represented by one delegate.” M. Chabannes further imparted views identical with those of Baron Michel.—*The Galignani Messenger*.

MR. PARKIN AT DEWSBURY.

MR. G. R. PARKIN delivered an address on the 17th of March, in the Town Hall, Dewsbury, under the auspices of the Dewsbury Chamber of Commerce. The President of the Chamber (Mr. J. Haley), occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the Mayor (Mr. G. Clay), Mr. Mark Oldroyd, M.P., Councillor Thornton, Mr. Walter Walker, and Mr. T. Chadwick. There was a numerous attendance.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that in a place like Dewsbury they ought at all times to consider fairly and thoroughly any question brought to their notice which was likely to benefit the industries in which they were all engaged. As regards the subject of Imperial Federation, there was a particular reason why they should look into the matter closely. In Dewsbury 25 per cent. of their population were thoroughly convinced of the desirability of supporting co-operation. Co-operative principles embraced not only the retail shops, but also the wholesale manufactures. The wholesale and the retail establishments were federated. The principle was just the same as regarded Imperial policy. They were asked to apply the principle which they put in practice in their commercial life to the nation and her Colonies. If they did this they would, at any rate, feel that it was a matter which merited their earnest consideration.

MR. G. R. PARKIN, who had a hearty reception, then addressed the meeting. He said that as he had been speaking so much lately in the West Riding, he found it a little difficult to strike out on a new line of thought which would at once arouse their attention and yet be to some extent different from what he had said previously. But full as his mind was of the subject of Imperial Federation, he constantly saw it from different angles. During the past year he had been round the British Empire discussing the question not only from the home point of view, but from the great aspects of it which were rising up on the North American continent, in Australasia, and in other parts of the Empire. There was one imposing difference between the British Empire and any other countries, or, at any rate between it and some of the Empires we saw around us to-day. In reading the papers lately, there was nothing one looked at with more profound surprise than the tone taken by some of the statesmen of Europe. They saw a young Emperor who had mounted the German throne speaking on great public occasions in a tone which seemed to imply that he considered he was responsible for the welfare of every individual man in his Empire. But with English people the case was very different. Whilst other people had to be governed, it was our great boast that we were able to govern ourselves. (Hear, hear.) During his journey round the British Empire he had always felt that in speaking upon a great national question, he was speaking to men who were trained to think upon political matters. We were accustomed to look at questions from a large and liberal point of view, and were called upon from time to time to decide the most important questions. He felt that if his arguments had the weight he would like them to have, he was moving the power which moved this great nation. It was in that attitude he wished that night to discuss the question of Imperial Federation—the question whether the British people in all parts of the world intended remaining a single and united nation, presenting a united front, or whether they were going to be separated into different fragments, acting on different lines of policy. This was an age of great federations. The question of Imperial Federation would have to be faced sooner or later. It could not be pushed aside. The financial necessities and political responsibilities of the people at home and in the Colonies would compel the consideration of the subject. Imperial Federation was necessary for the greatness of the Empire at home and abroad. Mr. Parkin then proceeded to discuss the subject from the commercial aspect, and showed how the interests of commerce in this country were interlocked with the commercial interests of the Colonies.

MR. MARK OLDROYD, M.P., moved—“That this meeting desires to urge upon Her Majesty’s Government the desirability of calling at an early date another conference of representatives of self-governing communities of the Empire, similar to that held in 1887.” He could, he said, conceive that many present, after hearing Mr. Parkin’s address, were in danger of going away considerably inflated. (Laughter.) But he would call their attention to the fact that the idea of Imperial Federation was as yet merely a conception, and had not been brought within the region of practical politics. Whatever theory might ultimately be adopted, the federation constituted must not be of an imaginary nature. (Hear, hear.) He believed the arguments used by Mr. Parkin were tenable and substantial, but he wished to point out that the subject had not been discussed from the practical point of view. The Federation League had not yet declared its attachment to any set principles. Still we could not do better than discuss the question amongst ourselves, and foster the discussion of it in the highest quarters.

The MAYOR seconded, and said he hoped that before Mr. Parkin left England the Dewsbury Chamber of Commerce would again be able to secure Mr. Parkin’s services.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.—On the motion of MR. CHADWICK, seconded by MR. WHITE, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Parkin.

MR. PARKIN, in responding, replied to what Mr. Oldroyd had said. They could not, he observed, point to any federation which had been accomplished by the formulation of a plan at the outset, the agitation following. The object of the Imperial Federation League was to train public opinion, and eventually make statesmen feel that the public demanded that the matter should be taken into consideration. (Applause.)

Mr. Parkin returned to Dewsbury in April, and held another good meeting there, which we have not space to report this month.

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

MARCH 18—APRIL 24.

MARCH 18.

In the House of Commons—

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE.

SIR J. COLOMB asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the loyal address to Her Majesty unanimously adopted by the Dominion House of Commons, declaring the unswerving determination of the Canadian people to maintain the political connection between Canada and the rest of the British Empire, had been presented to Her Majesty; what reply had been graciously made by Her Majesty to the address; and whether both the address and the reply would be printed and circulated to members.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The address has not yet been received. It would not be in accordance with the usual and constitutional practice to present to the House of Commons here an address to the Queen adopted by the House of Commons of another portion of the Empire. Loyal addresses embodying similar sentiments are frequently received from the Colonial Parliaments, and Her Majesty's Government would exceed their functions if they were to call the attention of Parliament here to the proceedings of another British Parliament, unless under exceptional conditions such as this case happily does not present.

SWAZILAND.

In reply to MR. LABOUCHERE.

MR. W. H. SMITH said: The natives have urged that the independence of Swaziland should be maintained, and many such protests as are referred to in this question have been made by white residents and others, but there has been "considerable difference of opinion on the subject among the whites." It would be a breach of Article 12 of the Convention of 1884 to establish a British protectorate in Swaziland without the consent of the South African Republic.

EMIGRATION.

On the motion of MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS it was resolved to appoint a Select Committee "To inquire into various schemes which have been proposed to Her Majesty's Government to facilitate emigration from the congested districts of the United Kingdom to the British Colonies or elsewhere; to examine into the results of any schemes which have received practical trial in recent years; and to report generally whether, in their opinion, it is desirable that further facilities should be given to promote emigration; and if so, upon the means by, and the conditions under which, such emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed."

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL, SIR J. COLONB, and MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON were among the 21 members nominated to serve on the Committee.

MARCH 20.

In the House of Commons—

THE DEFENCES OF BOMBAY.

ADMIRAL FIELD asked whether the attention of the Secretary of State for India had been drawn to the remarks made by his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught recently at Bombay:

"The recent naval manœuvres had proved that the Bombay defences with their present armament were absolutely useless, and could not oppose a naval attack. In the absence of Admiral Fremantle's fleet in Zanzibar waters, the naval element of defence was quite useless, because the ships were without crews."

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The Secretary of State has seen the telegram in *The Times*. Arrangements have been made with the War Office for the supply of new armament, and with the Admiralty, subject to the approval of the Treasury, for manning the floating defences.

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

In answer to MR. THORBURN.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The Newfoundland Government was consulted as to the terms of the *modus vivendi*, which was modified to some extent in order to meet their views, but it was necessary to conclude it without referring it to them in its final shape. The arrangement is provisional, and for this season only, and does not involve any admission by either Government of the claims made by subjects of the other.

SWAZILAND.

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether he was aware that under Article 2 of the Convention of 1884 Her Majesty's Government had the right to place a British Commissioner in Swaziland "to maintain order and prevent encroachments."

MR. W. H. SMITH: Her Majesty's Government have been careful to ascertain precisely their legal position under the Convention in regard to intervention in Swaziland, and have been advised that it would not be competent for Her Majesty, without a breach of Article 12 of the Convention, to take Swaziland under her protection in the recognised meaning of that expression, but Her Majesty's Government can of course exercise the powers of Article 2 of the Convention, which includes the appointing of Commissioners to maintain order. It will be seen that the establishment of a protectorate involves the assumption of administrative control, which could not be exercised by Commissioners appointed under Article 2 of the Convention.

MARCH 24.

In the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

In answer to MR. W. REDMOND.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Her Majesty's Government have learned by telegraph that the two Houses of the Newfoundland Legislature have passed a resolution protesting against the *modus vivendi* agreed upon between her Majesty's Government and that of France for the regulation of the lobster fisheries during the ensuing season. Only a telegraphic report of this arrangement has as yet reached the Colony, and it appears to have been imperfectly understood.

MARCH 25.

In the House of Commons—

THE COUNTY COUNCILS AND EMIGRATION.

In answer to MR. SAMUELSON.

MR. RITCHIE said: No application has been made to the Local Government Board by county councils for consent, under the Local Government Act, to loans for making advances in aid of emigration or Colonisation of inhabitants of the county.

MARCH 27.

In the House of Commons—

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the important character of the loyal address to the Queen recently adopted by the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, in which the fixed resolve of the Canadian people to maintain the political connection between Canada and the rest of the British Empire was affirmed, he would cause the full text of the address to be published in the *Gazette*.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The address has not yet been received, and, as was stated in reply to the hon. member for the Tower Hamlets (Sir J. Colomb) a few days back, it is unusual to present such addresses to Parliament. There will, however, of course be no objection on the part of the Government, when the address has arrived, to advise Her Majesty that it should be given as an exception to the general rule.

MARCH 28.

In the House of Commons—

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

MR. W. REDMOND asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of the Government had been directed to the following Reuter telegram from St. John's, Newfoundland:—

"An immense demonstration and mass meeting of Colonists took place here yesterday in connection with the Fisheries Question. Resolutions were unanimously passed indignantly protesting against the *modus vivendi* recently arrived at on the subject between France and England. The meeting authorised memorials to be drawn up to the Queen and the Imperial Parliament, demanding the extinction of French claims in the island, and appointing delegates to urge in London the importance of the present crisis;

and whether, in view of the strong feeling in Newfoundland, the Government would take steps to open fresh negotiations with France.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government have seen the report telegraphed. The House will see that no *modus vivendi* could be arrived at which would satisfy those who desire the extinction of French claims in Newfoundland. The matter in question is the respective rights of British and French fishermen under a certain treaty. Her Majesty's Government and the French Government are approaching a basis of settlement; and in the meantime have agreed that without compromising principles or rights involved, the *status quo* as regards lobster fishing and factories on the so-called French shore shall be maintained, thus obviating temporarily causes of dispute and possible conflict. The *modus vivendi* only applies to the season now opening. I may add that three days ago the *modus vivendi* was violently attacked in the French Chamber, and the right of the Colonial fishermen to catch lobsters on the French shore at all was energetically denied by the Minister. A *modus vivendi* is therefore necessary. I think I have already stated that the despatch explaining the steps which led to the *modus vivendi* and giving the full text of it had not reached Newfoundland when the meeting in question was held. It will, in fact, not reach the Colony till next week. The policy of the arrangement will then be better understood.

In reply to further questions from MR. W. REDMOND.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Her Majesty's Government have repeatedly expressed a wish that the Premier of Newfoundland should visit this country, and they think it very desirable that delegates from the Colony should attend here in order that British interests may not be injured by action hastily taken by persons in the Colony without full information. (Hear, hear.)

MARCH 31.

In the House of Commons—

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

MR. W. REDMOND asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of the Government had been called to a cablegram received by the hon. member for Sunderland in reference to the Newfoundland fishery question, in which it was alleged that the Government of Newfoundland denied having consented to the *modus vivendi* arrived at by the Government with France; whether it was true that the Government of Newfoundland did not consent to the *modus vivendi*; whether the despatches were only partially submitted to the Newfoundland Government; and whether her Majesty's Government had issued an invitation that representative delegates from Newfoundland should come here and discuss the question.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said he had answered all those questions in the course of previous answers during the past week. He had stated that the *modus vivendi* was modified with a view to meet as far as possible the views of the Government of Newfoundland, but that in its original [?] final form it had not received their consent, and there had not been time to obtain it. Full explanations of the whole case had been sent to the Government of Newfoundland in a despatch which had not yet reached them; and until it had been received it was evident that much of the objection expressed against it had been founded on a misapprehension. It would be much better to wait until the Government of Newfoundland were in full possession of the whole facts of the case.

MR. W. REDMOND asked whether, in view of the extremely excited condition of the country, her Majesty's Government did not consider it advisable to cable out the full facts of the arrangement arrived at with France? Did the Government intend to invite representative delegates?

SIR J. FERGUSSON said her Majesty's Government had expressed their desire, not only that delegates from Newfoundland should come to this country, but that the Premier also should come for the purpose of explanation and conference. He was not authorised to make any further statement as to the communications. It could only be a day or two until the despatch was received, if it had not been received already.

MR. W. REDMOND gave notice that if her Majesty's Government did not bring delegates from Newfoundland to England before they settled this subject, he would take the earliest opportunity of bringing the question before the notice of the House.

HOME AND COLONIAL POSTAGE.

MR. VINCENT asked the Postmaster-General whether the United Kingdom was precluded by some convention with foreign States from entering into preferential postal arrangements with the Colonies of the British Empire; and, if so, what was the date of the foreign treaty which so limited the power of Her Majesty within her own dominions; what were the terms of the restrictive clause; and for how much longer it would remain in force.

MR. RAIKES: I may perhaps usefully refer my hon. friend to a reply which I gave in this House to the hon. member for Glasgow on the 11th of March last as bearing upon the present question. In that reply I said

there was great reason to doubt if it would be competent to this country to reduce the ocean postal charge to its Colonies to id. without withdrawing from the Postal Union; but I am not aware of any convention which generally precludes the United Kingdom from entering into any preferential postal arrangements with the Colonies of the British Empire.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked whether the Government contemplated taking any immediate steps to obtain freedom from these embarrassing obligations.

MR. RAIKES said that was a question which he could not answer.

MR. J. LOWTHER said that he would ask a question on the subject at a later date.

NAVAL AND MILITARY COUNCIL OF DEFENCE.

SIR J. COLOMB asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government, when considering the suggestions of the Royal Commission respecting the formation of a naval and military council of defence, would further take into consideration the opportunity afforded by the establishment of any such council for providing in some form for the representation upon it of outlying portions of the Empire contributing to the maintenance of the regular naval and military forces of the Crown.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The subject to which my hon. and gallant friend refers will undoubtedly receive the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, but he will, I am sure, realise that it is surrounded with very great and serious difficulties.

APRIL 1.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

In reply to MR. W. REDMOND,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Her Majesty's Government have formally and repeatedly invited the attendance of the Premier of Newfoundland to discuss this question, and have no doubt that he will come to England as soon as the state of Parliamentary business in the Colony permits. They do not think it desirable to telegraph anything further at present. They will, of course, be glad to receive other delegates also if the Colony desires, but do not think they should propose it. May I take this opportunity of correcting an error in a report which I have seen of my answer upon this subject yesterday? I am made to say that the *modus vivendi* with France had not received the assent of Newfoundland "in its original form." What I said was "in its final form," as is obvious from the context.

APRIL 14.

In the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

SIR G. CAMPBELL called attention to the Newfoundland fishery dispute, and urged Her Majesty's Government to enforce the *modus vivendi*. At the same time they should take means to settle the question permanently, and in his opinion it was pre-eminently a matter for an arbitration of a judicial character.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said that the *modus vivendi* had certainly excited very strong feeling among the French in Newfoundland. This the Government greatly regretted. He could assure the Committee that no stone had been left unturned by the Government with a view to bringing about an amicable settlement of this long-pending difficulty, and it was a matter of great satisfaction that hitherto anything in the nature of collision had been avoided. (Hear.)

MR. W. REDMOND thought that a great many of the difficulties that had arisen were due to the fact that the Government had not consulted sufficiently the representatives of Newfoundland before arriving at the *modus vivendi*. Before any arrangement affecting the Colony had been entered into, Her Majesty's Government ought to have invited delegates from Newfoundland to come to London and confer with the home Government.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said he had on a former occasion stated that Her Majesty's Government did request Newfoundland delegates to come to London, and that they were at the time unable to do so owing to the pending elections, but that they were now expected to arrive shortly.

MR. REDMOND expressed his satisfaction that this course had been taken, and hoped it would always be followed in similar cases affecting the interests of our Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

APRIL 17.

In the House of Commons—

UNIFORM IMPERIAL POSTAGE.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in the course of his Budget Speech made the following announcement:—"We propose, if we can persuade other interested parties to do so, to deal with the question of the postage to India and our Colonies—(loud cheers)—and to reduce all rates, by whatever route, to 2½d.—not ocean postage only, but postage by the quickest route. (Renewed cheers.) The existing rates to Australia, India, China, and the Cape, range from 5d. to 6d., and the House is also aware that in the case of some of these letters they would be transmitted cheaper to their destination if they were posted abroad. No doubt it is a great anomaly that if letters are sent to Paris they can be posted to our officers at Quetta or in Burmah more cheaply than if they were posted at a British post-office. We propose, therefore, to remove these anomalies if we can persuade the other interested parties to join us, because we cannot act in this matter without the cordial co-operation of the Colonies themselves. The ocean penny postage has been recommended very much on the ground that it would draw us closer to the Colonies, but it would be a very unsatisfactory beginning to such a proceeding if we were to embark upon a cheapening of postage to which the Colonies themselves were opposed. The Postmaster-General will place himself in communication at once with the agents of the Colonies, and he will see, with every hope of success, whether they can be induced to reduce the postage in the future to 2½d. by whatever route the letters may be sent. The loss which would be incurred by this process would be £80,000 in the present year. That is, it would be £105,000 in a complete year. But I think £80,000 will cover it in the present year after the lengthened negotiations which have taken place. Now, I intended to explain to the Committee how this loss would arise. But, looking to the ground which I have still to traverse, they will excuse me if I do not defend the proposal more than by making this statement. I can only say this, that we must assume this loss because we cannot recoup ourselves on letters which go by the quickest route by any increased correspondence. We have to pay an amount equal to 1d. for the foreign transit, and the cost of the letter in this country and in the Colonies or in India is taken to be even more than 1½d. Thus if you add 1d. to the 1½d., the cost of the postage will be more than 2½d., or at least fully 2½d., and we cannot expect to recoup ourselves. But I have little doubt that the committee generally will be prepared to make this sacrifice out of revenue for the purpose of removing anomalies and securing cheaper communication with India. India will also have to be consulted on the proposal. We are at present in communication with India on the subject.

APRIL 21.

In the House of Commons—

BRITISH SUBJECTS IN SWAZILAND.

In reply to MR. S. LEIGHTON—

BARON H. DE WORMS said: The correct number cannot be stated with precision, as many of the whites interested in Swaziland are not permanently resident there. The permanent residents appear to be chiefly British subjects; but the subjects of the South African Republic and the sympathisers with it, being principally concessionaires and holders of grazing rights, represent, roughly speaking, three to one of other nationalities.

DELAGOA BAY.

In reply to MR. S. LEIGHTON—

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Her Majesty's Government are making representations to the Portuguese Government concurrently with that of the United States respecting the British interests concerned in the Delagoa Bay Railway. We are not aware that there are other British interests there requiring protection at present.

APRIL 22.

In the House of Commons—

BECHUANALAND.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies how much of the additional estimate of £30,000 for Bechuanaland was to go to police charges, and how much to land survey; whether the lands to be surveyed were exclusively within the Crown Colony; whether the extra police were to be used solely in the Protectorate, and who were the native chiefs whose unfriendly attitudes had caused this increase in the force; where was their territory situated; and what action was it intended to take against them. Referring to Despatch No. 127, at page 224 of Blue Book, whether the British South Africa Company offered to provide sums for increase of Bechuanaland police; why was the offer refused, or what answer was given.

BARON H. DE WORMS: £25,000 of the additional estimate is for police and £5,000 for surveys. The answer to the second and third paragraphs of the hon. member's question is in the affirmative. It is not desirable to name publicly any chiefs whose attitude is at the present time unfriendly, as it may be hoped that if patiently dealt with they will before long appreciate the protection afforded to them. Their territories are in all cases within the British Protectorate, and it is not intended to take any action against them, but only to prevent any possible interference with telegraph construction or the passage of traders and others through the Protectorate. With regard to the supplementary question put by the hon. member, the first paragraph of the letter referred to shows that the offer was made by the British South Africa Company; and the second paragraph shows why it was declined—namely, because it was not desirable that the Bechuanaland police should operate beyond the Protectorate.

APRIL 24.

In the House of Lords—

DOCKS AT BOMBAY AND GIBRALTAR.

In reply to VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, who asked whether, in any arrangement that might be made with a private dock company at Bombay, the Government would have a prior claim to the use of a dock for the repair of Her Majesty's ships at all times whenever such dock might be needed; and whether, in the event of a dock being constructed from private funds at Gibraltar, a similar arrangement would be made there; also a clause inserted in the agreement empowering the Government to purchase the dock in case of war, or if otherwise deemed desirable by them.—Affirmative answers as to the prior claim of the Government in both cases were returned by VISCOUNT CROSS and LORD ELPHINSTONE; the latter adding, that difficulties had been pointed out in the construction of the dock at Gibraltar by private enterprise, and a departmental committee had been appointed to consider the question.

In the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

MR. DE LISLE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, considering the fact that the law officers of the Crown had pronounced the opinion that neither by the Treaty of Utrecht, nor by any other treaty, nor by prescription, had the French any right to erect lobster factories on the shores of Newfoundland, and considering that the *modus vivendi* lately established now recognised the existence of such factories, Her Majesty's Government would take into consideration the exasperation which had been publicly expressed at indignation meetings held throughout the island of Newfoundland to protest against the course that had been adopted.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The reports of the law officers of the Crown have always been treated by Her Majesty's Government as strictly confidential, but I do not recognise the words quoted by the hon. gentleman as having occurred in any such opinion. They represent, nevertheless, the view of Her Majesty's Government. The *modus vivendi* now established in no way admits the rights of the French to erect lobster factories, but is entirely without prejudice to the claims or contentions of either Government. Her Majesty's Government will give the fullest consideration to any representations, not inconsistent with the treaty obligations of this country and of the Colony, which may be made to them from Newfoundland on the lobster fishery question, and hope shortly to hear from the Colonial delegates what proposals they desire to make.

THE IMPERIAL DEFENCE ACT.

MR. E. STANHOPE, replying to MR. SHAW-LEFEBVRE, said: The expenditure on fortifications under the Imperial Defence Act has been for 1889-90 approximately £320,000, and for 1890-91 it is estimated at £400,000.

POSTAGE TO THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

MR. WATT asked the Postmaster-General whether proposals were made to the Australasian Colonies some time ago to the effect that the rates both out and home might with advantage be reduced to 3d. per letter by the direct ocean route, and declined; whether the Colonies were unanimous in their decision; and whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to reduce the outward rates by all routes to 2½d. per letter in the event of the refusal of the Colonies and India to make a similar reduction homewards.

MR. RAIKES: In 1887 proposals were made to the Australasian Colonies to institute a 3d. or 4d. postage on letters forwarded between this country and the Colonies in both directions by the all-sea route. My own wish was to establish a 3d. rate, but at a conference held in Sydney the Colonies adopted a resolution in favour of a 4d. rate, and in deference to their wishes that rate was adopted. As regards the last part of the hon. member's question, I am not in a position to add anything to the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his recent Budget speech.

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 sident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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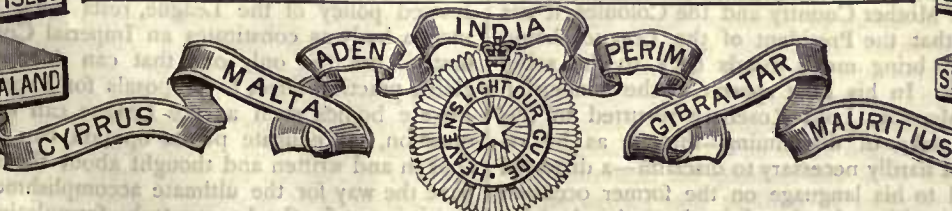
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Imperial Federation.

JUNE 1, 1890.

"ENGLAND YET SHALL STAND."

THE subject of National or Imperial Unity being a very large one, Lord Rosebery in his speech at the People's Palace, did well for once to fix attention on a single aspect of it, which is a little apt in these days to be lost sight of. He began by reminding his audience that the great fact to be dealt with is that the future of the world lies with the English-speaking race. Glancing at that vision of the future, to which Sir Henry Parkes, at the other side of the globe, has also been referring, in a recent speech—the vision of all the English-speaking peoples welded into one great league, keeping the peace of the world—Lord Rosebery emphasised the necessity that exists for first federating ourselves, before any can even begin to talk of that world-controlling league of peace that would for practical purposes almost realise the transcendental dream of the Poet Laureate:—"The parliament of man, the federation of the world." But it was with no such far away speculations that Lord Rosebery had to deal. The gist of his speech lay in enforcing a lesson much nearer home.

The reaction of the last ten or fifteen years against the "Little England" policy, that regarded Colonial possessions as an incubus, and looked forward to their separation from the Mother Country as a stage in political development as desirable as it was deemed natural and inevitable, has had the effect of magnifying the importance of the Colonies at the expense of the Mother Country. It has become a commonplace of speakers and writers to assume that the greatness of England now lies wholly in her Colonial possessions. People at home talked in this way, until others in the Colonies came to speak of the United Kingdom as nothing but "a little fog-girt rain-swept group of islands in the North Atlantic," without a suspicion that they were talking very silly stuff. It was against this sort of folly that Lord Rosebery entered his timely protest, when he declared that "in these islands are the title-deeds of the Anglo-Saxon race; in these islands we mean to keep them," and claimed for the Mother Country that indefeasible authority given by the word "home," that Imperial reputation inseparable from the descent and habitation of its people.

To lose the Colonies, he hastened to admit, as everyone now admits, would be "a great and bitter blow" for England. But "England would still survive, and England would still be a great governing power in the world." And so he went on to remind his audience, "and audiences outside this hall," that the desire to mould the Empire arises from no sense of poverty or necessity on the part of the Mother Land. "We do not approach the Colonies as beggars. We ask them to join us in such a league as they may think fit or think well, so as to promote the authority of that race to which they and to which we belong." And he proceeded to illustrate the truth that "the centre and the home of that race must always be in these islands," in language that finds its fitting poetic counterpart in the lines from which we have taken the words that stand at the head of this page—lines from a noble Ode on "England" that Swinburne has just given to the world. The Imperial Federation League is largely responsible for the high value now set upon the Colonies, and the sense of their importance in the Empire. As this aspect of affairs led many people both at home and in the Colonies to run into senseless extremes in their view of the relative position and importance of the Mother Country and the Colonies, it was right and fitting that the President of the League should say something to bring men's minds back to the sober realities of things. In his brief speech at the conclusion of the Annual Meeting, Lord Rosebery recurred to this subject, for the sake of disclaiming—though, as he remarked, it seemed hardly necessary to disclaim—a distorted meaning attached to his language on the former occasion by a "judicious" critic, who found in them the doctrine that Imperial Federation really means "the centralisation

of the Empire at any cost." Some of our critics, we are aware, and notably among them the *Spectator*, are consistently unable to understand us aright, owing chiefly to a corresponding inability to recognise the fundamental distinction between a legislative and a federal union. "The task of the centralisation of the Empire," Lord Rosebery said, "would be a task beyond the powers of the greatest statesmen and philosophers that ever lived. They would attempt a task so impossible as to be absolutely ridiculous. Whoever wishes to centralise in these islands the direction of the various races of the various climates which compose the British Empire, would be attempting a task absolutely ridiculous." What we aim at is a national union—an Imperial union. We have enough to do in these islands to govern the thirty-five million people who live in them; but that ought not to impede us in our wish for an Imperial unity which should present a united front to the world outside." Although it ought not to have been needed, that is, nevertheless, a useful pronouncement. Besides those who cannot, there are also those who will not understand us, to be reckoned with. The speech at the People's Palace will doubtless receive many ignorant, many unfair, glosses, as the report of it travels round the Empire; but after the language we have just quoted, no one will be able, without wilful misrepresentation, to say that Imperial Federation means the centralisation of political power in the hands of the people of Great Britain.

THE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

THE proceedings at the Annual General Meeting on May 22nd, which will be found fully reported in another column, were of more than usual interest, both on account of the general character of the speaking and by reason in particular of the speech delivered by Colonel Denison, who had received a mandate to represent in an especial manner the Imperial Federation League in Canada. The Report for the year naturally forms the staple of the proceedings at an annual meeting, and the Council's Report presented at this meeting, with the general features of which we deal separately, presented two or three subjects of very marked interest and importance, to which the speakers at the Westminster Palace Hotel principally devoted their observations. The point to which the President in his opening speech first and chiefly addressed himself had reference to the proposition made by the High Commissioner for Canada at the banquet succeeding last year's meeting, for the assembling of another Imperial Conference. It will be remembered that upon the strength of that proposition, which was warmly taken up by the members of the League, a correspondence took place between Lord Rosebery, as President of the League, and the Prime Minister, with reference to the reception by the latter of a deputation of the League to urge their views on this subject. It was proposed to wait upon Lord Salisbury with the suggestion or request that a second Imperial Conference should be summoned at the earliest convenient date, not exactly *ad hoc* to discuss the question of Imperial Federation, but to discuss the various matters left over from the Conference of 1887, or that had since become ripe for treatment, and such other matters of Imperial concern as might be brought forward, not excluding Imperial Federation. At the Mansion House Meeting in November a definite announcement was made of the decision arrived at by the Council, that the first aim of the League at the present time should be to obtain at the hands of the proposed Conference the acceptance of the policy of instituting Sessions of Imperial Conferences at regular and frequent intervals as a part of the recognised machinery of governing the Empire. This, the avowed policy of the League, rests upon the belief that such a body as constitutes an Imperial Conference is the best, if not the only one, that can do anything towards giving practical effect to proposals for Imperial Federation. Private bodies such as the League can work up such a question, can educate public opinion, can focus all that is spoken and written and thought about the subject, and so pave the way for the ultimate accomplishment of its aims. But it is not for the League to be formulating schemes, any more than it is for the editor of a great newspaper to frame

treates or to draft Acts of Parliament. That is the work, in either case, of those who have authority to give practical effect to their recommendations. However, the illness of Lord Salisbury postponed the proposed deputation, and by the time the question might have been mooted again, an event had occurred which altered the aspect of affairs. The great movement for the formation of an Australasian Federation had come upon the carpet, and engrossed the thoughts of statesmen and politicians in these Colonies. It was felt at once that it would be inopportune to talk of summoning the political leaders of Australasia to meet in London on other business at such a moment; whilst, on the other hand, a Conference in which so important a group of Colonies should be unrepresented would hardly be Imperial. This is the sufficient reason why the question of the deputation to the Prime Minister has been allowed to remain in abeyance. The League might of course approach Lord Salisbury, to put before him its general policy for the establishment of periodical Conferences. But, as Lord Rosebery put it, to do so at a time when it could not conscientiously be said that an opportunity was open for giving effect to their recommendation, would be to treat as practical a question that for the moment remains in the academical stage. The policy of the League stands good where it was: fitting occasion only must be awaited to bring that policy forward into the political arena.

The President quoted the paragraph in the Report which points out that the Behring Sea and Newfoundland Fisheries questions "have accentuated to some extent the question of the relations of the various parts of the Empire to its foreign policy which the League has always been anxious to see placed on a more sound and definite footing." That paragraph, Lord Rosebery said, indicates in a very compendious way the inconvenience of our present arrangements; the foreign policy of the Empire being guided by home parties alone, without any control by the Colonies—almost without any advice from them. But British North America received naturally most attention at the hands of Colonel Denison, who spoke on behalf of Canada. A subsequent resolution to that on which Colonel Denison spoke (seconding the adoption of the Report) expressed gratification at the loyal address presented to the Queen by the Dominion House of Commons, and it may be said shortly that in its whole tenor, Colonel Denison's speech also rang with the unswerving loyalty of Canada to the Imperial connection. But, while asserting and reasserting the staunchness of Canadians in clinging to their union with the Mother Country, he spoke very plainly of the difficulties and discouragements under which the continuance of this feeling of loyal devotion was maintained. He spoke, somewhat bitterly, perhaps, of the "nagging" and unfriendly policy of politicians in the United States, and their constant endeavours, by fair means or by foul, to detach Canada from her allegiance and drag her into political relations with themselves; and he drew a picture, from which it is impossible to withhold admiration, of the steadfastness, the patient endurance, and the honourable loyalty of his countrymen under the temptations and the provocations to which they are exposed. The moral of this is that England must look to it and do her share in fostering this spirit in Canada, and be prepared to enter upon arrangements that will ensure the lasting inclusion of Canada in the Empire. Canada has grown into a nation, and it is time she took up her full citizenship in the great Empire of which she forms a part. She must be no longer content, as Colonel Denison says, to remain in a position of dependence for her protection, or in her foreign relations generally. She is ready to accept the obligations and the rights of citizenship; and if she accepts the obligations, England must concede the rights. One most important element, from a Canadian point of view, in a closer union, is the establishment of a discriminating tariff. Canadian producers want a preference to enable them to hold the English market for their productions, and are ready in return to give the same preference to English manufactures. The worst of it, for the success of this arrangement, is that the market which Canada has to offer is not considered sufficient to make it worth while, for the sake of obtaining control of it, to enter upon a policy at home of discriminating against the rest of the world—a policy which, what-

ever the future may have in store, is opposed to the tenets of the dominant school of economists. Colonel Denison, however, believes it can be shown to be to the interest alike of the Empire and of the Mother Country herself to bring about such an arrangement.

We have not left ourselves space to comment at any length on the other interesting speeches made. To the resolution upon the Canadian address of loyalty we have already referred; it was spoken to, well and to the point, by the mover and seconder, Lord Brassey and Sir Frederick Young. In moving a vote of thanks to the President, not only for presiding at the meeting but for his work throughout the year, Sir Charles Tupper paid a high tribute to the ability, sagacity, and judgment displayed by Lord Rosebery in this as in other capacities. It was a graceful thing, too, that the High Commissioner for Canada, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the Confederation of that Dominion, should have taken the present occasion, devoted to the cause of Federation on Imperial lines, to speak hopefully of the newer movement in the direction of Federation among the sister Colonies of Australia; and to express, as he did, the belief that in the consummation of that movement is to be sought the means of finding a solution of the difficult problem of Imperial Federation itself. Mr. Parkin, in seconding the vote of thanks, referred very felicitously to the advantage derived by the cause in all parts of the Empire from the leadership of Lord Rosebery; and this testimony from one who has so lately felt the pulse of nearly all the great self-governing Colonies, is especially valuable at a time when, as will be seen by reference to another column, the President himself had been feeling certain chivalrous misgivings on the point. Mr. Parkin, in conclusion, pointed to the enormous advantage gained by statesmen from personal knowledge of the Empire acquired in travel, and to the significant fact that those who by such means had made themselves best acquainted with its political problems, were the very men who most earnestly supported the policy of the League.

THE YEAR.

THE exhaustive character of the Annual Report of the Council presented to the General Meeting of the League, which is reprinted at length in this month's issue, renders it unnecessary for us to lay before our readers any review of our own of the work of the year 1889-90. We need not, however, deprive ourselves of the pleasure of making some reference to this altogether satisfactory document. To some of the most prominent features of it we refer under another head in connection with the treatment they received by the speakers at the annual meeting. But there remain other matters contained in the Report, of considerable interest and moment, to which little or no reference was there made. The history of the year's work is spoken of, in terms that certainly do not err on the side of exaggeration, as a record of steady and unremitting progress. Continuity of progress is no doubt the best of all signs in work of any sort; and in work such as the League has in hand, steady progress, even if it were slow, would be more valuable than spasmodic flashes of unsustained energy. Nevertheless, the past year does seem to us to have been marked by a more than usual vitality and the occurrence of what can only be aptly described as a "spurt," when we look back upon it and remember that almost the whole of Mr. Parkin's campaign has been fought and chronicled since the date of the last annual meeting. The mission of Mr. Parkin through the Dominion of Canada and the Australasian Colonies has been attended by very marked results. Not only have his eloquent addresses "stirred the public mind in those countries," but as great if not possibly even a greater, because a less evanescent effect has been produced by means of the personal conviction carried by his private conversation to the most influential minds, that lead and form public opinion in parliament and in the press. The largely extended operations of the League in Canada during the past year are probably due in no slight degree to this cause; while in Australasia the question has been elevated through the same agency to a position of importance it certainly had not attained before. It might not, indeed, be altogether

wide of the mark to hazard the conjecture that, whatever the immediate causes or occasion, the rapid ripening of the movement towards a united Australia may even have owed something to the general flood of federal doctrine poured out by one who, being himself a Canadian, would above most people regard Colonial and Imperial Federation as having a natural connection and correlation with one another, as but two sides of a single idea. Nor has the great stirring of the public mind on the question by Mr. Parkin's agency been confined to parts beyond the sea. In London, in Scotland, in Yorkshire, and elsewhere, the cause of national unity has received an enormous impulse. If any proof of this were needed, it is afforded by the best evidence in such cases of the amount of public interest a question attracts, which finds its most accurate measure and reflection in the amount of space devoted to it in the public press; and to the extent of attention that has been given to the subject lately through the daily and weekly press, and in the periodical literature of the day, our own columns for the past months bear ample testimony. Nor must we omit to trace back to the same source the eminently satisfactory and reassuring utterances of such political leaders as Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington.

To the Canadian desire for the discussion by a Conference of some system of Fiscal Reciprocity within the Empire we have referred in connection with Colonel Denison's speech at the annual meeting. It is a matter of regret that circumstances should have arisen which stand in the way of such a discussion by representatives of the whole Empire; though we yet entertain the hope that the League in Canada may find some means of getting the matter brought under discussion within narrower limits. There is one important factor in this question which can at any rate be taken up without delay in a practical manner. We refer to the existence in our commercial treaties with foreign countries of clauses which practically prevent the different portions of the Empire from making such internal fiscal arrangements between themselves as they may think proper. It is the Postal Union "block" over again on a larger scale; a legacy from the time when everything over-sea was "foreign," and no one—at least, no great body or party in the State—had come to regard the Empire as a unit. The Report refers to the feeling which exists in Canada on this point, and the efforts that are being made there to remove this preliminary obstacle to any negotiations that may subsequently be entered into, looking to preferential fiscal treatment between one part of the Empire and another. The whole subject was recently brought before the Dominion House of Commons by General Laurie, M.P., in an exhaustive speech made upon a motion for papers. The most obnoxious of such clauses appear to exist only in the treaties with two foreign countries; but the application of the "Most Favoured Nation" Clause practically extends their operation almost universally. As, however, the special treaties referred to expire in 1892 the whole board could be swept by the omission of these clauses from the new treaties, if any, made at that date. There are, however, other clauses of a less but still of a sufficiently obnoxious character in some other treaties. Whether people approve of preferential treatment within the Empire or not, all at least can unite in untying the hands of our Governments so that they may exercise a free choice without asking leave of foreign powers.

Of those paragraphs of the report that deal with postal matters it is not necessary to say anything here, as these questions have been very fully treated in recent issues of the JOURNAL. We need only pause to note with satisfaction that in complimenting Mr. Henniker Heaton on the measure of success already won to so large an extent by his own untiring agitation, the Council at the same time is able to congratulate itself that to him as one of its original members is due so much of the credit for the progress made in the attainment of an object which, from the formation of the League, has been recognised as one of the most practical means of assisting in forwarding the general cause of Imperial Federation. For the same reason, we pass over the paragraph relating to Defence. The combination of the branches now existing in the United Kingdom into an organisation similar to that perfected in Canada, is a scheme that would unquestionably be of advantage in enabling the United

Kingdom, as a part of the Empire, to give expression to special views. At present, special Canadian or Australian interests find ready champions, within as well as outside the League; whereas there is no one to speak for the United Kingdom as such; and the central organisation accordingly, having its headquarters in London, has to represent, in the politics of the League, both a part of the Empire and the whole of it—an incompatible position from which this scheme would release the Central Council, and leave it in the same attitude towards the branches that a Federal Government holds towards those of its constituent States. In conclusion we have only to echo the belief expressed in the Report that, whilst the effect of the League's action in the past five years has been "almost phenomenal," yet the very extent of its success necessitates the unceasing development of its activity to enable it "not only to keep pace with the rapidly succeeding phases of the question," but also to "secure the full advantage of the progress made."

QUARTERLIES AND MONTHLIES.

BOTH the old quarterlies have in their latest numbers articles touching on Imperial Federation. In an appreciative, and on the whole hopeful article, the *Quarterly* reviews "Problems of Greater Britain" and "Thirty Years of Colonial Government." The reviewer regards Imperial Defence as the basis on which "the only possible fabric of Imperial Federation can be reared." Councils of Agents-General and representation in the House of Lords as serious suggestions for consolidating the Empire are naturally scouted; and the fear is expressed that an Imperial Customs Union is an idea beyond the range of practical politics. In all this the reviewer is, broadly speaking, at one with us, as he also is in the belief that the separate unifying of our great groups of Dependencies will make it easier for them to unite in drawing nearer to the Mother Country for purposes of common defensive action.

The *Edinburgh Review*, taking the same two books for its text, prints an article that goes far to wipe out the stain of the ridiculously unfair and ill-informed effusion that found a place in its pages some months back. The present article is both well informed and well reasoned, and some of the principal difficulties in the way of Imperial Federation are clearly and forcibly stated. There is just one point we do not like to leave unnoticed. The writer seems to regard co-operation and alliance between the different parts of the Empire as antagonistic to the aims of the League. This is a mistake. The League aims at "some form of Federation"; but it welcomes all and every means that make for Imperial unity in any form.

Blackwood for May contains an article, that has deservedly attracted a considerable amount of notice in the press, under the title of "A New View of Imperial Federation." It is from the pen of a writer who understands his subject, and is written from a point of view favourable to the idea of Federation; though candour compels us to admit that, as has been pointed out in more than one press notice, there is not much in the "view" put forward justifying the claim to novelty. Without being able to agree with everything the writer says, we welcome him as an ally. There is one subsidiary question in particular—a question of nomenclature—on which we are altogether at variance with him, in that he more than once uses "Great Britain" and "Greater Britain" to express respectively the United Kingdom, and the rest of the Empire exclusive of it. This is worse than Sir Charles Dilke's own application of the term he invented to include the British Empire and the United States of America. "Greater Britain" is not the modern analogue of *Magna Græcia*; "Great Britain" is greater, in all senses but the geographical, than all the British Colonies put together. If people must use the term "Greater Britain," it should be in the sense in which it has passed into current language—as a short expression for the countries and peoples wholly or chiefly of British race and language, whether in the Mother Country or the Colonies. Some such expression is needed, because the "British Empire" includes countries and races that are British only in the sense of being under British dominion.

The *United Service Magazine* for May is again to the fore in matter of Imperial interest in our sense, and promises to be a valuable addition to the channels through which these questions are brought under discussion, and the public informed and enlightened. Mr. Gossip's article, however, on "Obstacles to Imperial Federation" is rather calculated to mislead than to inform. It is written from the point of view of an Australian Separatist, but is not a good specimen of its class. It is made up too much of talk about "Imperialistic plotters," and so forth; and while Mr. Gossip may be excused, if ignorance betrays him into treating Mr. Mercier's organ in the press as a fair exponent of Canadian opinion, it is hardly fair on the English reader seriously to cite the *Sydney Bulletin* as representative of the

"leading newspapers" of that "great Colony." We are told, too, that "the speeches of the delegates at the late Melbourne Conference distinctly show the democratic and Secessionist tendencies of the speakers." Still, it is only right that readers at home should know the kind of thing that is written a good deal, and a good deal too much, in those organs of public opinion in Australia that are unfortunately read by the less educated classes there. As the editor remarks in a short note prefixed by way of antidote to Mr. Gossip's paper, "the first step to removing obstacles is to know what they are." "It is time," he says, "we understood one another;" and, "it is much better that any soreness that there is should be brought to the knowledge of our home folk."

The *Victoria Quarterly*—a review published at Kingston, Jamaica, and "simulating" (as naturalists say) the *Nineteenth Century* in external appearance and general get-up—publishes an article headed "The Imperial Institute and Federation," from which, however, the Imperial Institute is conspicuous by its absence, the whole paper being confined—and we surely have no fault to find with it on that account—to a discussion of Imperial Federation. The writer—who puts forward very modest claims, and does not profess to write with authority—has nevertheless evidently made some study of the subject, and, like most people who do that much, is impressed with the advantages of the policy of unity. The evils of the present system are set out *seriatim*, most of the more important points being taken; and then follows a "rough draft" of a Federal Constitution, placed by the writer "on the altar of sacrifice," to meet the fate which he knows awaits all such adventurous essays. But, for ourselves, we prefer to leave it to other hands to use the knife. It is satisfaction enough for us to know that the subject is engaging attention in a quarter whence we hear but little of it.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE LEAGUE.

A RECENT incident in the internal affairs of the League is referred to in the following extract from the *Manchester Examiner* in terms which we could not improve upon if we tried, and we are quite willing, therefore, to stand aside and allow the writer in that paper to give our readers the information they ought to be possessed of, since occurrences of such a nature are extremely apt to get misrepresented in some sections of the press whether through carelessness or worse:—"In consequence of a statement made in Sir Charles Dilke's 'Problems of Greater Britain,' that the political attitude of Lord Rosebery, the President of the Imperial Federation League, as a Home Ruler, was a hindrance to the League in Australia, and of similar expressions in the press at home, Lord Rosebery recently suggested to the Executive the advisability of selecting a President from the Conservative statesmen who have associated themselves with the movement, at the same time promising his most strenuous support in any other position than that of President. The matter has been discussed by the Executive Committee of the League, and yesterday an influential deputation from that body waited upon Lord Rosebery in regard to it. The deputation, which included several members of Parliament of different parties and a number of well-known Colonists, expressed to his lordship the unabated confidence felt in his leadership of the movement, and attributed much of the success of the League to his studious care to separate the Imperial Federation idea from any party considerations, and to keep it on high national grounds. The Colonial members of the deputation repudiated the idea that either in Canada or Australia was Lord Rosebery's position anything but a great assistance to the cause, and asserted that his acquaintance with Colonial matters and his sympathy with Colonial views gave him a weight in the Colonies enjoyed by few statesmen in this country. Lord Rosebery, in replying, intimated, in deference to the strong opinions expressed by the deputation, that he was bound to waive any objections which he might have felt as to continuing in the Presidency of the League. He added that he had never felt greater confidence in the cause of Imperial Federation than he did at the present time, and assured the deputation that he would always use his influence to keep this great national question free from party connections."

There is nothing to add to that save to congratulate the President on the self-effacing course suggested by him in his happily unnecessary solicitude for the best interests of the League; the Executive Committee on the good sense which enabled them at once to come to a right conclusion on the matter; and the League as a whole on the success which still attends its rooted determination not to be wrecked on the shoal of party.

"The Old Flag."—Mr. Vincent Pyke writes to us from Dunedin, New Zealand, to point out that the song with the above title, quoted by a Montreal correspondent in our January number, was a mutilated version of a song written by himself in 1885. The introduction of the emblematic Maple-leaf in the version quoted, shows that the song had been "adapted" for a Canadian audience. Mr. Pyke is quite right to maintain his claim to the authorship of so good a song, but in our opinion he should be gratified to find that his verses and their sentiment have taken fresh root, and put forth a native foliage in a sister-land.

GREAT MEETING AT THE PEOPLE'S PALACE.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE presided over a public meeting held on 28th April at the People's Palace, to consider the subject of Imperial Federation. Among those present on the platform were Lord Rosebery, Lord Claud Hamilton, Sir Rawson Rawson, Sir G. G. Stokes, M.P., Sir John Colomb, M.P., Sir F. V. Smith, Sir Henry Doulton, General Sir Gerald Graham, Hon. T. A. Brassey, General Lowry, Sir Frederick Young, Sir H. Barkly, Sir E. H. Currie, Mr. Spencer Charrington, M.P., Mr. E. S. Norris, M.P., Col. Hon. le Poer Trench, Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., H. Kimber, M.P., Mr. F. Wootton Isaacson, M.P., Colonel Denison (Canada), Mr. J. J. Fellows (Agent-General, New Brunswick), Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, Mr. W. Hunter, L.C.C., Mr. G. R. Parkin, and Colonel R. B. Lane.

The hall, although not filled to overflowing—not a surprising fact considering the spacious dimensions of the hall—was comfortably filled with an audience numbering at least 2,000 persons.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, who was received with cheers, said,—"In opening the proceedings this evening I feel that some apology is due to you that I occupy this chair, not from any circumstance of want of interest in the subject which we are to hear discussed to-night, but because I know there are others, especially my noble friend, Lord Rosebery (cheers), who are far more suited to elucidate this great subject than I can be. But at the same time I have felt so great an interest in the matter which is to be brought under our consideration, and I feel that it is so absolutely a non-political question, but a

GREAT QUESTION

connected with our Empire, that I have no hesitation in coming amongst you. (Cheers.) I always come with great pleasure to the East End when any circumstance of this sort enables me to see those who live in this part of the world. (Cheers.) I can only say, as far as I am concerned, you will hear an address with much interest connected with the commercial interests of this great question. I can only speak of those interests which are more immediately connected with the service over which I have the honour to preside, and I think there is a strong feeling that whatever may be the commercial interests, and they cannot be over-rated, the first sentiment we must all have, commercially as well as in all other respects, is one of security. Without security no commerce can thrive, no country can prosper. (Cheers.) And with regard to that security I own I have some little knowledge and experience, perhaps, which I am justified in bringing to your notice. One great point of security is

MUTUAL GOOD FEELING.

If the Colonies take care of themselves they must do so in conjunction with the sentiment of the Mother Country. If the Mother Country is to assist the Colonies she must do so in conjunction with the sentiment of the Colonies. There must be give and take in these matters, and if we once secure that

BASIS OF GIVE AND TAKE,

which is really at the foundation of this great question, and we begin by securing those interests in such a way that there can be no doubt as to the result, we have attained a great object, and we shall then be able to deal with the other interests, which are, of course, far more valuable as an Imperial question and as bearing upon the whole commercial community of this great Empire. Therefore, though we are here assembled to-night in order to hear the subject discussed from a commercial point of view, I contend, and without fear of contradiction, that

SECURITY IS THE FIRST POINT,

and then all the other great interests will prosper as a result." (Cheers.)

MR. G. R. PARKIN then delivered an address on the connection of Imperial Federation with work, wages, and food. The address, which held the attention of the large audience throughout, was for the most part similar to others delivered on the same theme by Mr. Parkin, the salient points of which are already familiar to our readers.

At the conclusion of the address LORD ROSEBERY proposed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Cambridge for presiding. He said:—"I have a very simple duty to perform, and I promise you that I will not detain you five minutes. It is to return our best thanks to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge for his presence in the chair this evening (cheers), and his presence in the chair on this occasion is extremely appropriate. (Cheers.) In the first place, he is the head of that order of knighthood which is especially devoted to the Colonies; in the next place, he is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army which watches all over that Empire which has been so eloquently described by Mr. Parkin; and, in the third place, the quality with which, perhaps, you know him best is that of a kind-hearted English Prince, an English gentleman who is never so happy as when he is standing shoulder to shoulder with his fellow-countrymen in some great public and national movement.

(Cheers.) Now I suppose I ought not to sit down without saying some word of the great cause which has brought us together. But after the extremely eloquent speech of my friend on my right, which I think is a very difficult one to follow, it is not very easy to say anything which is worthy of your attention. But the subject is a very large one, and I would ask you to look at this one aspect of it—that with the English-speaking race

LIES THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD.

That is the great fact that you have to deal with. Some of you will have to deal with it long after we have passed away, and to deal with it in a different form to that in which it presents itself now. Mr. Parkin has told you that the British Empire occupies one-fifth of the globe. Add to the British Empire that part which is occupied by the United States, and is inhabited by some 60,000,000 or 70,000,000 of English-speaking people. Then you come to see what an enormous influence for good, what a preponderating, overwhelming influence for good must be possessed by the English-speaking nations in times to come. (Cheers.) Now it would be well, as some have hoped, that that English-speaking influence should all be welded into one great league—Australia, Canada, the United States, Great Britain and so forth—and so control the world. That may come, but before that can come you must

FIRST FEDERATE YOURSELVES.

Before the British Empire can really hold out its hand to the United States and say "Let us form a league without the voice and permission of which no shot shall be fired in anger throughout the world;" before that can take place the British Empire must speak as one. (Hear, hear) Now I do not doubt that in Canada and in Australia there are great nations to arise. There may be nations inhabiting those territories larger than the population which now inhabits these islands; but there is one thing which they can never have, however great, however powerful they may become, and that is the authority which that word "home" gives throughout the British Empire. In these islands are the

TITLE-DEEDS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

(Cheers.) In these islands we mean to keep them. (Cheers.) And no one can take from that Imperial race to which you and I and all of us in this hall belong one particle of the historical authority, the Imperial reputation, which comes from our descent and the locality we inhabit. (Cheers.) It may be that owing to the carelessness of our statesmen and to the recklessness of other communities we may lose our Colonies, which would be a great and bitter blow for England. But still

ENGLAND WOULD SURVIVE,

and England would still be a great governing power in the world, and what I want to remind this audience as well as audiences outside this hall is that we do not wish to mould the Empire from any sense of poverty or necessity on our part. We do not approach the Colonies as beggars. We ask them to join us in such a league as they may think fit or think well, so as to promote the authority of that race to which they and to which we belong. (Cheers.) There may be, and there doubtless will be, because the race has its future as well as its present and its past—there will be great names, great heroes, great men of genius yet to rise up, both here and in those great countries beyond the seas; but whatever men may arise they cannot wipe out those who have gone before them. They

CANNOT WIPE OUT

in one department Wellington and Marlborough and Nelson. They cannot wipe out Shakespeare, they cannot wipe out Milton, they cannot forget Bacon. These great names belong to the whole English race, but they belong in the first place and especially to these islands, and what I would venture to impress upon you is this—that if there is to be an Empire of the kind mapped out by Mr. Parkin, the centre and the home of that race must always be in these islands. There was once a famous lady of whom you may have heard—the wife of the famous Duke of Marlborough, old Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. She was, according to all reports, a rather tough old subject to deal with, and we know of one of her descendants in the shape of our friend Lord Randolph Churchill. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, she did not live to see that descendant, but she lived to see a great many, and the idea struck her that she would have them all to dinner; so she assembled them all at dinner, and made them a pathetic and melancholy speech. In the course of her speech she said she saw many fair branches around her, and that she was pleased to be the ancient root from which they sprang. One graceless grandson who had expectations from her, and who was seated at the board, said in an audible voice that he thought that, like other roots, she ought to be underground. (Laughter.) Well,

WE ARE THE ROOT

of this English race, and we do not mean to go underground. We mean to remain the root and, I trust, the model of that English race, and while we try to unite all our brethren abroad

to assist in cordial co-operation in the closest league consistent with their self-respect and their self-government, we do not do so in the attitude of supplicants, but in the attitude of the representatives of the ancestral politics of Great Britain. I hear much of the form of the Federation which would be desirable. I do not profess to lay down any doctrine on that point. Any statesman who endeavoured to

FORCE A SCHEME OF FEDERATION

on this world-wide Empire would not merely be not a friend of the cause, but he would be the greatest enemy of the cause. What we want is to adopt such easy self-adjusting relations that the British Empire may not be merely, as it is now to some extent, a chaos of communities, but may present to the outer world a large, a consistent, and a powerful whole. (Loud cheers.)

SIR JOHN COLOMB, M.P., in seconding the proposal, said:—"His Royal Highness was the Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces of the Crown—the army of India, the army of Canada, the army of South Africa, and the Volunteer army of Australia, all owed allegiance to a common Sovereign, and were really under the command of His Royal Highness. And whether they were regular, militia, or volunteer forces, their duty was one and the same. No one could doubt that that duty would be equally well discharged in all parts of the Empire. (Applause.) But ready as was every portion of the army, active or reserve, to fly to the help, when the cry for help came, of any portion of the Empire, it should never be forgotten that no portion could cross to the succour of the other except over the sea and under the

PROTECTION OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

(Cheers.) And one of the first steps towards that Federation for which they looked was the practical co-operation of all parts of the Empire in making that fleet sufficiently strong to guard all the pathways and all the roads of the sea. And in doing that they were at all events taking a step which would tend to localise war, to make war only territorial, and to stamp out in the future great maritime wars. (Cheers.) As had been so ably and eloquently pointed out, sentiment tended in the direction of bringing about unity, while self-interest in all parts of the Empire was drawing men towards a common centre, by making it more and more apparent that if each part of the Empire was to thrive and prosper and successfully face the future, it must be in conjunction with every other part. The problem had therefore arrived at this point—given a sentiment, given the appreciation of the necessities of self-interest, find the machinery which will use that sentiment, and which will adapt itself to that self-interest to carry out a consistent

CONTINUOUS POLICY OF DRAWING CLOSER

and closer together in firmer bonds all parts of the Empire for a common good and a common purpose. It was through the expression of the will of the people in England, Canada, Australia, and South Africa, that practical results would come. The danger to be apprehended would come from the very vastness of the problem. Their statesmen might be

FRIGHTENED AT THE VASTNESS

of the Empire that had been created. But, looking back over the pages of history, it could be seen that the tasks undertaken by our forefathers, under the circumstances of the time, were just as great to them as this problem might be to us now. And if we were to be worthy—whether we were Canadians, Australians, South Africans, or home-born—of our ancestry, certainly we ought to strive to follow in their footsteps, and take care at all events that our aspirations were no less than theirs. (Cheers.) The Poet Laureate had rightly interpreted the danger of England being frightened at the greatness of her possible future, and the greatness of the duties involved, when he wrote

"We've sailed wherever ship could sail,
We've founded many a mighty State,
Pray God our greatness may not fall
Through craven fear of being great."

(Loud cheers.)

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL F. C. DENISON, representing the League in Canada, supported the resolution, and bore testimony to the continued loyalty and goodwill of Canadians.

In response, after the resolution had been enthusiastically carried, his Royal Highness congratulated Mr. Parkin on the eloquent address he had given, and the admirable way in which he had brought home the truths of this great question.

THE SPEECHES AT THE PEOPLE'S PALACE.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

SCOTSMAN.

LORD ROSEBURY'S short speech in London on Monday night on Imperial Federation is worthy of most careful attention, because of the wit and wisdom which it embodies. Lord Rosebery has made Imperial Federation his particular question, and

he has never failed when occasion offered to insist on the necessity of some such arrangement. It may be that when he first returned from his tour round the world, filled with a sense of the present and future greatness of our trans-oceanic Empire, he was more sanguine than he is at this moment of a speedy binding together of all the parts of that Empire. But while the difficulties in the way have become plainer to him, they have not in the least weakened his conviction that Imperial Federation is a necessity of the future, and must be brought about if the greatness of the Empire is to be maintained. Let it be remembered that in this matter there is no Chauvinism. It is not merely a desire to see a great Empire covering a large part of the world that stirs to the movement for Imperial Federation. It is the knowledge that with all parts of the Empire more closely connected, the material interests of every British subject would be enormously increased. Imperial Federation would mean not merely Imperial greatness, but Imperial prosperity. Lord Rosebery has more than once recalled the fact that States have risen, have flourished, and have faded, and he has urged that the fading is not an unavoidable part of the whole process. This Empire has risen to a pitch of greatness that has never before been seen. There were some passages in his short speech of Monday night in which he indicated to the young and growing communities that have sprung from the loins of Great Britain that though they may be ambitious and industrious, and have the promise of a great future before them, the root of their greatness is in the Mother Country, and that root is not to be put aside. Imperial Federation, as Lord Rosebery desires it, will come, must come, unless the British people are to give up their claim for common sense. How it will come remains to be seen. But any effort in the direction of Imperial Federation is to be welcomed. Out of many suggestions the true course will be struck. It is for this reason that Lord Rosebery's efforts on behalf of Imperial Federation are to be warmly welcomed. He is doing important service to his country when he seeks to bring about a closer union between the Mother Land and the Colonies.

LIVERPOOL COURIER.

Imperial Federation is still regarded by many as nothing more than a conception of Utopia. On the other hand, some of the more ardent advocates of the idea are probably dissatisfied with the progress that has hitherto been made. The probability is, however, that the vast majority of those having faith in the movement and seeking to promote it by all judicious means, are alike well content with the present aspect of affairs, and much more hopeful as to the future than they were say three years ago. For no thoughtful devotee has ever expected, or even desired, to see the end attained by a headlong rush of sentiment. The interests of the smallest unit in an Empire scattered over the entire globe must be reconciled with the whole, and all local prejudices overcome by the process of persuasion in order to bring the question into the practical sphere; and looking at the matter from this standpoint there seems ground for congratulation. . . . Of course the fact of these sentiments being held and expressed by one citizen, however distinguished, would by itself be of little importance; but in the case of this meeting, as in scores of others which have been reported, it is made evident that the great mass of Canadians are heartily in accord with Colonel Denison. Imperial Federation has obviously taken hold of the public mind as the great pivot of the future, and this is decidedly a circumstance of great significance.

SPEAKER.

Whatever may be the doubts entertained in many quarters as to the possibility of federating the Empire, and however grave may be the obstacles which lie in the way of the successful completion of such a work, it is certain that nothing but good can be done by fostering the feeling of unity among all classes of the Queen's subjects, and Mr. Parkin is entitled to unreserved praise for the part which he has played in this work. Lord Rosebery did well, however, at the close of Mr. Parkin's lecture, to give emphasis to the fact that whatever may be the fate of the movement in favour of Imperial Federation, Great Britain will hold her own, and will never cease to be the centre of English influence throughout the world. Hardly less desirable or necessary was his caution against any proposals for forcing Federation upon unwilling peoples.

DEVON GAZETTE.

It cannot be brought home too soon to the working electorate that their own material prosperity and comfort are in a large measure bound up with the fortunes of our commerce, and that our commerce, again, very largely depends for its markets and success upon our relations with our own Colonies. This fact, once recognised, the Imperial idea indissolubly connected with it will soon find its own proper and indispensable place beside it. We are glad, indeed, to think that both of these conceptions of Imperial responsibility are already, and even for some time past have been rapidly incorporating themselves in the minds of the people, owing to influences which, for obvious reasons, are outside the scope of our topic on this occasion.

YORKSHIRE HERALD.

It is undoubtedly desirable that on all Imperial questions the British Empire should speak as one. England could lose nothing by inviting the co-operation of her Colonies to this extent. However great they may become—and both Australia and Canada are already great nations—it is in these islands "at home," as Lord Rosebery said, that the title-deeds of the Anglo-Saxon race are kept. "No one," he added, "can take from that Imperial race to which you and I and all of us belong one particle of the historical authority, the Imperial reputation, which comes from our descent and the locality we inhabit." No one either can or would desire to take from us these noble distinctions. Australia, Canada, and all the rest of Greater Britain, are too proud of the home they sprang from to wish to despoil it. Their ambition rather is to add to its glory, and to strengthen its defences.

SPECTATOR.

Lord Rosebery's speech at the People's Palace on Monday let us see the "hard core" of the Imperial Federation movement. The Colonies, in amalgamating with the United Kingdom, are to remember that "there is one thing which they can never have, however great, however powerful they may become, and that is the authority which that word 'home' gives throughout the British Empire." . . . This is what we have always believed Imperial Federation to mean, and we are much interested to obtain so frank an avowal from its official exponent. The perpetual and equal alliance of the English-speaking communities—which, oddly enough, Lord Rosebery adopts in one breath, and destroys in the next—is surely a far worthier goal than the aggrandising of these islands under federal forms.

POLITICAL WORLD.

Lord Rosebery's speech the other night on Imperial Federation was, as always, spirited and suggestive; but at present the question does not, as the French say, "palpitate with actuality." . . . The inherent difficulties of the scheme are great, and Mr. Gladstone's attitude makes them greater. . . . One of the reasons why Mr. Gladstone so cordially approved of Lord Rosebery's action in becoming chairman of the County Council was, that the duties and occupations of the chair would probably draw him away from the platforms of Imperial Federation.

COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

The words "Imperial Federation" have been repeated over and over again with such wearisome iteration that they have almost ceased to convey any definite idea. . . . The Duke of Cambridge, who took the chair at Monday's meeting, spoke sensibly and to the point, as he generally does, when he recommended a policy of give-and-take between the Mother Country and the Colonies.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.

There are two sides to every question—to the Imperial Federation question amongst the rest. We all talk a great deal just now about "Greater Britain," and we do well. But it is well to remember England also; and, as Lord Rosebery has so often spoken of the claims of Greater Britain, it was only right for him to show for once that he does not forget the paramount claims of England. Another excellent thing in Lord Rosebery's speech was his description of the ideal which all members of the English-speaking race should at all times keep before them.

The only pity is that Lord Rosebery stopped his argument there, and did not go on to explain what must be done before the British Empire can "speak as one."

LEEDS MERCURY.

The Imperial Federation meeting at the People's Palace was important alike from the numbers and the quality of the attendance. It cannot fail to produce a very considerable effect in the Colonies on the one hand, and on the other, upon the Government, whose very satisfactory attitude upon the matter in hand has been impressively evidenced by the letter from Lord Salisbury published on Saturday last. . . . An article in the new number of *Blackwood* puts forward in an impressive manner the considerations which tell in favour of some early and distinct proposals on the part of the Imperial Government to the Colonies; and there can be no doubt that the state of feeling at home is now such as to support some well-considered project for the establishment, in Lord Rosebery's words, of "such easy self-adjusting relations that the British Empire may not be merely, as it is now to some extent, a chaos of communities, but may present to the outer world a large, a consistent, and a powerful whole."

All the leading papers in London and the Provinces published reports of the meeting, with or without comment.

A Trustworthy Correspondent.—"Imperial Federation" is, as a living faith, confined to Lord Rosebery, the budding Imperial Institute, and the *Daily Telegraph*.—London correspondent of *Townsville Herald* (Queensland).

SYMPATHY WITH AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

At the request of an influential body of bankers, merchants, fundholders, and others interested in the Australasian Colonies, a public meeting was held yesterday, under the auspices of the City of London branch of the Imperial Federation League, at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding, to congratulate the Governments of Australia on the unanimous resolutions passed by their delegates at the recent Melbourne Conference in favour of the federation of the Australian Colonies. Letters regretting their inability to attend the meeting were received from Lord Carnarvon, Lord Rosebery, Sir J. Lubbock, M.P., the Bishop of Manchester, Mr. J. H. Tritton, and Mr. T. Sutherland, M.P.

The Chairman said that the meeting had been called in compliance with the request conveyed in the following memorial:—

"We, the undersigned bankers, financiers, merchants, and others in the City of London, having intimate and extensive business relations with Australia, and representing large amounts invested in Colonial Government debts and other local securities, desire very respectfully to memorialise your Lordship to grant the use of the Egyptian Hall, Mansion House, for the purpose of affording the numerous and influential friends of the Colonies in this country an opportunity to express their cordial sympathy with the resolutions in favour of intercolonial federation unanimously passed by the conference of Colonial Government representatives which recently assembled at Melbourne. We also beg to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that at a large representative gathering of native Australians of European descent (who form the bulk of the population), held in the capital of Victoria still more recently, the decision arrived at by the Conference of political delegates was unanimously approved. In due course a National Convention, consisting of leading citizens from each of the Colonies, will be summoned to ratify the proceedings of the Melbourne Conference above referred to, and formulate the political and fiscal conditions of union. Your memorialists therefore deem the occasion of the proposed establishment of an Australian dominion, and the inauguration of a new era of intercolonial prosperity, which is certain to succeed federation, worthy to be signalled by the public expression of congratulations on the part of the Queen's subjects in the United Kingdom, many of whom have already afforded substantial proofs of their interest in Colonial development, and their confidence in the progress of Australia."

The memorial, continued the Chairman, had been signed on behalf of the Union Bank of Australia, the London Chartered Bank of Australia, the Bank of Victoria, the Queensland National Bank, the English, Scottish, and Australian Chartered Bank, the City of Melbourne Bank, the National Bank of Australasia, the Commercial Bank of Australia, and a number of firms of the greatest importance, including the Peninsular and Oriental Company. He believed that every thinking man must arrive at the conclusion that the Federation of the Australian Colonies could not but have a good effect on that Imperial Federation which the majority of them, he ventured to say—all the best thinkers of the day—had so largely at heart. The Australian Colonies, in the event of our at any time needing their aid for national purposes, would no doubt be of great service to us; but he could not help thinking that those services would be doubled—indeed, quadrupled—if these Colonies were to associate as one body instead of four distinct bodies.

Mr. Donald Larnace moved a resolution in accordance with the object of the meeting.

The Hon. T. A. Brassey seconded the motion, which was supported by Colonel G. T. Denison (representing the Imperial Federation League in Canada), Bishop Barry, Mr. Macfie, and Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, M.P., and was carried unanimously.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, proposed by Mr. W. G. Devon Astle, and seconded by Mr. F. Faithfull Begg.

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

VANCOUVER BRANCH.

We chronicled in March the formation of a branch of the League at Vancouver, British Columbia, which promised well. The branch has since held its first annual meeting, when much business was conducted and there was an animated discussion. The chair was occupied by Mr. Alexander, president of the branch.

The report of the Executive Committee on the constitution and rules was, with slight amendments, adopted. The entrance fee was fixed at 50 cents, and the annual fee at 1 dol., which includes registration of members in the books of the Dominion and Imperial Leagues.

It was decided to subscribe for a number of copies of the organ of the League, for the purpose of supplying gratis public reading rooms, etc., with them, as a means of disseminating information on the question.

The correspondence included a letter from Principal Grant to the secretary, which congratulated the members of the League on its

successful organisation. It pointed out that British Columbia should be specially interested in the aim of perfecting the union between the Mother Country and the great self-governing Colonies. Until, Principal Grant said, we have a voice in controlling the fleet and our share in paying for it, we have no right to ask that it be used for us in Behring Sea, or anywhere else. Apart altogether from the considerations of defence or trade, the very instinct of self-government that has led Canada so far, cannot be satisfied till it fully realises itself.

Next followed a paper by Mr. Cotton on the probable effect of Imperial Federation on the future of British Columbia. The different results that are likely to flow from the federation of the Empire were considered under three heads: The material effect on our commercial and industrial progress; on our social and intellectual life; and on our political condition.

An animated discussion followed. Mr. C. G. Currie, of the *World* staff, saw no arguments in the paper in favour of Imperial Federation, as all the advantages referred to would be obtained by maintaining our present relations, and any move in that direction would only compromise Canadians, and render more difficult the accomplishment of their natural destiny, viz., independence.

It is needless to say that the above sentiments were in a large minority. Discussion followed, in which Messrs. Duval, Condell, Wagner, Alexander, Beck, and others took part. It was pointed out by them that independence was the very thing that Canadians did not want, to achieve their highest destiny.

The following officers were elected:—

President—R. H. Alexander; vice-presidents, F. C. Cotton, Right Rev. Bishop Sillitoe, and Rev. E. D. McLaren.

Joint Secretaries—A. E. Beck and R. E. Gosnell.

Treasurer—William Downie.

Executive Committee—Page Ponsford, Rev. H. P. Hobson, Rev. H. G. F. Clinton, C. E. Tisdall, J. M. Duval, T. H. Condell, A. H. B. Macgowan, J. L. Hall, R. Wickham, W. H. Russell, J. F. Garden, A. St. Geo. Hamersley.

ST. JOHN'S (NEW BRUNSWICK) BRANCH.

An enthusiastic meeting of this branch was held on 10th April, the president, Sir Leonard Tilley, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, occupying the chair.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, the first speaker, discussed Imperial Federation as a necessity. He spoke of a few instances in which the Colonies had been sorely tried by the action of the Imperial authorities, and proved by them the necessity for Colonial representation in the Imperial Government. Had such a man as his Honour been on the floor of the British Commons to plead our cause, the better portion of the Aroostook Valley would never have been given to a foreign nation. That was the aim, not to interfere with the affairs of England or Ireland, but to see that our claims are made known and recognised. He looked upon Imperial Federation as one of the surest guarantees against war.

Mr. C. N. Skinner, M.P., referred to the fact of existing feeling in favour of some broader idea than Colonial life. The question of Imperial Federation was a century old, as he proved by reading some of Franklin's papers, which advocated such a scheme. The old country had passed through the Manchester school of teaching, "Let the Colonies go," and the movement in favour of Imperial Federation is now receiving a great impetus there. Mr. Skinner read a form of constitution such as in his judgment might be suitable for the federated Empire.

Sir Leonard Tilley was greeted with loud and long continued applause as he rose to speak. He complimented Mr. Skinner on his idea for a constitution and spoke in the highest terms of the work being done by Mr. Parkin. Sir Leonard said he felt a great pride in the fact that New Brunswick had produced the man who had aroused so much enthusiasm in the Mother Country on this subject.

Rev. J. DeSoyres, in moving a vote of thanks to his Honour, paid a tribute to Canadian statesmanship and spoke of the good work Mr. Parkin was doing in waking up England to the great importance of these Colonies. On being seconded by J. DeWolfe Spurr the vote of thanks was heartily given.

The cause of Imperial Federation in New Brunswick is well supported in the Press of the capital by the *Evening Gazette*.

TORONTO BRANCH.

A general meeting of this branch was held on March 27th to hear a paper read by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins on "Canada and Australia." Present—Colonel George T. Denison (in the chair), Messrs. Small, Hopkins, Dickson, James Murray, the Rev. C. V. Lucas, and others, in all about eighty, including twelve ladies.

This being the first meeting since the death of Mr. Cattanaach, the late president, the following resolution was unanimously carried, it being moved by Mr. Small, and seconded by Colonel Denison:—"That the Toronto Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada feels deeply the loss that has befallen it in the death of its late president, Mr. Alexander Cattanaach, Q.C., whose efforts on behalf of the cause were so valuable and energetic."

The hon. secretary was directed to forward a copy of this resolution to Mrs. Cattanaach.

Mr. Hopkins then read a very interesting and exhaustive paper on "Canada and Australia," showing the advantage of a united Australia, how well we are adapted to trade with each other, and the advantages to both of federating with the rest of the Empire.

A discussion followed in which the following members took part:—the Rev. D. V. Lucas, Messrs. Small, Gibb, Captain Allen, Messrs. Dickson and Laidlaw.

Mr. Lucas, who had recently come from Australasia, pointed out that the Baltic Provinces supplied them with most of their lumber, that Canada should do this instead, which she could probably do cheaper.

Mr. Dickson informed the meeting that no less than 150,000 dols. worth of agricultural implements alone were exported to Australasia in 1889, and a considerable quantity of canned salmon from British Columbia, showing that we were already moving in the right direction.

After a few words in reply by Mr. Hopkins,

Colonel Denison paid a high compliment to Mr. Hopkins for his paper and considered it ought to be published and distributed throughout Australasia, in which the meeting enthusiastically concurred.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Hopkins, being proposed by Mr. Dickson and seconded by Mr. James Murray.

Mr. James Murray then moved, seconded by Commander Law:—
“That in view of the facts that many treaties between foreign nations and Great Britain expire in 1892, and that the Canadian Government has been memorialised by the Imperial Federation League in Canada, to advocate with the Imperial authorities that no further treaties be negotiated, without first consulting the Colonies concerned, be it resolved: That the Executive Committee of the League in Canada be requested, through their secretary, to write to the Boards of Trade throughout the Dominion, urging them to impress the Government with the importance of corresponding with the self-governing Colonies with the view to consider what alterations, amendments, or additions to existing treaties should be embodied in the new, so that previous to the assembling of the contemplated Colonial Conference, the Commissioners of the various Colonies might meet and decide on a joint presentation of Colonial requirements.”

The resolution was carried.

MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on March 20th, 1890, at 4 p.m., pursuant to notice.

Mr. C. J. Campbell was elected chairman.

The minutes and correspondence was read, and the Secretary made his monthly report.

The new rules with regard to representation on the Council and Executive Committee of the League in England, passed by the latter body on the 20th February and printed in the March number of the Journal, at page 65, were reported to the meeting.

Lieut.-General Laurie, M.P., was elected the fifth representative of the League in Canada on the Executive Committee of the League in England.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Council of the League in Canada:—

Right Rev. A. W. Sillitoe, D.D. (Bishop of New Westminster, British Columbia).

R. H. Alexander (Vancouver, British Columbia).

Lieut.-Colonel J. W. H. Rowley (Yarmouth, Nova Scotia).

The annual reports of the St. John (New Brunswick) and Port Arthur (Ontario) Branches, and the report of the inaugural meeting of the Vancouver (British Columbia) Branch were read and adopted.

The Secretary reported that, since the last meeting, the Boards of Trade of Toronto, St. Thomas, and Hamilton, had passed resolutions in favour of Imperial Penny Postage at the instigation of the League.

After passing accounts the meeting adjourned.

The monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held in Toronto, on Thursday, April 17th, 1890, at 4 p.m., Mr. J. Herbert Mason in the chair.

The resolution of the Executive Committee of the League in England, congratulating the League in Canada on the resolution with regard to the loyalty of the Canadian House of Commons (reported at page 94 of the Journal), was read by the secretary.

On the motion of Commander Low, R.N., seconded by Mr. T. E. Moberley, Lieut.-Colonel George T. Denison was especially requested to represent the League in Canada whilst in England during his approaching visit to that country.

The secretary was instructed to request Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., to bring up the postal matter in the House of Commons, the action of the League with regard to the matter having been endorsed by the leading Boards of Trade in the Dominion. Since the last meeting, the Boards of Trades at Montreal, St. John, New Brunswick, and Vancouver, British Columbia, had passed resolutions in favour of the proposed reform.

The “Commercial Treaties” matter was also considered, and the President of the League, Mr. D’Alton McCarthy, M.P., was requested to move an address to the Crown on the subject.

It was decided to present an address of welcome to H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on the occasion of his approaching visit to Canada.

The monthly meeting of the Executive Committee for May was held the 1st of the month in Toronto, at 4 p.m.

Mr. C. J. Campbell in the chair.

Letters from Mr. Cockburn, M.P., and Mr. D’Alton McCarthy, M.P., were read with regard to the action proposed to be taken with regard to the “Postal and Commercial Treaties” matters.

It was decided to print a pamphlet by Mr. Arch. McGown, Junr. (vice-president of the League for Quebec), on “A Federal Parliament of the British People,” and also a paper by Mr. J. C. Hopkins, on “Canada and the Empire.”

The committee decided to issue a card of membership of the League in Canada, and to ask the committee in England to consider the advisability of adopting a badge for members.

The draft address to H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, as prepared by the secretary, was submitted and approved.

In future the Executive Committee will hold its meetings on the first Wednesday of each month, so as to be able to communicate more easily with the committee of the League in England.

CASIMIR DICKSON, Hon. Secretary.

“In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.”

CORRESPONDENCE.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—The cable despatches announced a short time ago that Mr. Henniker Heaton had moved the Government with reference to the establishment of Penny Postage within the British Empire and with the United States. The idea of Imperial Penny Post has been suggested by so many of our adherents in all quarters, that it is hardly fair for anyone to appropriate to himself special credit for it. The heartiness with which the proposal has been received by our friends everywhere makes it one of those measures that may fairly be said to form part of the platform of the League. It is therefore open to us to criticise anything that may have a tendency to divert public opinion from the proper consideration of the question, and to deprive it of any value it may have as part of a national movement. I therefore propose to attack the manner of handling the question by Mr. Henniker Heaton.

If there be anything in the policy of the Mother Country that has tended to weaken the allegiance of the Colonies, it is the constant practice of treating them precisely like foreign nations. We in Canada see the United States as a nation making every possible distinction between their own people and foreigners, treating their own with greatest liberality and generosity and foreigners with very rigorous treatment. Then we see our own Imperial authorities taking great pains to emphasise in the minds of the Colonists that they have no greater claim to consideration than foreigners. If a restriction is removed from the Colonies, it is also removed from foreign countries; if a benefit is conferred on the Colonies, it is conferred at once on foreign countries; until our enemies are able to say with much force, “What is the advantage in your being part of the British Empire?”

And particularly is it galling to observe the perpetual truckling on the part of Englishmen to the United States. The Americans do not pretend to treat England otherwise than as a foreign country, yet Englishmen seem to have a nervous dread of asserting their national sentiment: they dare not, it seems, undertake anything as a purely national movement, but must infuse into it the germ of distraction of their national object, by teaching the Colonies that they may need expect nothing from the fact of their being British subjects, that they must expect to be put on exactly the same footing as the country that has thrown off her allegiance. This was not the spirit shown by Horatio Nelson when he was cruising among the West India Islands. He asserted very forcibly the doctrine that the subjects of His Majesty were entitled to be treated very differently from those who had cast off their allegiance. In his day, however, as in ours, there was a heavy inert mass of stupidity to contend with.

Now it was our hope that the Imperial Federation movement was going to alter this. . . . And yet we find the only popular measure that has been undertaken under the auspices of the League, poisoned as to its national feature by the proposed inclusion of the United States. Why are we such cowards that we dare not boldly proclaim this as a national movement? Why do we propose to include the revolted Colonies? We may be certain that if they agree to it, it will be with the sole view of defeating the national aim we had before us, the making of this a bond to unite the different countries of our Empire closer together; just as already they have tried to “assimilate” Canada by including her within their own postal limits.

As a British Federationist, I hope Mr. Henniker Heaton may fail. The adoption of Penny Post will be a sacrifice of revenue on the part of the Colonies as well as on the part of the Mother Country. And while we should be glad to make the sacrifice for the promotion of a legitimate national object, that of uniting the countries of the Empire more closely together; deprive it of that character, and I sincerely hope the proposal will be rejected by the several Governments.

There is another reason why the proposal should not include the United States. I am not aware whether the postal service with that country is self-sustaining or not. If it is not, why should the taxpayer be called upon to assume an additional burden to make postage with the United States cheaper? If it is, why should we throw away the advantage this gives us of maintaining the revenue, when the chief or only difficulty raised by the Postmaster-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is that the adoption of Imperial Penny Postage would cripple the revenue. It would tend more to facilitate Federation,

if England would reduce her national debt, as the United States are doing, than to diminish the revenues she collects on traffic with foreign countries. There is indeed a good deal of force in the objection that the Mother Country should not be asked to bear an additional burden even to promote intercourse with the Colonies, unless there were a reasonable prospect that they will unite with her in bearing the expenses of the Empire. This they will do if they are wisely treated and made to feel themselves British in something that comes home to everyone; while the United States, whatever they may do after Imperial Federation is accomplished, have certainly no disposition now to share these burdens. They have a real national sentiment and policy of their own, which is certainly not British. Why should we not cultivate rather than repress the growth in every British country of a real and effective British sentiment?

The Imperial Penny Postage suggestion has been degraded. Its imperial character is threatened with destruction in the hands of its present advocate in the House of Commons. He has succeeded, moreover, in arousing a great deal of unnecessary opposition to the proposal, and it is high time that the League should appoint someone who will understand how to prosecute it as an imperial work. I do not know why Mr. Heaton should be considered to have a special right to pose as the champion of this idea. If such he had from priority of action in the House, he has certainly forfeited it, so far as the League is concerned, by his sacrificing the fundamental principle that gave it all its value. We have many powerful and influential friends among the Members of Parliament. Not to mention Mr. Howard Vincent, who has other useful work in hand, there is Sir John Colomb, who is thoroughly imbued with the Imperial idea, there is Mr. O. V. Morgan, who knows the Colonies well, there is Mr. Lawson, and there are dozens of others besides. Let the executive of the League select the best man for the purpose, and accredit him in their interest to take hold of the question of Imperial Penny Postage pure and simple, one who will understand how to keep it pure and simple, and who will agitate for it till public opinion will force it as a national question on the favourable attention of the Government. And let us have no more of Imperial Penny Post which is to go beyond the Empire and include the nation that is most anxious, from Mr. Blaine down to O'Donovan Rossa, to make impossible the attainment of the objects of the Federation League.—Yours etc.,

Montreal.

MANU FORTI.

A CHINESE EXEMPLAR.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—As an ardent advocate of Imperial Federation, and as a thirty years resident in a British Dependency (Shanghai), and in a British Colony (Hong Kong), I venture to offer a contribution towards the solution of the most weighty question that now demands the careful consideration of every Briton—here and abroad.

In his speech of November, 1889, Lord Rosebery was reluctantly compelled to admit that, so far, Imperial Federation had not arrived at a practical stage. As a matter of sentiment, all subjects of the Queen, of Anglo-Saxon race at least, would like to feel themselves units in a homogeneous British Empire; but, as a matter of profit, it is Utopian to imagine that certain provincial legislators steeped in protection will consent to a Customs' Union, while we may feel certain that each Colony will continue to subordinate Imperial ends to its own private interests. Of this the agitation against Chinese immigration into Australia is a noted example.

The proposal that Colonial representatives should sit in the Imperial Parliament is for the present impracticable (although successfully carried out in France) without such a radical change in the British constitution as it is unlikely the present generation can effect. Even Lord Rosebery's suggestion of a periodical Colonial Congress in London, most useful as such a congress would unquestionably be, will, if carried out, as I trust it will be, hardly bring about that real amalgamation of the Empire which it is the ultimate aim of the League to effect.

I desire, therefore, to draw the attention of your readers, and especially of the Council of the League to an eminently practical scheme for securing Federal Union, proposed more than thirty years ago by that acute observer, the late Mr. Thomas Taylor Meadows, of H.M. Consular Service in China, and author of a most valuable and interesting, though little read work, "The Chinese and their Rebellions."

Mr. Meadows' proposal was to apply to the outlying provinces of the British Empire, which our Colonies in effect are, the system of competitive examinations which exists, and has for two thousand years successfully been worked in China. He would not, of course, slavishly follow the Chinese exemplar, but, while preserving the spirit, would adapt the working to the modern requirements of our Empire. His argument seems thoroughly sound.

China, as we know, is by no means a single homogeneous state, but rather a congeries of separate states, speaking languages which, though as fundamentally connected, are yet as mutually unintelligible as French and Italian. The inhabitants of one Chinese province regard with at best feelings of indifference, often with feelings of rancorous hostility, those of another. At many of the ports at which Europeans reside, the mutual hostility of the natives of the province, and those from other provinces who flock to the marts of the "open ports," are the best protection the "foreign" resident enjoys. During the war

with France in 1885, the Chékiang authorities refused shelter to vessels of the Yangtse squadron; on emigrant ships, the Swatow coolies must be kept entirely separate from those from Amoy. Numerous other instances I might cite, all going to show that the inhabitants of the eighteen provinces into which China is divided, regard each other with far more suspicion and even hostility than do the various nationalities of heavily-armed Europe.

What then, under these disintegrating tendencies, has kept this huge Empire of China together for a longer period than that of any other Empire of which we have record?

It is the system of competitive examinations. By throwing open all posts of honour and emolument to ostensibly open competition, the Chinese Government secures on the side of stability all the best talents of young China, and knits together the Provinces in a common interest. In the same way if the British Imperial Service, as we may call it, were really thrown open to candidates from the whole Empire, the Colonies and the Mother Country would be drawn far more closely together than by any Colonial Congress such as is proposed.

But, it will be urged, does not this open competition already exist? Certainly not. The British Diplomatic Service is still a close borough; the higher posts under the Colonial Office (such as Governorships) are but too often the rewards of party services at home; a large share of Consular appointments are still matters of patronage; while last, but by no means least, the navy and the army can only be entered through gates fixed in England. If a parent in Australia wishes his son to get an imperial appointment, whether in the army, the navy, the Indian Civil, or the Consular, or Colonial services, he must send him to London to compete for it—and we all know how great a deterrent this must prove.

What Mr. Meadows urged was this:—Let there be held every year three sets of examinations—district examinations, of a comparatively low grade, for each county or group of counties; provincial examinations for each Colony or province; and special, or metropolitan, examinations for the whole Empire. And here he follows closely on the Chinese model—an estimate would be made of the number of vacancies in the various services for each year, and the number of degrees granted at each examination would be some multiple of this. At the same time—and this is the keynote and really important part of his scheme—the number of degrees granted would also be proportioned to the population of each province. If the population of the four provinces—England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, is, let us say, six times that of the seven provinces of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, then six degrees would be given to the home group for one to the Australasian, but the Australasians would secure that one degree.

In China a certain number of the provincial degrees allotted to the province of Fuh-kien, on the mainland, have always been reserved for the candidates from the neighbouring island of Formosa; the Chinese residents on this island being colonists amidst a strange people. So, in the British Empire would it be for Canadians, South Africans, or Australians. A contribution of men is worth a hundred times a contribution in money; if the Australians had sons serving as officers in the Imperial army or navy, or brothers in the Embassy at Paris, or the Legation at Peking, questions of French *réclémistes* and of Chinese immigrants would be more quietly and, it may be, more thoroughly weighed, without any undue strain on the allegiance to the Throne.

The experience of thirty years will easily enable such additions to be made to Mr. Meadows' scheme as may be necessary in order to put it in practice. And is not the scheme both practicable and desirable? If a people like the Chinese can manage such a system with success, surely we can: and nothing can be more an object of desire to all British subjects than an effective union. We shall never bring about such a union by a *coup de théâtre*, which is repugnant to our slow constitutional methods: we can only bring it about step by step, and by taking steps which infringe as lightly as possible upon that fetish so dear to the British mind, vested interests. It is in the belief that this is a practical step and one calculated surely to advance the common object that we have at heart, that I desire to direct attention to it.—I am, Sir, Yours, etc.,

London, May 8th, 1890.

COMMERCE: BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—The question raised by Mr. Begg, in his letter in your last issue, with regard to the comparative vitality and growth of the trade of the United Kingdom with the Colonies and foreign countries respectively, is one of so much interest, and so well worthy of examination, that I venture to ask for a place for its discussion in your columns.

The comparison which Mr. Begg has offered is open to objections which he will be the first to admit. *Imprimis*, no fair inference as to the growth of trade, much less as to the vitality of trade, can be drawn from a comparison of single years. Mr. Begg's comparison does not comprise the whole of the Colonies, and it includes only six of the foreign countries with which the United Kingdom carries on trade. Those selected are five of the principal countries of Europe and the United States, which do not afford a fair comparison of the whole trade of the Mother Country, inasmuch as they are mainly supplied by their own manufactories, are mostly protected against us by hostile tariffs, and are our keen rivals in foreign commerce. Moreover, the year 1870 is one during which the trade of Europe was greatly disorganised by the Franco-Prussian War, and a considerable impetus was given to British and American trade.

The results, as quoted by Mr. Begg, are that, on a comparison of the year 1870 with 1888, the trade with "foreign countries"—or, more correctly, "some" foreign countries—had increased 28 per cent., and with the Colonies 60 per cent. The facts are these:—The trade with the five European countries quoted by Mr. Begg had increased only 19 per cent., but with the United States 40 per cent.; while,

taking the whole trade into account, that with all foreign countries had increased (from £427,000,000 to £507,000,000) 18·7 per cent., and with India and the Colonies (from £120,000,000 to £178,000,000) 48 per cent., which is assuredly a striking contrast. But the former smaller proportion had added £80,000,000 to the commerce of the United Kingdom, and the latter larger proportion only £58,000,000.

It will probably surprise many of your readers to learn that while the trade with Europe between these two years had increased 19 per cent., the trade with all other foreign countries had increased only 3 per cent., viz., from £160,500,000 to £165,500,000. This arose from the great falling-off in the trade with Egypt, China, Chili, and Peru, and notwithstanding the vast increase in the trade with the Argentine Republic and Uruguay, which amounted to 120 per cent. If the above four countries were excluded from the comparison, the increase in the others is 22 instead of 3 per cent.; and it must be borne in mind that some of the apparent falling off in the trade with Egypt is owing to the opening of the Suez Canal, and the consequent crediting to the direct trade with India and China of a certain amount which used to be credited to Egypt. These comparisons, however, stand good only for the two extreme years 1870 and 1888.

There is, moreover, a very important factor to be taken into consideration when examining the comparative vitality and growth of Colonial and foreign trade. How much of both in the Colonies has been created and maintained by the vast sums of money which have been lent to them by England during the period under review? The following statement, for which also your readers will probably not be prepared, will suggest a reply to this question:—

During the twenty years embraced in the annexed comparative statement, 1869-88, the imports into the United Kingdom from Australasia amounted to £424,000,000, and the exports to Australasia to £422,000,000, a remarkable approximation to a balance; and during that period almost the whole of the present debt of Australasia to England, amounting to £170,000,000, has been incurred. This sum amounts to 40 per cent. of the exports, and to 20 per cent. of the whole trade. It averaged £8,500,000 annually. Against this there has been a direct set-off of gold and silver bullion and specie, amounting to £95,000,000, averaging £4,750,000 annually, and of which about half represented interest on loans. Doubtless the trade with foreign countries would have exhibited very different results, as is shown in the case of the trade with the Argentine Republic and Uruguay, if they had received a similar stimulus from English capital. This has an important bearing upon the comparison founded upon the comparative amount of trade per head in Colonies and foreign countries. In Australasia, on a population which has grown from three to four millions in the last twenty years, each individual has received during that period from England a sum varying from £2 5s. to £2 16s. each year. It is well to refer to this here as a reminder to those who may be disposed to overlook one of the main elements of the vitality and growth of Colonial trade and prosperity.

The following table, compiled from the statistical abstracts of the Board of Trade, exhibits the proportions and varying progress of British (Colonial) and foreign trade with the United Kingdom during the last twenty years, distinguishing that with European countries, the United States, and all other foreign countries, and separating that with India and the Straits Settlements from that with all the Colonies. Hong Kong, as mainly an *entrepôt*, might almost have been classed with foreign countries.

STATEMENT OF THE PERCENTAGE PROPORTIONS OF THE TOTAL TRADE (IMPORTS AND EXPORTS) BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES, INDIA, AND THE COLONIES, RESPECTIVELY, IN EACH OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS (1869 TO 1888):—

Years.	Foreign Countries.				British Possessions.			Total.
	In Europe.	United States.	All other.	Total.	British India and Straits Settlements.	All other.	Total.	
1869	45·8	13·0	18·3	77·1	10·5	12·4	22·9	100
1870	45·4	14·8	17·8	78·0	9·1	12·9	22·0	100
1871	46·3	16·2	16·5	79·0	8·8	12·2	21·0	100
1872	45·4	16·5	16·4	78·3	8·8	12·9	21·7	100
1873	45·4	15·8	16·5	77·7	8·4	13·9	22·3	100
1874	45·9	16·0	14·1	76·0	9·3	14·7	24·0	100
1875	46·0	14·4	15·0	75·4	9·3	15·3	24·6	100
1876	45·8	15·2	14·5	75·5	9·1	15·4	24·5	100
1877	45·1	15·1	14·2	74·4	9·7	15·9	25·6	100
1878	45·1	17·3	13·2	75·6	9·3	15·1	24·4	100
1879	43·8	19·2	13·2	76·2	8·4	15·4	23·8	100
1880	41·4	20·8	12·8	75·0	9·7	15·3	25·0	100
1881	40·9	20·0	13·4	74·3	10·0	15·7	25·7	100
1882	42·7	17·6	13·1	73·4	10·7	15·9	26·6	100
1883	41·4	18·5	14·3	74·2	10·8	15·0	25·8	100
1884	42·9	17·3	13·0	73·2	10·8	16·0	26·8	100
1885	42·9	18·3	12·8	74·0	10·9	15·1	26·0	100
1886	42·1	19·3	12·1	73·5	11·4	15·1	26·5	100
1887	44·0	19·0	11·2	74·2	10·8	15·0	25·8	100
1888	43·5	17·6	12·9	74·0	10·6	15·4	26·0	100
Average of 20 Years.	44·1	17·1	14·3	75·5	9·8	14·7	24·5	100

A critical examination of the above table demonstrates that a comparison of single years, or even of triennial periods, does not afford fair results as between the different branches of trade. The fairest method of comparing the proportions of the several branches in a single year is by contrasting them with the average of the whole period, which is accordingly furnished for that purpose. The fairest method of exhibiting the comparative progress of each branch is by dividing the whole period into four equal terms, which

will enable the reader at a glance to see whether the proportions have increased or decreased, or remain stationary. The figures for such a comparison are accordingly supplied in the following abstract, and the principal results of both tables will be briefly detailed in the notes appended:—

Quinquennial Periods.	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.				BRITISH POSSESSIONS.			Total.
	In Europe.	United States.	All Other.	Total.	British India and Straits Settlements.	All Other.	Total.	
1869 to 1873	45·6	15·3	17·1	78	9·1	12·9	22	100
1874 to 1878	45·6	15·6	14·2	75·4	9·3	15·3	24·6	100
1879 to 1883	42	19·2	13·4	74·6	9·9	15·5	25·4	100
1884 to 1888	43·1	18·3	12·4	73·8	10·9	15·3	26·2	100

NOTES.

1. On the whole period foreign countries have supplied three-fourths of the trade, India a tenth, and the Colonies a seventh.

2. The quinquennial abstract shows that during these twenty years there has been an increase of 20 per cent. in the proportion of the trades with the United States and India, a decrease of 5·5 in the trade with European countries, a decrease of 27·5 in that with all other countries, while the trade with the Colonies, which in the second quinquennium had increased nearly 20 per cent., has remained stationary during the subsequent years.

3. It is remarkable how small has been the decrease in the proportion of trade with our principal commercial rivals in Europe; and if Turkey were excluded—where, instead of an increase between the first and last periods, there has been a decrease of nearly 23 per cent.—the difference would have been between 42·9 and 41·2 per cent., and the percentage decrease only 4 per cent. The proportion of the trade with Europe scarcely varied during the first ten years; it fell considerably in the third quinquennium, and recovered itself somewhat in the last.

4. The proportion of trade with the United States rose slightly in the second period, largely in the third, and fell somewhat in the last. The difference between the first and the last periods has been a rise from 15·3 to 18·3, equal to 19·6 per cent.

5. The proportion of trade with all other foreign countries except Europe and the United States, including all the new markets opened up during the last twenty years, has decreased considerably. It fell heavily in the second period, and moderately both in the third and last. The difference between the first and last periods was a fall from 17·1 to 12·4, equal to 27·5 per cent. But this and the next note are subject to the qualification previously indicated with regard to the trades with Egypt and India.

6. The proportion of direct trade with India has risen continuously from 9·1 to 10·9, equal to 19·8 per cent. There was a sudden drop in 1870; the average of the preceding four years, 1866-69, was 10 per cent.

7. Although the proportion of trade with the Colonies rose considerably from 12·9 in the first to 15·3 in the second quinquennium, it remained almost stationary, at 15·5, in the second, and retrograded to 15·3 in the last, having averaged only 15·1 in the last four years.

8. The comparative stability of the several trades is a point of interest. It may be shown in two different ways:—

(i.) The lowest and highest points in any year, and the difference. Thus:—

	Lowest.	Highest.	Difference per cent.
Europe ...	40·9 per cent. ...	46·3 per cent. ...	5·4
United States ...	13	20·8	7·8
Other foreign ...	11·2	18·3	7·1
India and Straits ...	8·4	11·4	3·0
Colonies ...	21	26·8	5·8

(ii.) The greatest rise and fall in any one year. Thus:—

	Greatest Rise.	Greatest Fall.
Europe ...	1·9 per cent. in 1887	2·4 per cent. in 1880
United States ...	2·2 " 1878	2·4 " 1882
Other Foreign ...	1·7 " 1888	2·4 " 1874
India and Straits ...	1·3 " 1880	1·4 " 1870
Colonies ...	1·0 " { 1878 } { 1884 }	9 " 1873

The identity of the amount of greatest fall in the first three branches of trade is worthy of notice, as is also the superior steadiness of the trades with India and the Colonies.

9. As some of your readers may wish to form a concrete idea of the amounts on which the above calculations are based, and of the comparative value as regards amount of the five branches of trade above described, I will conclude with a statement of the average annual totals in the last quinquennium, 1884-88. The percentage proportions are shown in the second of the above tables.

Trade with	Average of 1884-88. Omitting 000.
Europe ...	280,353
United States ...	118,012
Other Foreign Countries ...	84,301
Total ...	482,666
India and Straits ...	71,486
Colonies ...	100,928
Total ...	172,414
Total Trade ...	655,080

Yours truly,

RAWSON W. RAWSON.

Imperial Unity.—In his tour up country, Sir Henry Loch has declared himself determined that Cape Colony will prove itself a worthy portion of the Empire, and in his important work to be done through the rest of this year it is to be hoped that there will be an unswerving adherence to the principle of the dominance of Imperial unity.—*Cape Times*.

NOTICES.

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Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

JUNE 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Britannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

LAST month we had the pleasure of recording the very satisfactory pronouncement of the PRIME MINISTER, made in acknowledging the resolution passed at Mr. PARKIN's late visit to Leeds. Copies of the resolution were sent at the same time to Mr. GLADSTONE and to Lord HARTINGTON. The reply of the latter was quite as satisfactory as that of Lord SALISBURY. Lord HARTINGTON wrote: "I believe that, whatever may have been the case in former times, no statesman or party is now indifferent to the importance, and even the necessity, of drawing closer the bonds which bind England and her Colonies together, and of securing a permanent and complete co-operation between them for the advancement and defence of common interests. The only point on which differences of opinion may exist is as to the means by which this object may be effected, and I am glad that the attention of the great industrial communities of Yorkshire has been directed to the necessity of finding a practical solution of the problem." Mr. GLADSTONE's reply was confined to a mere acknowledgment.

WE desire to call the attention of our readers to the valuable letter we publish in our correspondence column, in which Sir RAWSON RAWSON deals again more fully with the comparison of the British with the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, and the vitality and growth of these two branches of trade respectively—a subject the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. There is one factor in the question to which Sir RAWSON RAWSON calls attention, having a peculiar interest at the present time, when much attention is being drawn to the large amount of capital taken by the Australasian Colonies. The bearing of this influx of capital both upon the power of production and the capacity for taking imports is a point by no means to be overlooked when we talk of the vitality of Colonial trade, and the large amount of imported goods consumed per head of the population in Australasia. The whole communication bristles not merely with figures, but with matter of

economic instruction or suggestion. We trust it will be carefully weighed by other statistical experts, and that some of them will favour our readers with their own views on the subject.

THE telegraph brings the welcome news—all the more welcome to us because we did not venture to expect it—that the Conference of Colonial Postmasters-General that met at Adelaide on May 20th has agreed to Mr. GOSCHEN's proposals for reducing the rate of postage on letters. The Conference, however, couples its acceptance with a recommendation to dispense with the accelerated service *via* Brindisi. If that can be done without causing loss or inconvenience to bankers and others, to whom "time" in the despatch of their correspondence is literally "money," it will be an extremely good stroke of business; especially as, if it can be done in the case of Australia, it can equally be done in the case of India and the Far East. The overland service is, of course, quicker than any by sea through Gibraltar could possibly be made. But though steamers have never (as has been erroneously conceived by some) actually outrun the mails, they do, we believe, not infrequently outrun the contract time for the delivery of the mails homeward. If this can be made the regular and certain course, there certainly seems no special reason for maintaining a most extravagant land service for the mere purpose of delivering mails to people a couple of days before they are advertised to be due. We note also, that the Colonial Postmasters are moving in the direction of cheaper telegraphic communication also, but on lines, the ultimate expediency of which is open to question.

IT still remains for the Government, and perhaps also for the Parliaments of the Colonies concerned, to ratify the decision of the delegates to the Postal Conference; but it must be assumed that the Postmasters were acting with the concurrence of, at any rate, their executive Governments. New Zealand was not represented, and, it is understood, will probably stand out altogether—at any rate, for the present—the circumstances being different in her case. On the whole question, it has to be noted that within the last month fuller information as to the cost of the promised reduction and of the further reduction to one penny has been dragged out of Mr. RAIKES in the House of Commons; and the difference, even upon official showing, is now found to be so unimportant that we may look forward with confidence before very long to the desired consummation of an Imperial Penny Post. We print a strong letter on the subject from a well-known Canadian correspondent. He criticises Mr. HENNIKER HEATON's policy on the same grounds we have ourselves taken, viz., that by going for an international ocean penny postage he misses the core of the whole movement, from the point of view of the League, which is—its Imperial character. We are glad to remark, however, from a very recent letter addressed by Mr. HEATON to the *Times*, that he has himself now fallen into line with us, and makes the same objection to the title of a "Uniform Imperial Post," applied to Mr. GOSCHEN's twopence halfpenny, that we ourselves made in our last issue—that is, that until the penny is universal Imperial postage cannot be said to be uniform.

AT the present moment there are two object-lessons in Imperial Federation—or, rather, in the necessity for something of the sort—being exhibited before the eyes of our rulers—it may be hoped, for their better instruction. The latest news from Newfoundland is sufficiently disquieting; and if the side of the story we have alone as yet heard, of outrages committed on British subjects before the guns of a British man-of-war, should turn out (as is not very likely) to be altogether correct and incapable of an explanation giving a different complexion to the matter; then all Mr. LYMAN's strong language in our last issue will be inadequate to the occasion. At any rate, the excitement of the Newfoundlanders themselves is intelligible enough; they can hardly be expected to take a calm view of the question, and see both sides of it. It is satisfactory to find that for the most part the French press, like the English, is keeping its head. At the same time it is doubtful whether French *amour propre* would make possible the obvious solution of

the purchase of their rights by Great Britain. The situation looks bad, and the only comfort to be extracted from it is that it so strongly accentuates the need of different machinery for dealing with foreign relations, especially those affecting outlying parts of the Empire.

THE other object-lesson is that of the Western Australia Bill. There is, fortunately, no foreign complication connected with that, to make matters worse. But the problem of dealing with the waste lands of the Empire—and that is the only description applicable to all but a corner of Western Australia—when lying in contiguity to a group of established Colonies, is essentially one for settlement in conference—ultimately in a Federal Council of the Empire—by the representatives of the people of the Mother Country, to whom, if to anybody in particular within the bounds of the Empire, those lands at present belong, and the representatives of those neighbouring Colonies, to whom, when they have coalesced into a responsible Dominion, the management and disposal of them would eventually fall. As things are, there is the cry of "Australia for the Australians;" and in antagonism to it the cry—or, rather, the hushed murmur—of those who ask why the birthright of thirty-five million people at home, to say nothing of the odd millions elsewhere, should be made over to some forty thousand people—men, women, and children—who have settled down in a corner of it. These are the two sides of the question. It is clear enough how it is going to be decided; but, as a Queensland paper says, "The West Australian dispute is sure to have an undesirable effect on the relations between the Mother Country and these Colonies."

IN 1887 the Executive Committee of the League entered into communication with the various Departments of State on the subject of collecting the Census returns, which will be made in 1891, upon some basis of uniformity throughout the Empire. The replies and official memoranda upon the subject, which were, on the whole, of an encouraging character, will be found in the June number of the JOURNAL for 1887. We are glad to be able to inform our readers that there is a prospect of such arrangements being made as will at least place the Census returns throughout the Empire on such a footing as will make comparison possible. The subject has engaged the attention of the administrative Committee on Census business appointed by the President of the Local Government Board, of which MR. LEONARD COURTNEY is chairman; and SIR RAWSON RAWSON vice-president of the Royal Statistical Society, whose valuable contributions to the statistics of the Empire are well-known to readers of this JOURNAL, has given evidence before the Committee bearing upon the question. We may entertain the hope, therefore, that next year may see something done in the desired direction.

THE President of the Australian Natives' Association MR. PURVES, Q.C., who has hitherto been the leader and representative of what must be called the Separatist section of that body, has recently expressed opinions from the presidential chair which sound the knell of Separation as the policy of even a section of the Association. Extracts from MR. PURVES's speech will be found in another column, where we have claimed him as "A New Ally." And, indeed, we are justified in doing so. Equal obligations, and an equal voice in Imperial affairs, which MR. PURVES claims for Australia, form the very foundation of the policy which the League advocates for all parts of the Empire. Our readers have been able, during the past few months, to watch the political evolution going on in the Australian Natives' Association. Of the soundness of the majority of the members we have never entertained any doubt; but there has, up to the present time, been a minority, led by the President himself, whose loyalty to the Imperial connection was, to put it mildly, at least questionable. Recent political lessons, aided in an especial manner, we cannot doubt, by the working of the leaven of Imperial Federation, introduced into their midst by MR. PARKIN and MR. D'ESTERRE TAYLOR, seem now to have exorcised this evil spirit of Separatism from the ranks of the Association. If Australian natives are altogether with us, who will be left against us? There is the Boomerang, to be sure.

WE forgot. There is also SIR CHARLES LILLEY, the friend and protégé of the high-class publication just alluded to. He has been writing another letter, that is published in the lesser Queensland papers, which is even more unworthy of the position of the writer than the old one we published in a recent issue. The letter is far too long and rambling to reprint, even if it were otherwise worth while; but our readers may judge of the whole by an extract or two—*ex pede Herculem*. SIR CHARLES LILLEY says: "Let us summarise." And he proceeds to summarise, thus: "Imperial Federationists want to curtail our power of self-government." Nothing could better summarise one of our fundamental principles, the omission of the negative from the sentence being of course a detail. After this it will surprise no one to learn that we wish England to have the right to sell Australia in foreign domination. But it is wasting words even to ridicule such an effusion as this is. We are well content to leave SIR CHARLES LILLEY to the tender mercies of "those of his own household," who, we are glad to see, by files of the local press, are well able to give a good account, both of him and, for his position, of his very remarkable expressions of opinion.

THAT a meeting should have been convened at the Mansion House by the City of London Branch of the League, to congratulate the Governments of Australia on the progress being made towards Australian Federation, is a matter of great satisfaction, and one that cannot fail to be gratifying to those Governments and peoples. As our President wrote some months ago, "the main interest of those who care for the cause of Federation" lies for the present in the development of the principle in Australia; and it was well that this fact should be made patent by such a demonstration as recently took place in the City of London. All such expressions of sympathy give the lie to the malicious statements, circulated among the ignorant in Australia, that we view their Federation with jealousy; and we are glad to note that the sympathy of the League is further officially expressed in the report of the Council. In connection with these views, the exclusion of MR. DIBBS, leader of the Opposition in New South Wales, who professes to look to independence as the goal of a Federated Australia, from the list of representatives of the Colony at the forthcoming convention, is perhaps not without significance.

AN interesting memorial of a good old United Empire Loyalist comes to us from St. John, New Brunswick. The subject of it, WALTER BATES, died in 1842, at the age of 82. At the conclusion of a memoir of his own life and experiences, throwing much light upon the interesting epoch in which the Loyalists gained their name, which he compiled before his death, he seeks to peer into the future of his country; and though some portions of his forecast are fanciful, and none have as yet been fulfilled, there is something in the following words that may almost be regarded as a prophecy of that Imperial Federation it has been left to the present age to strive for as a practical goal. "I am tempted," says this old worthy, "to hazard the conjecture that there will be eventually the appearance of a great new power in the world under one great British monarch, which it is no more within my province than it is within the compass of my abilities to delineate in detail. I cherish the idea of a new, strong, and durable wise confederacy." Truly,

"'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before."

CANADIANS complain, not without reason, that English papers get their Canadian news coloured and distorted through the medium of the American press. The *New York Herald* having recently been representing SIR JOHN MACDONALD as expressing views as to the future relations of Canada with the Empire glaringly inconsistent with those he has held and expressed heretofore on many great public occasions, a member of the League in Canada set himself to obtain a correction from the best of all possible sources. SIR JOHN MACDONALD writes in reply:—"I am very desirous that the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies shall be drawn closer; and that

the larger groups of Colonies should assume by degrees a position less of dependence and more of alliance. I think this can only be done, however, by treaty or convention, and I am a total disbeliever in the practicability of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. There is no necessity, however, for such representation. The great subjects of common defence and preferential trade can be arrived at by treaty arrangements." SIR JOHN'S view, it will be observed, as to the trend of the road that leads to National Unity, coincides pretty closely with that expressed by SIR CHARLES DILKE. Note that here, again, the disbelief in representation refers to *the*—that is, the existing—Imperial Parliament.

THE idea of affording greater facilities for the entrance of young men from the Colonies into the Imperial services, as a means of maintaining that unity of national sentiment which must play so important a part in any scheme of Imperial Federation, is one which appears to commend itself to the minds of many persons who approach the subject from quite different sides. Thus the second article of PROFESSOR RANSOME'S most useful "Charter" demands that examinations for the Imperial services—civil, military, and naval—should be held in all parts of the Empire. Our correspondent "Shanghai" believes the same thing to be the very cardinal principle of national unity. It is an error, by-the-by, to suppose that nothing of the sort exists at present; there are naval cadetships open to competition in the Colonies, and the Canadian Military College at Kingston, Ontario, obtains a considerable number of commissions, principally in the scientific arms of the service. COLONEL OWEN, in his address at the Royal Colonial Institute on "The Military Defence Forces of the Empire," also emphasised the point. We entirely agree with this view. At the same time, like all other questions, it has another side to it, which we are bound not to ignore. Before such a system can be carried out in its entirety, the services must become in all respects Imperial, and not as they now are, the services of the United Kingdom alone.

THE Toronto Branch of the League in Canada publishes a short address by Mr. J. CASTELL HOPKINS on "Links of Union between Canada and Australia." He contrasts the origin and history of the two, not omitting to point to that lack of "stability and sternness of character" that struck Mr. PARKIN among the Australians as compared with his own countrymen, who owe it, according to Mr. HOPKINS, to the troubles that beset the infancy of their nation. But it is principally with the links of material interest that the address deals; and the importance of questions of Imperial defence in its bearings on these two great groups is well brought out—credit being taken, and deservedly, for Canada's great contribution of the Pacific Railway, a link in the Imperial chain especially associated with the relations between Canada and Australia. With regard to the direct commercial intercourse it is hoped to establish, it is satisfactory to note that, pending the departure of the Canadian Commission to Australia, Mr. OPPENHEIMER'S statistics, to which we recently referred, have been under consideration by the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, and have been in part reproduced, for the benefit of the Australian public, in the columns of the *Argus*.

At the St. George's Society of Toronto, one of the toasts on the toast-list of the annual dinner, held on April 23rd, was "Imperial Federation." The speeches in which the toast was proposed and responded to were most warmly applauded throughout.—*Toronto Empire*.

Canada and the Flag.—Speaking at the Canada Club dinner last month, Col. G. T. Denison said, "We in Canada are for the British connection. (Cheers.) We have, it is true, a few non-Canadians among us. Their ringleader came from England, and he is no more satisfied in Canada than he was here. (Cheers and laughter.) But as a whole we are, I say, for the British connection. In years gone by, when we thought the British flag was insulted, though it was no matter in which we were concerned, and happened hundreds of miles from our shores, our blood was up, and we were ready to defend the old emblem. Can you wonder, then, that we in Canada have failed to understand how your powerful British ironclads could lie idle in the harbours of our Pacific coast while British subjects were being outraged in Behring Sea, and the old British flag insulted? No, that to us has been beyond comprehension." (Loud cheers.)

"RECEPTION" IN CHARLES STREET.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY, as President of the League, held a "Smoking Reception," "to meet the Members of the Council," at the offices of the League in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on the evening of Thursday, May 8th. The Council Room, originally built for a studio, and now used for the gatherings of the Cosmopolitan Club as well as for meetings of the Council and Executive Committee of the League, was well filled without being crowded.

Among the Members of the Council and other invited guests present were:—Lord Claude J. Hamilton, The Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Bart., Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B. (High Commissioner for Canada), Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Sir Wm. Robinson, K.C.M.G. (Governor-Elect of Western Australia), Major-General Sir Richard Harrison, K.C.B., C.M.G., Major-General Sir John Watson, K.C.B., V.C., Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P., Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Sir Francis V. Smith, Mr. Arthur Barkly (Governor of Heligoland), Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, Hon. T. Allnutt Brassey, Mr. C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., Mr. A. J. Staveley Hill, M.P., Mr. Henry Kimber, M.P., Mr. Hugh Watt, M.P., Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Colonel G. T. Denison (Toronto), Professor Cyril Ransome, Mr. Henry Holbrook, Mr. James J. Fellows (Agent-General for New Brunswick), Mr. J. Scott Keltie (Librarian Royal Geographical Society), Mr. Kenric B. Murray (Secretary London Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Arnold White, Mr. James Cropper, Mr. George R. Parkin (New Brunswick).

In the earlier part of the evening, which commenced at ten o'clock, a paper was read by Major-General Sir Richard Harrison, Commanding the Western District, entitled "A Representative Council of Defence for the Empire." We give some account of this interesting and useful paper in another column. The President expressed the thanks and appreciation of the audience in a short speech, but the gathering being of a social rather than business-like character, no discussion of the subject was entered upon. Opportunities like this of meeting between members of the Council and others from various parts of the Empire are best turned to account in the personal and informal discussions of social intercourse.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council met on Monday, May the 19th, at noon. In the absence of the president the chair was temporarily taken by Sir Frederick Young.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, it was moved by Sir Henry Doulton and seconded by Sir Frederick Young:—

"That the best thanks of this Council are hereby tendered to the Earl of Rosebery and the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., for their services as president and vice-president of the League during the past year; and they are invited to continue those services until the annual meeting of the League next year."

It was moved by Sir William Farrer and seconded by Sir George Harris:—

"That the thanks of this Council are due to the hon. treasurers, Lord Brassey and the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, and to the hon. auditor, Mr. J. C. Barnard, for their services to the League during the past year, and they are hereby requested to continue the same until the annual meeting of the League in the next year."

These resolutions were carried unanimously.

The Earl of Rosebery having taken the chair,

The report of the Executive Committee was read, and the alterations in rules recommended by the Committee, were adopted.

The annual report submitted by the Executive for adoption by the Council was considered by clauses.

Amendments were moved by Mr. Talbot Baines, Sir William Farrer, and others, and after discussion and amendment the report was finally adopted and ordered to be presented to the general meeting on the 22nd May.

The audited statement of accounts was adopted.

The Council then adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THURSDAY, MAY 15TH, 1890, AT NOON.

THE Earl of Rosebery, President of the League, in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from the Secretary of the League in Canada, announcing the appointment by its Executive Committee of Colonel G. T. Denison as its special representative during his stay in England, was read by the chairman.

The draft Annual Report of the Council was read and considered clause by clause, and, after numerous amendments had been adopted, was ordered to be printed and submitted to the Council.

The report of the Executive Committee to the Council was agreed to.

The Secretary reported that two vacancies had occurred in the committee owing to the death of Mr. Albert Rutson and the retirement of Mr. Smith Cumming.

On the motion of Mr. C. Freeman Murray, seconded by Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Mr. Ernest Beckett, M.P., was elected to the Committee.

The following were elected members of the Council:—H. Cockayne Cust, M.P., Colonel the Hon. Lewis P. Dawnay, M.P., Hugh Watt, M.P., Robert G. Webster, M.P., A. W. Robertson.

Proposed by the Earl of Rosebery, seconded by Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.

Professor Cyril Ransome, proposed by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., seconded by Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.

The committee then adjourned.

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE Board of Trade returns for April show a continued decrease, except under the head of Tonnage clearing with Exports, the increase in which is confined to the export of British and Irish merchandise, as the export of coal has, for the first time since June, 1889, slightly decreased, and the export of foreign and colonial merchandise re-exported has considerably decreased.

APRIL, 1890, COMPARED WITH APRIL, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has decreased from—
2,353,000 ... to ... 2,323,000 = 1.3 per cent.
2. Value of imports has decreased from—
£37,256,000 ... to ... £35,680,000 = 4.2 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£15 16s. ... to ... £15 6s. = 3.1 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,672,000 ... to ... 2,854,000 = 6.8 per cent.
2. Value of exports has decreased very slightly from—
£25,208,000 ... to ... £25,204,000 = 0.01 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£9 8s. ... to ... £8 16s. = 6.4 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has decreased slightly from—
2,242,000 ... to ... 2,240,000 tons = 0.1 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. 0½d. ... to ... 13s. 0½d. = 29.9 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 8.1 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,177,000 ... to ... 1,361,000 = 15.6 per cent.
2. Value of exports has decreased from—
£24,082,000 ... to ... £23,743,000 = 1.4 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£20 8s. ... to ... £17 10s. = 14.4 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF APRIL.

1. The tonnage, as well as the value and price, of Imports shows a decrease during the past month. There has been a continuous decrease in value and price during the last three months. The decrease in April is mainly owing to a decreased importation of articles of food and drink, chiefly wheat, barley, butter, rice, sugar, and coffee. Most other articles in this class show an increase, especially wheat-flour, maize, meat (fresh and salted), salt fish, tea, and spirits. Raw cotton and hemp show a decrease; flax and sheep's wool an increase. Most other raw materials show an increase; most manufactured articles a decrease.

2. The export trade is marked by a large increase of tonnage clearing outwards, to which the export of coal has not contributed anything, and by a large decrease in the average price per ton, which two facts lead to the conclusion that the exportation of merchandise, exclusive of coal, has consisted of a large proportion of bulky and low-priced goods. There has been an increase of 2 per cent. in the export of British merchandise, as distinguished from coal and foreign and colonial re-exports, and there has been a large export of metals, machinery, and millwork, which have again taken an upward spurt.

3. The export of yarns and textile fabrics has again fallen off, 3.2 per cent., which is much less than the decrease in March, 15.9 per cent. The export of sheep's wool has again greatly decreased. The total quantity of iron and steel exported has again fallen off (6.7 per cent.), but the value has risen 10 per cent. The export of pig iron has increased 11.8 per cent., and its value 67 per cent.; that of railroad iron has fallen off 15.6 per cent., while its value has risen 14.8 per cent.; that of tin plates has fallen 19.4 per cent. in quantity and 10.7 per cent. in value. The value of machinery exported has risen 5.6 per cent.

4. An increase of 8.1 per cent. in the shipment of bunker coal for foreign trade is a consequence of the increase of 6.8 per cent. in the total tonnage outwards.

5. There was a decrease in the total value of exports, exclusive of coal, of 1.4 per cent., and in the value of foreign and colonial re-exports of 12.8 per cent.; but there was an increase of 2 per cent. in the value of British and Irish merchandise exported, exclusive of coal.

6. The Parcel Post showed an increase of 0.8 per cent. inwards, and of 0.1 outwards. The reading for last month requires correction. There was a decrease of 0.8, not 8.0 inwards, and a trifling increase outwards, not inwards.

A REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE FOR THE EMPIRE.

IN the paper read at Lord Rosebery's Reception to the Council on 8th May, Major-General Sir, Richard Harrison, K.C.B., C.M.G., gave as special reasons for prosecuting without delay a general scheme of defence for the Empire—(1) The state of preparation for war that exists throughout the world, rendering precarious the situation of a nation unprepared; and (2) that without organisation on a definite plan the efficiency of armies and navies is problematical and their cost excessive. He expressed the firm conviction that efficient organisation between existing forces, and the new factors that are springing up in all parts of the Empire, can only be brought about by the speedy establishment of

A CENTRAL AUTHORITY.

Imperial defence he defines as "the whole system by which the Empire is saved from aggression, and rendered capable of defending its possessions on sea and land;" and he includes in it "the organisation of all forces, naval and military, in every land that bears allegiance to our Empire-Queen." General Harrison proceeds to point out that the subject is not one that can be taken up and laid down at convenience; nor one that can be dealt with by periodical conferences. "It must be pursued from hour to hour, from day to day, with concentrated brain, with untiring energy, until it is worked out." For this reason, as he says, the Defence Committee of the League, as the sum and essence of their report, have recommended the formation by the next Conference of an

IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF DEFENCE

to take up the task. Such a Council, appointed and constituted by the representatives of the various portions of the Empire in Conference, could, with the assistance of all the information that the Government could place at its disposal, frame an adequate scheme of defence, and provide an efficient and economical force.

What is wanted, General Harrison goes on to say, is "that there shall be in the future concerted action and system in the various forces available for the Empire's defence; and the first requisite in any scheme of defence for an Empire like ours must be

AN IMPERIAL SEA-GOING FLEET."

After specifying the duties such a fleet would be expected to perform in peace and in war—by which its strength would have to be determined—he proceeds to deal with the defence of coaling stations and commercial harbours. The number of these to be defended must not be so great as to weaken the general system of defence of the whole Empire. It is an axiom of defence to protect vital points only. The system of defence must be a

COMBINED NAVAL AND MILITARY ONE,

and broad principles must be laid down before going into details. The dangers to be apprehended by the Empire as a whole he enumerated as—(1) The disturbance of commercial intercourse, (2) an enemy's cruisers, (3) an invasion in force, and (4) local outbreaks. These he dealt with *seriatim*, and the means to be employed in meeting them. What the Empire requires to withstand these dangers are a sea-going fleet, an Imperial army to co-operate with the fleet in offensive and defensive operations, and sufficient local forces for repelling invasion and maintaining internal order.

After dealing with these points in some detail General Harrison in conclusion insisted on the necessity for

CONTINUITY

in the governing power controlling the fighting machine, and directing the war policy of the Empire; and to ensure this, he expressed the belief that the only way was to appoint such a Council as had been sketched, which would be

ABOVE PARTY,

and able to devote its entire attention to the task before it. "Only appoint a sufficiently able and representative body, give them a free hand and full information, and I am certain that the wisdom of the Old Country, strengthened and invigorated as it would be by the co-operation of its splendid go-ahead off-spring from all parts of the globe, would not only arrive at a clear perception of the situation, but would, if necessary, propose a remedy for anything that was found to be wrong. Two powerful forces exist at present to bind together the British Empire, viz.,—

SELF-INTEREST AND SENTIMENT.

These forces can be fostered by the creation of a scheme of defence for the whole Empire, provided that, in the building up of such a scheme, each portion of the Empire has a voice."

REVIEWS.

The Statesman's Year-Book, 1890. Edited by J. Scott Keltie. London: Macmillan & Co.

THIS indispensable work comes to us this year in a new and improved form. The most significant fact to us about it is, that it is now divided into two separate parts, dealing respectively with the British Empire and with foreign countries. We are extremely pleased to note this alteration in so important and established a publication as the "Statesman's Year-Book." It is another sign of the growth of that feeling which recognises the unity of the Empire, and is no longer content to divide the world into the United Kingdom on one side and the "Foreign and Colonial" world on the other. The truer division of the world, from the British and Imperial point of view, into "British" and "Foreign" is coming more and more into vogue; and this change of view is mainly attributable, as we cannot but believe, to the action—first, of the Royal Colonial Institute, and, more recently, of the Imperial Federation League.

Last month, in reviewing Mr. Trendell's new editorial venture, "The Colonial Year-Book," we had to criticise its arrangement, on the ground that, though the whole aim and spirit of the book was that of Imperial unity, the opportunity was to a great extent thrown away, and the effect marred by the want of "grouping"—the Colonies being arranged alphabetically instead of in geographical groups. To this criticism the work now under review is not open. The Imperial portion of the book is sub-divided into sections dealing with (1) the United Kingdom and (2) India, the Colonies, Protectorates, and Dependencies—the second of these heads being treated under separate sub-heads, on a geographical basis, corresponding to the five great divisions of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia and Oceania. Foreign countries, on the other hand, are arranged merely alphabetically throughout; as are also the individual British Colonies or Dependencies in each geographical group. This arrangement, we think, leaves little to be desired.

Of the book itself, as a whole, there is no occasion for us to speak here. Under its present management its reputation is established; and that reputation will certainly suffer no diminution, but, on the contrary, should be much enhanced, by its reorganisation and the additions made in the present year's issue. The preface tells us that in all cases the notices of British Colonies have either been written or revised on the spot—a fact that adds appreciably to the value of the information given.

The Question of the Federation of the Empire Solved. Printed by C. E. Roberts & Co., London.

This is a spirited little pamphlet urging the establishment of "cheap and really private telegraphic communication for the million," as the shortest short cut to Imperial Federation. The writer scarcely, perhaps, intends his title to be taken seriously. But, as has been sagely observed, "it is one thing to write a pamphlet, and another to get it read;" and a title that arrests attention goes some way towards the latter end. The pamphlet is only a few pages long, and we recommend it to our readers' notice.

SIR HENRY PARKES AT BROKEN HILL.

THE New South Wales Premier paid a visit in April to the Silver district of Broken Hill, in the Colony of South Australia, and in the course of his visit spoke on various political and other topics. The following extract from a speech on Australian Federation will be read with interest outside the limits of the Colonies concerned, and especially those passages in which Sir Henry Parkes reiterates and emphasises the policy of continued loyalty to the British connection, so prominently advanced by himself and other statesmen of the first rank in Australia, on the occasion of the Melbourne Conference, which marked the first stage in the creation of that "great Australian nation" which all can look forward to as one of the group of great nations making up the British Empire of the future.

These were Sir Henry Parkes' words:—"Whether he lived, to see it or not, he should render every effort in his power to cause the uniting of these Colonies into one great nation. If their scheme of Federated Australia was carried out, the temporary divisions between the Colonies would be obliterated at once and for ever. (Cheers.) Then there would be no line that would perceptibly divide New South Wales from South Australia. (Cheers.) No doubt there would be a line to fix the jurisdiction of that Colony and of the Colony of New South Wales for local purposes, but in regard to the national life of Australia, including all the cities, towns, and hamlets, it would be perfectly free for the people to go to the coast by whatever route they chose, and they would only be acting in accordance with their privileges and liberties as a portion of the great Australian nation. He could not for the life of him understand the persons who opposed the Federation movement. (Cheers.) The Parliament of New South Wales would assemble before

the close of the month, and so far as the Government were concerned they would lose no time in asking Parliament to appoint delegates to the National Convention to frame a Federal Constitution. (Cheers.) He had reason to believe that the Government of Victoria would take precisely the same course, and that the Government of Queensland would follow in the same direction, and they knew that Tasmania would not be behind. If, then, these four great Colonies took the necessary steps to bring about the Convention to frame a Constitution for the whole of Australia, he did not think it would be in the power of South Australia—he said it with great respect—or Western Australia to hold back. (Cheers.) He should be very much surprised indeed if the whole of the six Colonies did not within the next five or six months constitute this National Convention. If that Convention were called in pursuance of the resolution passed in Melbourne lately, he could not doubt that it would produce a Constitution which would be acceptable to the respective Parliaments; and if that was to be the result, the work was pretty well done. So far, he could see nothing to obstruct the course of Federation, or to prevent the consolidation of the Colonies under one Government within the next two years. (Loud cheers.) He did not suppose he need guard himself by saying that in what he foreshadowed he had no dream of separation from the grand Old Country to which we were so proud to belong. (Cheers.) So far as his mind would lead him in contemplating the future, he could conceive no grander position for Australia than to be still linked to a country to which, directly or indirectly, we owed our birth. He certainly was not so much in love with Republican forms of government as to think we would be better under Republican power. He was not so fond of separation for separation's sake as to think we could do better as a separate limited monarchy; but he thought he would see the time, and he was glad that many of the best minds in the world saw the time which he thought he could see, when the English-speaking communities of the world would draw closer together. (Loud cheers.) He knew from his visit to America that some of the very best and most learned citizens of that great Republic entertained the view that the time might come when even the United States might, if not united to us, act with us in friendly alliance in forming one great English-speaking power, governing the world. (Loud cheers.) He would do his utmost to preserve the freedom of the great Colony of New South Wales, and place it in the very van of Australian progress; and, going further, he would do his utmost, without stint of effort, without taking or seeking any mean advantage, to unite the whole of Australia in one great, powerful, free nation. (Loud cheers.)

A NEW ALLY.

IN commenting last month on Mr. D'Esterre Taylor's admirable address to the Ballarat Branch of the Australian Natives' Association, we called especial attention to the effect it had obviously produced on the minds of some of those who followed the President, Mr. Purves, Q.C., in his separatist tendencies. We cannot say whether Mr. Taylor's paper be the cause, as well as the immediate precursor in point of time, of a very remarkable change of front on the part of Mr. Purves himself. In his opening address to the Annual Conference of the Association, the President used language such as he has certainly not been in the habit of holding heretofore.

"There was no doubt," he said, "that this Association had been formed for a national object. The object of the Association was not by any means to cut the ties described by a clever politician as 'the crimson ties of friendship.' The main object of the Association was, in his opinion, to foster that national spirit of independence of thought, which would enable the people of the Colonies to take their proper place in the battle-roll of the British Empire. The residents of the Colonies were entitled to proper assistance from that Empire from which they sprang, as the ties of blood which connected the people of these Colonies with Great Britain were not easily wrought asunder. The Colonies were entitled to equal representation in deciding causes of quarrel, and an equal veto when such quarrels arose. This could not be obtained by separation. If our life-blood was called upon in such cases of necessity, we certainly should have a voice in the matter. He did not mean such matters as contingents to the Soudan or South Africa. At the present time the authorities at home did not consider what was best for Australia, but what was best for England. He did not mean to say that, if the occasion arose, England would not spend its men and its last penny in defending the Colonial possessions, but, until that occasion arose, no effort would be made to place the Colonies on the same level footing as the Empire of Great Britain. The Colonies had no representative, no mouthpiece to the Home Government, which could only be approached through the Governors of the respective Colonies. . . . He trusted to see the time when India, South Africa, and the Colonies would have one united voice in the affairs of the Empire."

The report from which we quote adds that the speaker was enthusiastically applauded during his address.

Commenting upon the speech, the Melbourne *Argus* says:—

"Mr. Purves is to be heartily congratulated on the tone of the address that he delivered to the Australian Natives' Association. Hitherto he has generally given us vague prophecies that, at some date, the Colonies will separate from the Mother Country, qualified by the remark that for the present separation would be undesirable. Now he declares that the connection should be made stronger by adding to the 'ties of blood' the 'ties of interest.' What Mr. Purves now dwells upon is the fact that, while there must be some change in our relationship, there need not necessarily be another split among our English-speaking peoples. We do not, indeed, understand his comparison of Australia with the West Indies, or his statement that English capital is draining the life-blood of the Colonies. We are under the impression that English capital is understood to be essential to the development of the country, and that it is being eagerly sought for by the Government, municipalities, banks, and private firms. Mr. Purves, however, seems to imply no more by this complaint than that Colonial opinions should be better represented in the Imperial councils. If there is to be an Empire, a great Commonwealth, an immense Federation, he argues that the Executive Power cannot be left to one part of it, even though that part be the Mother Country. But the evil is one that tends to right itself. In Great Britain, at the present moment, Colonial opinion is a very appreciable factor in determining the national policy. A recent writer goes the length of saying that England would run no danger of war, and need never have recourse to war, save for the necessity of keeping the great chain of Colonies, on which much of her trade depends. If we find ourselves engaged in hostilities with Russia or France, the chances are that the Colonies will be as deeply interested in the question at issue as the Mother Country."

The *Melbourne Punch* emphasises the completeness of the *volte-face* by representing Mr. Purves (with his wig on) poised as a vane on a steeple, his face and finger directed to the quarter marked "Imperialism," and his back turned upon "Separation;" on his right is "Nationalism," and on his left "What Next?" while a kangaroo perched on a roof is trying in vain to "get" him with a binocular.

COLONIAL DEFENCE FORCES.

THE interesting paper read on May 13 by Colonel J. F. Owen R.A., at the Royal Colonial Institute, on "The Military Defence Forces of the Empire," contained towards the conclusion the following passages:—

"How are we to make certain that the Imperial responsibilities of Defence shall be equally borne by the whole of Greater Britain? It is a serious, perhaps a vital, problem of the future of the Empire.

"Of one thing we may be sure, that the Mother Country, like a judicious parent, must not drive, but lead. I recollect, in the inaugural address of the Commandant of New South Wales, when opening a military institution in Sydney, he stated that 'the Australian is capable of being converted into a capital soldier. He has, however, one peculiarity, which is—that when first caught he must be judiciously bitted, and gradually accustomed to the bonds of discipline. *He is easy to lead, but difficult to drive.* But it is by being led, and not by being driven, that free men are capable of performing great deeds. My experience of the Colonial soldier, and, I am sure, that of every Imperial officer who has had the pleasure of commanding them, is that none are more intelligent, more amenable to a reasonable discipline, provided they have faith in those who lead them."

"I must enter once more into details—concerning some points, at any rate—which, from a military point of view, may assist towards the solution of the vital problem mentioned.

"Interchange of officers, and, if possible, of men, between the Imperial and the Colonial forces must have a very strong effect in promoting a common sympathy and in strengthening the ties between them. Many Imperial officers, like myself, have of late years been lent to serve for a while with Colonial forces. We all return with our eyes much opened to their value, and with a sympathy and strong friendship for them, which will endure to the end of life. We are able to enter into their feelings and into their difficulties, and to point out to others and to the public at large what an element of strength they offer to the Empire of Greater Britain. It is only from recognition that it is my duty to assist in a small way in so doing, that I have had the presumption to address you to-night in this imperfect paper.

"A further most important means towards the end in view, viz., assisting in every way to perfect the Colonial forces, and to strengthen the bonds of sympathy already alluded to, has been established of recent years. I refer to the granting of commissions in the Imperial army to cadets from their military colleges, and to officers of the Colonial forces. From seventy to eighty such commissions have already been given. The advantages such officers may gain by a military training in a larger field than is possible in their own country will in time be available for, and should be of great value to, the Colonial forces from which they are drawn.

"I have not the exact statistics, but up to 1887 Canada had received for her sons fifty-six commissions in our army—principally in the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. Since the year mentioned, no doubt some fifteen to twenty more commissions have been granted to them. Australia and New Zealand have only just begun to take advantage of this opening, and in the last two or three years have furnished four officers for commissions. This number, without doubt, will soon increase largely. It may interest you to know that the gallant Lieut. Stairs, R.E., the companion in the dangers and in the heroic exploits of the great African explorer Stanley, is one of the officers furnished to our Imperial army by the Dominion of Canada. *Ex uno—* we may hope—*disce omnes.*"

"Is it not possible to imagine that in the future, as the Colonial Permanent Forces increase in numbers, some similar exchange of men, as well as officers, may be made between the Imperial and Colonial armies? There are, I am aware, what seem to be insurmountable difficulties—in the way of pay and many other points. But what an effect would be produced in drawing together these forces, if a battalion or a battery of the forces of a Colony could be sent to serve for a while alongside of Imperial troops, their place in the Colony being supplied for that period by a similar body from the Imperial Army!

"We may be sure that the military forces of our Colonies, even more strongly than the rest of the community, would agree with the sentiments so well expressed by a great Colonial statesman of clear brain and warm heart—the Right Hon. W. B. Dalley—recently, alas! lost to the Empire. I cannot forbear quoting his words with reference to the despatch to the Soudan of the New South Wales Contingent:—

"... The statesmen who contemplate the disturbance of the world's peace will, from this time, not limit their calculations, so far as England is concerned, to her ironclads and her armies. They will consider the rapidly-increasing millions of her Colonial subjects, their boundless resources of all forms of material wealth, their capacity of swift and effective organisation for purposes of offence as well as defence, and, above all, their triumphant resolve to stand by the Great Empire in her troubles, and to spend and be spent in her service. No inconsidered and uncalculated wars will be engaged in by even the most reckless of military despots. And our joyful sacrifices will aid the cause of peace..."

Col. Owen concluded with the following tribute to the military forces of the Colonies:—"As a fellow-soldier in the forces of Greater Britain, as one who has had the privilege of being brought into close contact with them in many a Colony—more especially in that Italy of the Austral Lands, South Australia—for my own part, I heartily sympathise with, and admire, our Colonial military forces, and wish them that success in progress towards perfection which their courage and determination must ensure."

In the discussion which followed Colonel Owen's paper, Sir William C. F. Robinson (Governor of Western Australia), Sir Charles Dilke, Lieut.-Gen. Brackenbury, Col. George T. Denison, and Admiral Tryon took part. The Right Hon. Hugh Childers was in the chair, but took no leading part in the discussion. Sir William Robinson, in the course of his speech, said:—"One hears it said occasionally by distant and remote Colonies—or, at all events, on their behalf one has heard it said—'Why should we contribute to the defence of the Empire? What do we get in return?' Do these Colonies forget, because there are, perhaps, no Imperial soldiers quartered in their territories, and because, necessarily perhaps, the visits of Her Majesty's ships are few and far between—do they forget that every shilling spent by Her Majesty's Government in the training of the rawest recruit is spent just as much for their protection as for the nearest and most important parts of the Empire? Can it be denied that if one of these remote Colonies, which sometimes complain of the absence of Imperial troops, and want immediate protection present to daily observation—can it be denied that, if any one were to be attacked by an enemy, the strength and majesty and force of England would be available for its rescue and defence? I venture to say that any Government of Great Britain which might neglect such a duty would have to reckon with the people of England for such neglect. I, for one, have no patience with that form of expression which draws any distinction between Colonial and Imperial interests. I am one who believes that Colonial interests are Imperial interests, and that Imperial interests are Colonial interests; and whether we establish at King George's Sound a garrison to be manned by Colonial or by English soldiers exclusively, to me matters not at all, provided the garrison be important and necessary, as I believe, to the interests of the Empire."

Sir Charles Dilke, referring to Canadian defences, said:—"In Canada, Colonel Owen says, it is not necessary to put the ballot in force, because plenty of men are forthcoming, but the number of men tends to decrease. He has not told us that year by year for several years the total force of Permanent Militia in Canada has declined. There are Canadian writers who point with a certain pride to that circumstance. Mr. Goldwin Smith lately published an article in an American magazine in which he pointed triumphantly to that decline as

proof of the absence of any intention on the part of Canada to defend her frontier against attack. It is, therefore, necessary, when we are congratulating ourselves upon the military position of the self-governing Colonies, to remember that, however great the sacrifices Canada has made to establish a proper system of training, and however excellent the results, yet as regards numbers and the possibility of putting into the field an organised army to resist invasion, she is not in a position to resist invasion, and is not apparently making preparations to do so."

Speaking of the general unpreparedness of the Empire he said:—"We must get into our heads the notion that in future wars will be decided in the first few days, and that if we are not ready beforehand it will be impossible to make the preparations after the war has broken out. We must accept the fact that our preparations must be made in advance, and that as the declaration of war finds us, so shall we have to fight the war. The lecturer has not named the total amount of colonial expenditure on war: he has named the total amount of the forces. If you compare what they get for what they spend, I think you will see they have a better army at smaller cost than we can show. There, again, I have made an observation which must bring General Brackenbury's thunders on my head. We are spending in the British Empire over £60,000,000 a year on defence. It is an enormous sum. No nation ever spent such a sum. It is a sum at which our grandfathers, even in the days of their great struggles, would have stood in amazement. Of that £60,000,000 we spend here £38,000,000, including our expenditure out of loans, and we spend £20,000,000 in India—£58,000,000 a year between the United Kingdom and India. The Colonies spend only £2,000,000, and the lecturer has shown you the large forces they have produced for that expenditure."

General Brackenbury also spoke and concluded with the following impassioned peroration:—

"Sir, it is impossible for me ever to think of this great subject of colonial defence without having before my mind two pictures, the subjects of which I owe to artists of two different schools. The one is called 'Separation.' I see a great group of Australian Colonies—it may be a United Australia—with a gigantic seaboard and a widely-scattered population. I see, it may be, a United South Africa, also with a great seaboard. I see the people running to and fro, and wringing their hands, for, through some quarrel that may not have been of their own seeking, they have learned through the telegraph that great European Powers are preparing fleets and massing armies to come to their attack. I see lying idly in its own harbours that which has hitherto been their great bulwark of defence, the British Navy, and it says:—'We cannot come to help you, for you have no more part with us.' I see the Dominion of Canada, with her great exposed frontier, and armies gathering to her attack, vainly stretching out her hands for that great weapon of counterattack, the British Navy—and the reply comes, 'We cannot help you, for we have no more part with you.' That picture I do not like to contemplate. It has, I am happy to say, no reality to me. It may be the suggestion of a great artist, but it leaves the imagination cold and barren, and I cannot believe it ever will become a reality. The other picture is called 'Imperial Federation.' I do not know whether Imperial Federation will ever take the shape, which some desire, of a common Parliament, and of treaties and written documents: but this I know, that there is and does exist now an Imperial Federation, which all the powers of earth and hell cannot shake, the federation of the hearts of the Mother Country and her children. And I picture to myself this Federation as a young and vigorous tree; its roots deeply planted in the congenial soil of a common birthright, a common race, a common language, and a common faith; its branches strengthened by the dews of brotherly love and of mutual confidence, respect, and esteem, and its stately top warmed in the sun of loyalty—loyalty to the gracious Sovereign whose throne is not perched upon the isolated and tottering pinnacle of autocracy, but has its foundations firmly fixed in the loving hearts of a faithful people."

Colonel Denison, replying on behalf of Canada to Sir Charles Dilke's remarks, said:—

"We cannot afford a standing army. It is absolutely necessary we should not take away from productive labour too large a number of men to idle about garrison towns. The Canadian people know that, as things stand at present, they cannot be attacked by any nation except the United States. I would not be afraid to face any European or distant Power, simply because the difficulties of sending a distant maritime expedition are recognised to be so tremendous. Suppose war should unfortunately break out with the United States—and that, as I say, is the only contingency we need seriously consider—in that case what are we to do? It would be useless, we know, to attempt to defend the country with a small standing army. We know that every able-bodied man would have to fight. We know that our men are able and willing to fight, and what we are trying to do is to educate officers. Our military college, kept up at large expense, is one of the finest in the world. Then we have permanent schools for military purposes, men drafted from our corps being drilled there and sent back to instruct. We keep up about 38,000 active Militia. As an illustration of our system, I may mention that in 1866 there was the sudden alarm of a Fenian invasion. The Adjutant-General received orders at four o'clock in the afternoon to turn out 10,000 men. At eleven o'clock next day the returns came in, and, to his utter astonishment, he found there were 14,000 under arms. The reason was that the old men who had gone through the corps had put on their old uniforms, taken down their muskets, and turned out with their comrades: and there they were—ready to march."

THAT TRUE NORTH.

THE following extract from a lecture delivered in St. Johns, New Brunswick, by Mr. Parkin some eight or nine years back, which was disinterred the other day from an old scrap-book by Professor Morris, and sent by him to the *Argus*, should have interest for our readers, not only for its personal reminiscences, but also as a milestone to mark the length of the road we have travelled since then on the way to our goal of Imperial Unity:—

"Many who hear me will remember a series of articles on Canadian affairs which appeared some years ago in the *London Times*, in which that great journal affirmed that England in reality cared little for Canada or the Canadians; that the sooner all political connection between the two countries came to an end the better; that Canadian loyalty, useless in itself, was altogether too expensive for the British people to retain as a mere laurel to adorn their Sovereign's crown. It will be remembered, too, what pain this statement of *The Times*, then regarded as an almost infallible index of public opinion, caused throughout Canada, when it seemed as if our loyal affection could look for no better return than this cold philosophy. I have heard men of great knowledge of English affairs and of the English people say that this was the most positive failure they have ever known *The Times* to make in doing that upon which it chiefly prides itself, viz., forming an accurate estimate of public sentiment. That it was a mistake was amply proved by the almost unanimous burst of public applause and approval in which the passionately indignant protest of Mr. Tennyson, in reply to those articles, was received. The real heart of England was touched when the poet, in the final dedication to the Queen of his *Idylls*, referring to the subject, said:—

'And that true North, whereof we lately heard
A strain to shame us, "Keep you to yourselves;
So loyal is too costly! Friends, your love
Is but a burden: break the bands and go!"
Is this the tone of Empire? here the faith
That made us rulers? This, indeed, her voice
And meaning whom the roar of Hougoumont
Left mightiest of all nations under heaven?
What shock has fooled her since that she should speak
So feebly?'

The heart of Canada was touched as well to find that its old faith was not all a dream. I observe that one who loved and served this country well, our late brilliant Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, in dedicating the Canadian edition of his "Letters from High Latitudes," has chosen to do so in these opening words, "To that True North." I wish to connect with these lines one more association which will, I am sure, in all Canadian hearts add a tender grace to the delicate compliment of the poet and of the politician. I am able to do so through the accident of a conversation with a Lincolnshire clergyman, a relative and intimate friend of the Poet Laureate, whom I happened to meet at the house of a mutual friend in Oxford a few years ago. When I was introduced to him by our host as a Canadian, he told me that he had just learnt a fact which he was sure would interest all Canadians. Mr. Tennyson, with whom he had lately been staying, had told him that when the articles to which reference has been made appeared in *The Times*, Lady Franklin, who was then a guest in his house, and who felt the most intense interest in the future of Canada, had been filled with indignation at the wrong which they did to English sentiment, and at the insult which they gave to Canadian loyalty, and had strongly urged upon him the duty and propriety of publicly protesting against both, and of expressing the true feelings of Englishmen in the poem he was about to publish. Being in the fullest sympathy with Lady Franklin's views, the poet acted upon this suggestion, and the lines were written. Happy the poet who has so noble a source from which to draw his inspiration; happy the people who can find such an interpreter of their inner thought! I do not know that I violate any private confidence in referring to this, since my informant spoke of the matter rather as a fact which he wished could be known in Canada; and it has seemed to me well that the Canadian people should know when looking at these lines that behind the poet's brain was the woman's heart, and that a lady whose name is held in highest honour wherever the English language is spoken, nay, wherever heroism and devotion touch the human heart, is thus connected by the subtle thread of sympathy and the golden verse of our greatest poet with our own loved land."

Let us put by the side of this another quotation for whose disinterment we are indebted to the *Canadian Gazette*. Now that the Canadian Pacific Railway is paying 5 per cent. to its shareholders, that 7,000-ton-steamers are building to carry forward its passengers and its merchandise across the Pacific, that the United States railroads are appealing to Congress to protect them against its too successful competition, it is interesting to read what Professor Goldwin Smith wrote of that great undertaking in April, 1880. We take it as an omen that in April, 1900, perhaps on the occasion of the opening meeting of the Imperial Conference for that year, some other friend will, in his turn, disinter one of the last of the powerful series of articles in which the Professor has proved, with most convincing logic, that Imperial Federation is equally undesirable and impossible. Here, anyway, is the prophecy, of whose value time has already permitted us to judge.

"In a commercial point of view, the road is an admitted failure. Military men say that it is equally so from their point of view. People are already beginning to talk of its abandonment, and when a far shorter route is open, as it soon must be, through the United States, it is not impossible that our Government may find itself compelled to stop a scandalous waste by winding up the concern. Next comes the railway round the north shore of Lake Superior, which is to form the bond of union

between Canada and the North-West. To talk of a waterway, frozen half the year, imposing on trade two trans-shipments, and sure to be seized by the enemy in case of war, as the ultimate connection, seems absurd. Practical men, when you can get their opinion, speak of the undertaking as desperate. As to the railway through the mountains from the North-west to British Columbia, let Sir Charles Tupper only state explicitly the probable cost of construction, the probable cost of running the road under conditions of climate, and the probable or possible returns, direct or indirect—then let him lay his hand on his star of Knighthood, and aver, if he can, that this enterprise, with our limited resources, is anything but an act of madness."

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, 1889-90.

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE, LONDON, W.,
May 19th, 1890.

1. THE Council of the League has great satisfaction in being able to place before the members of the Imperial Federation League a record of steady and unremitting progress as the history of the working of the year 1889-90.

2. The proposal made by Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada, at the annual dinner of the League in June, that a second Conference of the representatives of the Self-governing Colonies should be held, was promptly taken into consideration by Executive and Council, with the result that communications were opened between our President and the Prime Minister with a view to a deputation from the League waiting upon the latter, in order to press upon him the desirability of such a Conference being summoned at the first convenient date.

3. After some correspondence, in the course of which Lord Salisbury expressed his readiness to receive any suggestions which the League desired to make for the purpose of modifying the relations between this country and the Colonies, it was agreed that Lord Salisbury should be asked to name a date during the winter for the reception of the deputation.

The date fixed by the Prime Minister was January 10th, and the arrangements had been completed, when it was found necessary, owing to Lord Salisbury's illness, to postpone the matter indefinitely.

It is, however, understood that the promise to receive the deputation holds good, and the Council will, at a suitable opportunity, bring the matter again before Lord Salisbury. But, in the view of the Council, circumstances have changed for the moment, and the absorption of public attention in Australia by the question of Australian Federation appears to them to make it desirable to postpone the suggestion for an Imperial Conference.

4. The proposal for another Conference, similar to that of 1887, has met with a large amount of support in all parts of the Empire, showing with what confidence the results of such a gathering are regarded.

5. As a result of this action on the part of the Council, and of the discussion which preceded it, the Council has adopted the following resolution, indicative of the policy by which it is intended to proceed:—

"That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League."

6. This announcement of policy has met with general approval, the Imperial Federation League in Canada adopting the following resolution with regard to it:—

"That the Council of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, at a meeting specially called to consider the question, are of opinion that a Conference of the Mother Country and the Self-governing Colonies should be summoned by the Imperial Government at the earliest possible moment. And this Council are further of opinion that the most important question that should be brought before such a Conference is that of Inter-Imperial Trade."

7. A resolution of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom in October declared that, "In view of the commercial interests of the Empire, the time has now arrived when a Conference should be held with the object of arriving at a satisfactory solution of the question of Imperial Federation."

8. The mission undertaken last year by Mr. G. R. Parkin through the Dominion of Canada and the Colonies of Australasia has proved a signal success. His eloquent addresses have stirred the public mind in those countries, and his numerous interviews with persons of influence in every class have made the object for which the League is striving clear beyond the possibility of any but deliberate misunderstanding.

At the time of his visit and since, the subject of "Imperial Federation," or, as translated by Mr. Parkin, "National Unity," has been actively canvassed both in the press and on the platform.

9. The League in Canada has largely extended its operations during the past year, and has been carefully organised upon a thoroughly representative basis. It now consists of twenty-six branches, sending representatives to a Central Council, which appoints an Executive Committee and officers. In addition to the president of the League, there is a vice-president for every Province of the Dominion, and the chain of its branches extends from sea to sea.

Six hundred copies of "IMPERIAL FEDERATION" are distributed monthly in the Dominion through its agency, in addition to its own literature printed in Canada.

10. As anticipated in last year's report, a strong feeling continues to exist in Canada against the continuance in commercial treaties with foreign countries of clauses preventing the different portions of the Empire from making such internal fiscal arrangements between themselves as they may think proper. The League in Canada, at its Annual Meeting, held in January last, passed a resolution condemning such stipulations. Most of the treaties obnoxious to this view terminate in 1892,

and it is to be expected that strong efforts will be made by the League in Canada to obtain the abrogation of such clauses where they exist, and the provision under all treaties that the favoured nation clause shall not have the effect of extending to foreign countries the advantage of any preferential arrangement between different parts of the Empire. Any action in this direction taken by the Dominion Government will have the hearty support of the Council.

11. The desire expressed by the Council of the League in Canada for discussion of Inter-Imperial Trade at the next Conference has met with some response in the United Kingdom, the following resolution having been unanimously passed by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce:—

"That while this Council approve of the objects of the Imperial Federation League, as set forth in their circular of November 13th last (Report of Commercial Committee), they are of opinion that the primary essential condition of Imperial Federation is a Customs Union of the Empire."

12. An important declaration was made by Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, in his speech at Kingston, in December, to the following effect:—

"I am satisfied that the large majority of the people of Canada are in favour of the continuance and perpetuation of the connection between the Dominion and the Mother Country. There is nothing to gain and everything to lose by their separation. I believe that if any party or person were to announce or to declare such a thing—either by annexation with the great Republic to the south of us, or by declaring for independence—I believe that the people of Canada would say 'No.' (Loud applause). I say that any separation from the United Kingdom would bring ruin and misfortune."

13. This was followed by the adoption in January of a loyal address to the Queen by the Dominion House of Commons, which was moved by Mr. Mulock, a Member of the Opposition, seconded by a French-Canadian Member, and carried unanimously by a full House.

The text of the address is as follows:—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly, in our own name and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to renew the expression of our unswerving loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Government.

"We have learned, with feelings of entire disapproval, that various public statements have been made, calling in question the loyalty of the people of Canada to the political union now happily existing between this Dominion and the British Empire, and representing it as the desire of the people of Canada to sever such connection.

"We desire, therefore, to assure your Majesty that such statements are wholly incorrect representations of the sentiments and aspirations of the people of Canada, who are among your Majesty's most loyal subjects, devotedly attached to the political union existing between Canada and the Mother Country, and earnestly desire its continuance.

"We feel assured that your Majesty will not allow any such statements, emanating from any source whatever, to lessen your Majesty's confidence in the loyalty of your Canadian subjects to your Majesty's person and Government, and will accept our assurances of the contentment of your Majesty's Canadian subjects with the political connection between Canada and the rest of the British Empire, and of their fixed resolve to aid in maintaining the same.

"We pray that the blessings of your Majesty's reign may, for your people's sake, be long continued."

14. The significance of this action of the Dominion Parliament cannot be over-rated, and the League in Canada is to be congratulated upon this most satisfactory outcome of its steady and persevering work during the past three years.

15. The questions arising out of the claims of the United States over the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea, and the encroachments of the French beyond their fishing rights on the shores of Newfoundland, have accentuated to some extent the question of the relations of the various parts of the Empire to its foreign policy, which the League has always been anxious to see placed on a more sound and definite footing.

16. During the four months which he spent in Australasia, Mr. Parkin was in personal contact with most of the leading statesmen and politicians of the Colonies which he visited, and, with but few exceptions, he found them favourable to the object of the League, though in some cases averse to taking a prominent part in advocating Imperial Federation.

17. A decided step has been taken in the direction of Australian Federation. A conference of the leading Australasian statesmen has been held, and resolutions declaring the necessity of combination under one Government have been passed. It has been further recommended that a formal convention of authorised representatives shall meet in February to discuss the details of a scheme of Federation.

18. It is to be especially noted that the meeting of Australian statesmen for the purpose of securing this union, was the occasion of some of the strongest declarations of the necessity for maintaining the connection of Australia with the Empire which have yet been heard.

19. It is evident that the Federation of a group of Colonies should not be regarded as antagonistic to the larger Federation of the Empire; but rather, as is so well shown in the case of Canada, as a step towards the same end. This has been the view of the Council, and the movement has throughout been regarded with the greatest satisfaction.

20. The season of meetings in England was commenced in November by a large meeting held in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House, at which the Lord Mayor presided, supported by the President of the League, the Earl of Carnarvon, Cardinal Manning, Lord Brassey,

and many others; and it was terminated in April by a meeting at the People's Palace, at which H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was in the Chair, and at which much enthusiasm was shown.

21. At the large majority of the meetings Mr. Parkin was the chief speaker, and he has delivered no less than thirty-seven addresses during the winter. In the words of the *Leeds Mercury*:—

"By his enthusiasm, his comprehensive grasp of his subject, both in its broad aspects and in its important details, and his anxious care to elucidate every question raised by his hearers, Mr. Parkin has produced a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of a large number of the people of this country."

22. The resolution adopted at Leeds, on March 27th, which may be said to have concluded his campaign in Yorkshire, was forwarded to the Prime Minister, and the following reply was received:—

"I am deeply sensible of the importance of a movement which has for its object to draw closer the ties which bind England and her Colonies together, and to secure a fuller co-operation between them for the defence and advancement of common interest. These are objects which Her Majesty's Government, and I believe all statesmen of all parties, have earnestly at heart, and no effort will be wanting on our part to further the attainment of these important ends by the adoption of any measures it is in our power to take, and which are likely to be efficacious for the purpose."

23. Lord Hartington wrote, concerning the same occasion:—

"I believe that, whatever may have been the case in former times, no statesman or party is now indifferent to the importance, and even the necessity, of drawing closer the bonds which bind England and her Colonies together, and of securing a permanent and complete co-operation between them for the advancement and defence of common interests. The only point on which differences of opinion may exist is as to the means by which this object may be effected, and I am glad that the attention of the great industrial communities of Yorkshire has been directed to the necessity of finding a practical solution of the problem."

24. The League is to be congratulated upon the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the postage to Her Majesty's Dominions is henceforward reduced to twopence halfpenny. From the date of this meeting of the Conference, which resulted in the formation of this League, the reduction of the postage between all parts of the Empire to a uniform and moderate rate has been recognised as one of the greatest aids to be sought in the attainment of its object, and it has the satisfaction of knowing that the important step now taken has been mainly due to the untiring exertions of an original member of its Council, Mr. J. Henniker Heaton, M.P. Great as is the advantage which has thus been gained to the cause of Imperial Federation, it is felt that the League should not rest satisfied with any arrangement which does not place the correspondence addressed to British Dominions in all parts of the world upon an equal footing.

25. With this view the following resolutions were adopted by the Postal Committee of the League, and circulated to the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, shortly before the introduction of the Budget:—

"(1) That the introduction of a cheap uniform rate of postage, and a uniform postage stamp for use between all parts of the Empire, would not only be of great material advantage, but would also mark the fact of Imperial unity, and help to ensure its permanence.

"(2) That it is desirable that such portion as may be necessary of any future increase of net postal revenue in the United Kingdom should be applied to this object.

"(3) That it is desirable that an inquiry, by Royal Commission or otherwise, into the whole question of Imperial inter-communication should be instituted forthwith."

26. The report of Lord Hartington's Commission upon Naval and Military Administration contains, as its most effective clause, a suggestion for the formation of a Council of Defence, to be presided over by the Prime Minister, and to include the Parliamentary heads of both services, as well as their professional advisers. This recommendation was found to coincide with that contained in a report of the Defence Committee of the League, published in December, in which it was further proposed that representatives of Colonies contributing to the maintenance of Imperial defence should be included in such a council.

27. The Council of the League holds that this suggestion of the Royal Commission offers an excellent opportunity for the introduction of the representative principle, coincident as it may be with the first contribution of the Australian Colonies to the maintenance of the navy in Australasian waters.

28. The steps taken by the Council to perpetuate the memory of the Right Hon. William Bede Dally have resulted in the completion, by Sir Edgar Boehm, of a tablet bearing a medallion portrait of the deceased statesman, which, by the permission of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, will shortly be placed there.

29. The question of the admission of Colonial Securities to the advantages of the Trust Investment List has formed the subject of some discussion in the press, and of an investigation by a Departmental Committee of the Treasury, in which representatives of the Colonies took part.

30. The want of any method in the organisation of the League, by which the individual expression of the United Kingdom can be obtained, has made itself largely felt, and a movement in favour of combining the Branches now existing in the United Kingdom into an organisation similar to that perfected in Canada, has received the sanction of the Executive Committee, subject to the necessary financial arrangements being made. It is believed that this arrangement will not only increase the activity of the League in the United Kingdom, but will also strengthen the position of the Council, which will then cease to hold the dual position which it now occupies in representing at once the United Kingdom and the Empire at large.

31. The monthly Journal of the League has maintained its high reputation.

32. As regards the general position of the League, it may be said that while the effect it has produced during the five years of its existence upon the disposition of the public mind towards the future of the Empire has been almost phenomenal, yet the very extent of this success renders it imperative that the League's activity should be unceasingly developed, in order that it should not merely strive to keep pace with the rapidly succeeding phases of the question, but should be able to secure the full advantage of the progress made.

33. Hitherto the work of the League has been carried on with funds altogether inadequate to the dimensions of the undertaking for which it is responsible. The temporary arrangement by which the expenses of the League have been met, comes to an end with the current year, and the Council has given directions for a systematic application to be made throughout the United Kingdom during the next half-year for the means required to place the League in a position to deal adequately with the great and growing work which it has before it.

The Council is confident that this application will be readily responded to wherever the past work of the League, and that which still remains to be done, is understood; but it is at the same time necessary to state that the Council would incur a grave responsibility by entering upon further operations without the provision of such ample means as will leave it free to utilise the whole strength of the organisation on occasions of critical importance, such as will infallibly arise before the object of the League is attained.

FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY (*President*)
IN THE CHAIR.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Imperial Federation League was held on Thursday, May 22nd, 1890, at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Amongst those present were:—The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery (*President*); the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen; Lord Claud Hamilton; Lord Stratheden and Campbell; Lord Brassey, K.C.B.; the Hon. T. Allnutt Brassey; the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P.; the Right Hon. E. Heneage, M.P.; Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B. (High Commissioner for Canada); Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., G.C.M.G.; Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., C.S.I.; Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.; General Sir Gerald Graham, G.C.M.G., V.C.; Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B.; Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.; Sir John Simon; Sir Francis V. Smith; Sir George D. Harris; Sir Henry Doulton; Hon. John B. Watt, M.L.C. (New South Wales); Major-General Lowry, C.B.; Major-General R. Dashwood; Colonel Ronald B. Lane; Colonel P. R. Innes; Colonel John Watts, B.S.C.; Colonel G. T. Denison (Toronto); Colonel Henry Blundell, C.B., M.P.; James J. Fellows (Agent-General for New Brunswick); Stanley Leighton, M.P.; J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.; R. Munro Ferguson, M.P.; A. J. Staveley Hill, M.P.; Hugh Watt, M.P.; T. Henry Baylis, Q.C.; Major Rawson; Major W. V. Gregory; Peter Redpath (Canada); Charles Percy Davis (Melbourne); C. L. Tupper (Lahore, India); George R. Parkin; Frank Debenham, L.C.C.; W. M. Acworth, L.C.C.; John G. Rhodes, L.C.C.; S. V. Morgan; J. S. Fletcher, J.P.; Donald McMillan; Donald Larnach; H. R. Graham; E. W. Howson; Dr. Culver James; W. Copland Perry; C. Freeman Murray; H. W. Marcus; H. F. Wilson; Gisborne Molineux; George Graham; B. W. Warhurst; Robert J. Beadon (Tasmania); and A. H. Loring (*secretary*).

There were also present the following delegates to England from Newfoundland, viz.:—Sir James Winter, K.C.M.G.; Mr. Morine, M.L.A.; Mr. Scott, M.L.A. (ex-Speaker). And among others not being members of the League there were present:—Sir Henry de Villiers, K.C.M.G. (Chief Justice of Cape Colony); Sir John Pope Hennessy, K.C.M.G.; J. Williams Benn, L.C.C.; J. S. O'Halloran (*secretary*, Royal Colonial Institute); W. Herbert Squires (South Australia); Walter Barratt (*hon. secretary*, Federated Emigration Fund).

The *PRESIDENT*, who was loudly cheered on rising to move the adoption of the report, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I will only say a couple of sentences in moving this report, because I think it speaks for itself. The only point on which I will say anything is with reference to the deputation to Lord Salisbury with respect to the holding of an Imperial Conference. You will remember that a correspondence took place between Lord Salisbury and myself with respect to that proposal, and that Lord Salisbury agreed to receive our deputation. A regrettable illness, however, supervened, and postponed the reception of that deputation. Well, when the question again became a practical one, and Lord Salisbury was able to return to active work, the question had assumed a new phase. Of course I am very far from ignoring, or putting out of account other Colonies, but no one can deny that any Conference such as was proposed would have had special reference to the great Colonies of Canada and Australasia. As regards Canada, I do not doubt that the Conference would have been timely, but, on the other hand, I had great doubts as to its being timely with regard to Australasia. After that correspondence to which I have alluded a sudden wave of federal feeling swept over Australasia. There was a conference or congress held with reference to that movement, and I confess I felt strongly—and I was supported in that view by some of the most experienced Colonial statesmen—that it would not be wise to approach Lord Salisbury with a view to holding an immediate Imperial Conference while the mind of Australia was absorbed in the affairs of its own

Federation. It seemed to me that under those circumstances our proposal would come to the Australians at an uncongenial moment, and that the two objects—Imperial Federation and Colonial Federation—would appear to be, not as they are,

PARALLEL AND CONSISTENT

with each other, but antagonistic. That view may be right or wrong, but it is one that I strongly held, and I believe that my colleagues on the Council and on the Executive Committee shared it with me. Of course it would have been possible to proceed to Lord Salisbury and point out to him in an abstract manner the advisability of such a Conference. But, on the other hand, we should have been liable to this question in reply, "Would an Imperial Conference be expedient at this moment?" And if we had, as I believe on my honour and my conscience we should have been obliged to do, answered "No," it would have been a strong argument against the general contention on which the proposal had been advanced. Well, that is all I have to say about that paragraph. The second point to which I would wish to call your attention relates to the fifteenth paragraph, which says:—"The questions arising out of the claims of the United States over the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea, and the encroachments of the French beyond their fishing rights on the shores of Newfoundland, have accentuated to some extent the question of the relations of the various parts of the Empire to its foreign policy which the League has always been anxious to see placed on a more sound and definite footing." Well, I believe that that paragraph, tersely as it is put, and so framed as to avoid controversial matter, does indicate in a compendious way the inconvenience of our present arrangements. (Hear, hear.) We have lately had some melancholy telegrams from Newfoundland; about Behring Sea we have less information, but, at any rate, these two questions, important and critical as they are, do bring to the front in a manner which no one can ignore the fact that the foreign policy of the Empire is guided by home parties alone.

WITHOUT ANY CONTROL,

or without advice, except that which is sought privately and indirectly, from the great Colonial portions of the Empire. (Cheers.) Now I will not proceed any further upon that subject, and indeed, I have no wish to say any more in support of my motion. You will look in vain in the report for any scheme of Imperial Federation. Those of our critics who say, "Tell me what Imperial Federation is, and I will tell you what I think about it," will find no scheme to criticise or discuss in any corner of our annual report. If there were any such scheme I should not be here to move it, because I do not believe that it is on the report of any private society that such a scheme will ever be realised. But I will say that as regards the alternative name which Mr. Parkin—and here I cannot help stating from the presidential chair the deep obligations under which we lie to Mr. Parkin (cheers)—has given to Imperial Federation, namely that of National Unity, that in some respects it is a preferable term. But if I might sum up our purpose in a sentence, it would be that we seek to base our Empire upon a

CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE.

At present the Empire is carried on—it is administered—successfully owing to the energies of the governing race which rules it, but in a haphazard and inconsequential manner; but each day that this society has seen pass over its head, has shown the way to a better state of things. (Loud cheers.)

COLONEL G. T. DENISON, specially representing the Imperial Federation League in Canada, seconded the motion. He said:—"My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in rising to second the adoption of this report. I do not think that it is at all necessary for me to say much more in reference to the different clauses in it. Our noble president has already touched on the one or two points that seem of the greatest importance, and I must say that in the Committee of which I have the honour to be a member, the whole report was adopted unanimously. I may also say that I have been very much pleased to-day that our president has been able to come here to attend this meeting. I know that he has been ill, and has risen from a sick-bed in order to be with us to-day (cheers), and I think when you find a nobleman of his lordship's position taking such trouble to be with us in the interests of this cause of Imperial Federation, it speaks volumes of hope for our organisation. (Cheers.) Now, leaving the report, I should like to make a few remarks from

A CANADIAN STAND-POINT,

and in doing so I wish to have it distinctly understood that I am not speaking the views of, or on behalf of, the Imperial Federation League, or yet of the Executive Committee, of which I am a member, but I wish to touch upon this subject of Federation from a Canadian standpoint, in order that the people of England may know what we Canadians think. You can get plenty of gentlemen who can get up and tell you what Imperial Federation in England means, and the motives that make them carry out this idea, but I would like to speak wholly from a Canadian point of view. Now, the relations between the Colonies and England have at last come to that position when it becomes necessary that some change should be made in order to put those relations upon a more secure and lasting basis. The Colonies have lately increased very greatly in strength and influence, and the Canadian people have become a powerful nation, and we can easily understand that it will be necessary to have some change made in order that we Canadians may rise to the full dignity of citizenship. That we have hardly got to-day, although we are practically a self-governing people. We do not pay anything to the expenses of the Army and Navy, which are undoubtedly Imperial in their character. We are to a certain extent dependent for the protection of our commerce upon the Navy, and yet we pay nothing towards it. We are also dependent upon the diplomatic and consular services and pay nothing for them; and, at the same time, we cannot be consulted about them.

We are coming to the conclusion that the present state of affairs is one which

CANNOT BE PERMANENT

and lasting. We have prominent statesmen here in England who say:—"If Canada wants to be independent, let her go." Well, that is very kind, but we in Canada don't want to go. But, at the same time, such a remark creates the idea of the possibility of Canada being requested to become independent. And then again, there is also in Canada a very small fraction of the people who have an idea that it would be to the benefit of Canada to throw in her lot with the great republic to the South. That would be very unpleasant, however, to the great masses of our people. Well, the difficulty is one which is becoming serious, and we should like to have it settled. The people of Canada are in a very peculiar position, situated as they are upon that North American continent, because we have to the south of us a very influential neighbour, who certainly would be very desirous of having Canada annexed to that country, and from time to time they have been endeavouring in various ways to induce the Canadian people to join that country. They have tried on two occasions by force of arms to get our country, but we have been able to stand by the Empire. (Cheers.) Then latterly they have tried another method by which they thought they would induce us to become a part of the United States. They passed a reciprocity treaty in 1854. This caused a very large trade to grow up between us and the republic. After that working very successfully for twelve years and the whole difficulties of the day had been thoroughly settled between us and the States, they suddenly cut it off with a view to making us unite ourselves with the republic. Well, thank goodness, our loyalty stood that test. We looked round, and said, we will

STAY IN THE EMPIRE.

We sent commissioners down to the West Indian Islands to try and start trade there, and we opened trade with other countries. But thank goodness through it all we stood true to the Empire, and by standing true to the Empire we stood true to ourselves. We have built a great railway across our country, we are now opening up trade to the east, and we are now in a position also to bring that trade across here, and spread it over the whole of Europe. But what has been the result of that? The United States have seen that we have a country capable of infinite expansion of trade and commerce and a country great in itself. What has been the result within the last two or three years? The first thing that happened was a proposal from New York of commercial union. That was done to make everybody in Canada believe that they would benefit largely by it. But what did the Canadian people say? Their answer was, "This is a question of honour and principle; we will not have a tariff made against our mother country." These are questions of honour and sentiment to which nobody worthy of the title of men would ever consent. (Cheers.) When the recent Fisheries Treaty was agreed to, there were things about that treaty which our people would rather not have had, but they had made the best treaty they could, and the people stood loyally by their ambassadors and passed it. The United States Senate rejected it, and at once the President issued a retaliation proclamation against Canada. After that two of our cabinet ministers spoke out manfully. They said, "Go on with your retaliation programme, and we will carry out our own policy as we think best for our own country, it won't make any difference to us; we will stand true by the empire." Then after that there was no retaliation carried out. They found that that would not work. They bought last year about six million dollars' worth of barley, and about two million dollars' worth of eggs from us, and now they have brought in an act which, I believe, would absolutely prohibit us sending them that six million dollars' worth of barley. Our people said, "You can go without our barley." And our Government have imported seed barleys suitable for the English market so that our people can grow that. Well, now they are passing a resolution in favour of reciprocity, and they say that as soon as we go in for reciprocity they will think about it, and they will repudiate it, the same as they have done before. They are doing all they can to hamper our trade, for the simple reason that by constant nagging at us they think they will turn us against the empire. Then again we see that they are building a great navy. They are spending 349,000,000 of dollars upon their navy, and all over the United States they are saying that it is so as to be able to hold their own against England. Then they think they will be able to take us. In view of this we are naturally anxious to put everything

ON A PROPER FOOTING,

and get everything possible done that we may put a stop to these intrigues. I think you will agree that it is fair that people here in England should be willing to meet us half way in order to have things put on a sound and permanent footing. (Cheers.) Now I have made some remarks about the feeling of the United States and I should like to draw your attention to an article which appeared in the *North American Magazine*, by Mr. Goldwin Smith, entitled "Hatred to England." Now Mr. Goldwin Smith's motive seems to be just for the purpose of showing how wide-spread is the hatred of England in the United States. He says, "Anglophobia does mischief in more ways than one. It stands seriously in the way of any attempt to effect a re-union of the English-speaking race upon this continent. British Canadians love a Mother Country which has never wilfully given them cause for complaint, and they take hostility to her as hostility to themselves." Now with reference to a scheme of Imperial Federation I quite agree with the noble lord, our President, that we cannot go into the question of a scheme. At the same time, I do not think it would be out of the way to mention here that it would be of the utmost importance to Canada that we should have some arrangement that there should be a

DISCRIMINATING TARIFF

established. (Cheers.) The effect would be to open up a better state of trade than ever between the two countries. I feel that we in Canada would be willing to give for a discriminating tariff very great

advantages over foreign manufacturers, with which the trade is now divided. I think, if this matter is only carefully considered, it is not impossible for the English people, for the sake of keeping the English nation together, to make this little sacrifice. (Cheers and "Hear, hear.") I have spoken to numbers of people in England, and I find a great many people would be willing to have some such arrangement made, if England were assured of some corresponding advantage. They seem to think it is a question which ought to be considered; but they think that England has committed herself to another policy, to which she must stand. Well, I do not think that that is the case. (Hear, hear.) My opinion is that it is to the interest of the Empire and to the interest of the Mother Country that something should be done which would knit the Empire together. I believe the English people are open to reason as much as anybody in the world. That policy would be of immense interest to us, considering that the United States are our competitors. Then, again, look at the advantages which might be offered in the way of emigration to a country under your own flag, with your own institutions, and with those law-abiding and God-fearing principles which we are trying to spread through the northern half of the Continent; and, at the same time, it would be adding strength to you all here at home. (Hear, hear.) I must not detain you too long, but I thought I would like to mention these one or two points to you. I speak on behalf of the great masses of the Canadian people, and I think I have shown you some of the annoyances under which they have been living up to the present, and I am quite sure that if any sacrifice can be made the Canadians will be willing to

MEET YOU HALF-WAY.

But it ought not to be all one way. There ought to be give and take both ways. (Cheers.)

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B. then moved the next resolution. He said:—"After the interesting speech of the noble Chairman, who never fails to put something attractive before us when he pleads the cause of Imperial Federation, and after the admirable and full speech that you have just heard from the chosen representative of Canada, it is not necessary that I should detain you with more than a few words in moving this resolution. I am particularly desirous to call attention to recent expressions in Canada of loyalty to the Mother Country. In December last, Sir John Macdonald, the British Prime Minister of Canada, made an important declaration. He said: 'There is nothing to gain, and everything to lose by separation. I believe if any party or person were to announce or declare such a thing—either by annexation with the great republic to the south of us, or by declaring for independence—I believe that the people of

CANADA WOULD SAY 'NO.'

This speech of the Prime Minister was followed up a month later by the resolution moved in the Canadian House of Commons by Mr. Mulock. It was seconded by a French Canadian member, and was carried unanimously in a full house. These are the terms of the address: "We have learned with feelings of entire disapproval that various public statements have been made, calling in question the loyalty of the people of Canada to the political union now happily existing between this dominion and the British Empire, and representing it as the desire of the people of Canada to sever such connection. We desire, therefore, to assure your Majesty that such statements are wholly incorrect representations of the sentiments and aspirations of the people of Canada, who are among your Majesty's most loyal subjects, devotedly attached to the political union existing between Canada and the Mother Country, and earnestly desire its continuance. We feel assured that your Majesty will not allow any such statements, emanating from any source whatever, to lessen your Majesty's confidence in the loyalty of your Canadian subjects to your Majesty's person and Government, and will accept our assurances of the contentment of your Majesty's Canadian subjects with the political connection between Canada and the rest of the British Empire, and of their fixed resolve to aid in maintaining the same." The noble chairman referred to the circumstance that our report contains no new proposal of a specific character touching the 'great problem of Imperial Federation. I do not consider that it is necessary that such proposals should be made in order to justify the existence of our League. (Hear, hear.) The work which this League is practically established to carry forward—the work which it is essential we should always be carrying forward—is the cultivation of a feeling of attachment between the Mother Country and the Colonies. If that feeling of attachment did not exist federation would be useless, but if that feeling does exist the British people—who are always remarkable for their aptitude as practical men—depend upon it will never fail to find means by which to give expression to that sentiment. At the present time the work we have to do in connection with the Colonies relates chiefly to the

DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

I am glad and I am sure we are all glad to know that the Colonies support with more enthusiasm than heretofore the measures proposed for self-defence, and depend upon it many years must go by before the safe-guarding of the great routes from the Mother Country to the Colonies can be done by any other force than that of the great British navy. I myself have been a wide traveller through the British Empire, and I have before me visions and living impressions of the greatness of those new countries which have sprung up from our race, and I have at all times the greatest satisfaction in doing anything which it is in my power to do to promote and strengthen the connection which exists between the Mother Country and the Colonies. I beg to move the following resolution:—

"That this meeting expresses its profound gratification at the terms of the loyal address adopted by the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, and congratulates the Imperial Federation League in Canada upon the effect

which is being produced in the Dominion by means of its exertions."

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., seconded the resolution. He said: In rising to second the motion which has been proposed to you by Lord Brassey, I think it will be impossible to over-rate the importance of the loyal address which has been adopted by that august assembly, the House of Commons of Canada. I think that this will be the best possible reply to those isolated politicians who have tried to upset us. We are only too happy to receive that address, and thank the august assembly for having adopted it. Recollect, ladies and gentlemen, that we in this room are engaged upon the object of promoting the closer political union of our great empire; that we wish to bring about in the fulness of time such a grand national constitutional system of government in this country, as shall enable our country to become more and more bound together as an empire. It is the object of Imperial Federation to prevent the

THREATENED DISINTEGRATION.

and to see that the union of the Empire shall be more perfectly consolidated. There is no part of the Empire which assists the efforts we make at home so admirably as the Imperial Federation League in Canada. The motion which I have now to second is to express our congratulation to the Imperial Federation League in Canada for the successful way in which they have carried on the League. I have great pleasure, my lords, in seconding this motion.

The PRESIDENT then read the resolution, which, upon a show of hands being taken, was carried unanimously.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER was then called upon to move the next resolution. He said: My lords, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in moving the following resolution:—"That the best thanks of the League are given to the right hon. the Earl of Rosebery for presiding at this meeting, and for the services which he has rendered to the cause of Imperial Federation during the past year." There are a great many different opinions with regard to the question of Imperial Federation, but I believe all who have at all followed the action of the Imperial Federation League will come to the conclusion that great good has been accomplished by its efforts. That the Colonies may be rendered still closer friends of the Mother Country is an object worthy of the efforts of every man whose desire is for the welfare of the empire. Now I need not tell you of the indebtedness of this League to the noble lord who presides here to-day. The friends of Imperial Federation everywhere may congratulate themselves justly in having placed at their head a gentleman who is recognised as one of the most devoted friends of the colonial subjects of the Queen, and who is by his great ability, and by his sagacity and judgment proved to be well

ADAPTED FOR THE LEADERSHIP

of this organisation. I would not do justice to my own feelings if I did not on this occasion give him credit as one of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at Washington in conjunction with Mr. Chamberlain in endeavouring to settle the dispute about the Fisheries between England and the United States of America. We found that most valuable assistance had been rendered to our cause by the firm and statesman-like attitude taken up upon the question by Lord Rosebery when Minister for Foreign Affairs. (Cheers.) After all we have heard from my friend, Colonel Denison, I do not think I need occupy you at any length in regard to Canadian feeling, but I may say that I entirely concur in the views that have been expressed in regard to Australian Federation. I believe that the friends of the Empire cannot attach too much importance to the question of the Federation of Australia; for I believe that an Australian Federation is

THE GREAT STEP

to which the friends of Imperial Federation must look as the means of finding any solution of the very difficult problem which we have undertaken to deal with. Nobody knows better than myself the difficulties in the way of carrying out a scheme of Federation; but I believe those difficulties will be overcome. I believe the inducements and necessities of Australia to federate are too great not to successfully and steadily surmount all the difficulties, and I look forward to see at no distant day an Australian Federation. I believe that the status of those Colonies will be greatly increased. I believe that their trade will be greatly expanded. I believe that their credit—great as it is—will be rendered still greater by that Confederation; and that other vital questions will receive an impetus which would never otherwise be attained. I therefore heartily concur in the views initiated by his lordship that the League must take no step which might render the end we have in view less certain of ultimately attaining a successful issue. I do not intend to detain you any longer, especially as I see his lordship looking at his watch. I beg, therefore, to move the vote of thanks to his lordship."

LORD ROSEBERY:—I think it is most unfair of Sir Charles Tupper to shorten his speech owing to his seeing me looking at my watch! It was an automatic proceeding altogether unconnected with his speech.

MR. G. R. PARKIN said that he supposed that he had been asked to second the resolution because it had been his province to come in contact during the past year with audiences in every part of this country, and in many other important parts of the Empire, and so he had been able to see with what enthusiasm the name of Lord Rosebery was always greeted. It was a great advantage to have a statesman of Lord Rosebery's character and eminence at the head of the movement in this country. There was a great temptation in these days of party contests for statesmen to think of no subjects but those which promised immediate returns in the form of votes, and the greater credit was therefore due to one who gave his time and thought to a great national question which brought no party advantage. The mere fact that the League had a statesman of Lord Rosebery's position at the head of it was the greatest possible guarantee that its aims were practical.

A very significant fact, too, that he noticed was, that English statesmen who went abroad were the very men who came home to

BECOME THE EXPONENTS

of Imperial Federation. He saw before him Lord Rosebery, Lord Brassey, and Lord Aberdeen, all of whom had travelled extensively in the Colonies, and seen the advantages to be derived from a system of Imperial Federation. He asked any English statesman to go abroad and see for himself, and if he did not come back a greater enthusiast than he was before, he would be very much mistaken. The name of Lord Rosebery had been a tower of strength to the cause everywhere, but particularly so in Australia, with which he had made himself well acquainted. There were extreme men, of course, who might use Lord Rosebery's leadership of the League as an excuse for not working in the cause, but this would be less in his case than in that of perhaps any other man in English public life. Sir Charles Dilke's statement that Lord Rosebery's presidency was a special hindrance in Australia was not correct, so far as he could judge. All he wished was that every statesman in the Empire could be forced to go upon the colonial tour, for then they could have no doubt whatever as to the

NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

of the cause. So far as he could judge about the Colonies they would infinitely rather see the House of Commons not crowded upon the occasion of some paltry party question, but on the infinitely more important occasions when Indian or Colonial questions were before them. That was the time when a great oceanic Empire like this should assemble in its full strength in Parliament. In conclusion he must say that he felt, in supporting this vote of thanks to Lord Rosebery, that it was something more than a mere compliment. He could assure his lordship that could he but see the enthusiasm with which his name was always greeted in every part of the Empire as the head of the League he would feel fully repaid for all the trouble he took in looking after its interests.

The motion upon being put by LORD BRASSEY was carried unanimously.

LORD ROSEBERY, in reply, said:—Ladies and gentlemen,—I am very much obliged to you for your vote of thanks, and for the kind expressions of Sir Charles Tupper in proposing, and Mr. Parkin in seconding the vote. I hope you will not carry away with you exaggerated views of the sickness to which one of our friends alluded. I have only been nursing a bad cold, which has almost robbed me of my voice. In the past year I have perhaps been largely engrossed in a concern, perhaps not imperial in extent, but of sufficient magnitude—I mean the London County Council—and that fact, I think, has brought upon me suspicion in some quarters of a desire to centralise Imperial Federation. The other day I made a speech at the People's Palace, in which I said that the title deeds of the Anglo-Saxon race were in these islands, and we meant to keep them there. A judicious critic discovered in these words that the real meaning of Imperial Federation was the centralisation of the empire at any cost. Now, gentlemen, it is hardly necessary for me to disclaim the distorted meaning that was placed on these words. The task of the centralisation of the empire would be a task

BEYOND THE POWERS

of the greatest statesmen and philosophers that ever lived. They would attempt a task so impossible as to be absolutely ridiculous. Whoever wishes to centralise in these islands the administration of the various races and the various climates which compose the British Empire would be attempting a task absolutely ridiculous. What we aim at is a national union—an Imperial union. We have enough to do in these islands to govern the thirty-five million people who live in them, but that ought not to impede us in our wish for an Imperial unity which should present a

UNITED FRONT

to the world outside. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, whether that union take place or not, I must reiterate my belief that the title deeds of the English race must remain in these islands. There may be greater states—the United States for example—whose population may be twice that of these islands, but they cannot rob this country of its historical primacy. You might as well endeavour to take over to the greatest Anglo-Saxon community in the new world those stately edifices under whose shadow we meet to-day—Westminster Palace and Westminster Abbey—to take them over stone by stone, numbered and directed, and place them in the middle of some vast prairie and say:—"Here is the centre of the Anglo-Saxon race"—as you might hope to divest the people of this country, of this country in which we live, of their Imperial prerogative—of their

HISTORICAL SUPREMACY.

(Loud cheers.)

The meeting then terminated.

The Durham Lodge of the Sons of England (Ontario) adorned their banquet-hall with the words "United Empire," which, with other appropriate mottoes, indicated to a society of Englishmen the silken threads of patriotic purpose.—Ottawa Anglo-Saxon.

Well-informed as usual.—Here is another example of the profound knowledge of the subject displayed by *Truth* when writing of Federation. Says the oracle:—"I have always been against schemes of Imperial Federation without first getting the assent of the Colonies to them."

Steady Progress.—The advocates of Imperial Federation have good reason to rejoice at the steady progress of their patriotic efforts. . . Imperial Federation would be a great change for the better; and patriotic men are always glad to hear of the movement in that direction receiving encouragement and acquiring strength.—Belfast News Letter.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request.

The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

HASTINGS.—A meeting of the Hastings branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on May 6th at the Town Hall, Hastings, the Mayor (Councillor Stubbs) presiding. Among those present were: the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Messrs. A. Wells (hon. secretary), M. Sullivan, F. Rossiter, H. F. Cheshire, Halloway, Lydgate, Amore, Coulthwaite, and Major Wilkinson. The meeting was called to pass a resolution requesting the Executive Committee of the League to affiliate the local branch to the League, and to elect local officers. The Mayor moved a resolution to that effect, and that it be forwarded to the officers of the League. Mr. Lydgate seconded, and the motion was agreed to.—The Mayor said the next business was the election of officers. He expressed regret that there was not a larger attendance. The hon. secretary said he had received letters of apology from Alderman Bray and Councillor Ellis. He read a list of the twenty members composing the branch. The Hon. T. A. Brassey proposed Mr. Wilson Noble, M.P., as chairman; Mr. Coulthwaite seconded, and the motion was carried. The Mayor proposed Mr. Brassey as vice-chairman, remarking that he was heart and soul in the work; Mr. Halloway seconded, and the motion having been carried, the Hon. T. A. Brassey acknowledged his election. The Mayor was elected treasurer, and Mr. A. Wells hon. secretary. In response, the latter said that when the principles of the League were more known, he thought the membership would increase. He mentioned that the literature of the League could be seen in either of the local political clubs. The Mayor proposed that the members present at the meeting form the first committee; this was agreed to, and the meeting terminated.

LONDON—WEST SOUTHWARK.—Mr. Paxton Barrett, of Toronto, Canada, delivered an address at the West Southwark Conservative Club upon the subject of Imperial Federation. Mr. Drew, Conservative candidate for the division, presided, and was supported by Mr. David Evans, Canon Boger, Mr. Eccles, and other gentlemen interested in the subject. The chairman introduced the lecturer as a worthy representative of those Englishmen who, seeking their fortunes in the Colonies, helped to extend the influence and prosperity of the Empire in so many parts of the world. Though a man of independent opinions, the lecturer was strongly opposed to that dangerous section of disloyal Canadians who were agitating to sever the union between England and Canada, in order that the latter might become part of the United States of America. Mr. Barrett dwelt upon the boundless mineral and agricultural resources of Canada, and described it as a country of infinite possibilities of development and prosperity to all who cared to seek their fortunes away from the crowded population of the Old Country, in a land where there was room and to spare for all. He pointed out how essential the Colonies were to find employment for the artisans in English factories, and showed what a serious loss of trade would result to England if Canada became a part of the United States, because at once the American tariff would be raised as a barrier against English productions entering Canada, and his audience must remember that the Americans charged nearly twice as high a tariff as the Canadians did at present. Mr. Drew, in moving a vote of thanks, said that they could depend upon it the best and quickest—indeed, the only—way to brighter days, and a more equally divided prosperity for our industrial classes, was to be reached with certainty, both for purposes of trade and security from war, by grasping the hands of fellow-Englishmen across the sea; in other words, by an Imperial Federation that would bind the Mother Country and the Colonies together to trade on equal terms, and to defend and help each other whenever the interests of either were attacked. (Cheers.) Canon Boger seconded the vote, which was carried with acclamation.

SHIPLEY.—The first of a series of quarterly meetings which it is proposed to hold in connection with the Shipley Conservative Club took place at the end of April, when a lecture on "Imperial Federation" was given by Mr. W. H. Mitchell, of Burley-in-Wharfedale. Mr. J. A. Burton presided. The lecturer described the vast extent and power of the British Empire, and the enormous importance to us of maintaining our national greatness, our commercial prosperity, the safety of our people, our wealth, our industry, and our influence for good in the world. He urged that the difficulties which now faced us could be best solved by means of a scheme of Imperial Federation. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Mitchell for his lecture.

The Average Member of Parliament.—The most important result as yet obtained from Sir Henry Parkes's Federation fit is the new interest shown in Australian affairs by the London newspapers. . . . If this can be kept up, it is not impossible that the average Member of Parliament may soon know little less about Australia than he does about Ireland. . . . He might in time come to comprehend what Australia is, what Australia wants to be, and even what Australia is likely to be. It depends, we believe, entirely on our friend, the average Member of Parliament aforesaid, whether Imperial Federation is ever to be possible, or must remain the dream of political idealists.—Townsville (Queensland) Herald.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,

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Vice-President.—THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M.P.

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SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. (Vice-Pre-
sident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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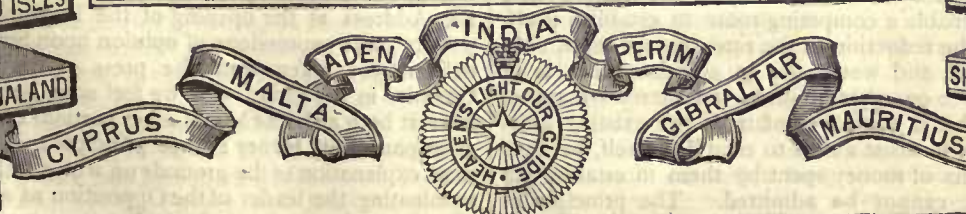
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Imperial Federation.

JULY 1, 1890.

SELLING A BIRTHRIGHT.

UNDER the arrangement recently arrived at between the representatives of the Australian Colonies and the Eastern Telegraph Companies, represented by Sir John Pender, the Colonies appear to be prepared, for the sake of a temporary advantage, to postpone for another ten years the achievement of an object, the importance of which, social, commercial, political, and strategical, to themselves and to the Empire as a whole, it is difficult to over-estimate. Efforts have long been made to bring down the present excessive rates for cable messages between the United Kingdom and Australia, and the amount of reduction proposed is from nine shillings and fourpence a word to four shillings. The subsidy to the companies of £32,400 a year, for which the Governments of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, made themselves responsible, holds good for yet another ten years from the present time. In consideration of the reduction of the rate to four shillings (and corresponding reductions upon Government and press messages), it is proposed that the companies should be further indemnified against half the loss resulting from the reduction. This, it is understood, the Australian Governments were prepared to accede to, provided that the Imperial Government undertook to share the burden of their liability. To this the Government declared itself unable to accede. The Agents-General of the Colonies concerned were, however, instructed to approach the Government again upon the matter, and it is urged that the readiness with which the Australian Colonies acceded to the proposals of the Imperial Government in respect of the reduction of the postal rates gives them a claim to consideration in the present case; and in a way no doubt that is so. But there are very weighty reasons why the Imperial Government should not assist in carrying out this proposal.

The argument which has been put into the mouth of the Government, though we are not aware that it has been officially used, that such an application of public funds is without a precedent, cannot, we must admit, be allowed to prevail. For one reason, the very same companies are, we believe, already subsidised on another line—the African; and, apart from that, we fail to see any distinction in principle between subsidies to cable companies for the transmission of telegraphic messages, and to steamship companies for the conveyance of mails, on account of these public services which both alike render in peace and war. The true ground of objection is that the guarantee demanded has the effect of supporting a monopoly of telegraphic business in the hands of the present companies. So long as the charges remain at the present high rate, there is inducement for other companies to enter the field in competition with the present lines. The rates once reduced by means of a Government guarantee, no independent company would be in a position to enter the field. This is the real *gravamen* of the whole matter. Sir John Pender—knowing that if the rates remain where they are, it will not be long before a rival company is started and the rates reduced by competition—very wisely, from his own point of view, determines to suffer some loss by making the reduction at once, but in such a way that he keeps all the business to himself, and at the same time succeeds in getting some of the inevitable loss taken off his shoulders. But it is not the business of the Australian or the Imperial Governments, and it is not to their interest, to assist him in doing this. If, instead of giving an additional subsidy to the existing line, they gave it to enable a competing route to establish itself, they would get the reduction in the rates just the same, only not quite so soon, and would get in addition, what is of greater importance on other grounds—an alternative route. The argument that it would be unfair to the existing associated companies to assist a rival to establish itself, because of the large sums of money spent by them in establishing communications, cannot be admitted. The principle of "Unto this last" applies. So long as the Governments continue to pay them what is undertaken to be paid, there

is no injustice. There is no implied covenant on the part of the Governments not to assist any other lines that may compete with theirs. If Sir John Pender had wanted such an undertaking, he should have got it at the time he made his bargain.

We earnestly hope that the Imperial Government will not give way in this matter, in which case the arrangement would probably fall through, as Queensland makes her assent conditional on that of the Imperial Government. It practically shuts out, until the ten years are past, the establishment of that alternative route the importance of which is so extremely great upon Imperial grounds. The alternative cable, as everybody knows, is that contemplated by the Pacific Telegraph Company from Vancouver Island to New Zealand or Australia. The enormous advantages of having such a line established are well recognised. First, there is the simple gain of having two lines of cable communication instead of one. Secondly, there is the advantage of having a line that is vastly less vulnerable at sea, and by land passes only through territory that is either British or under British influence. And thirdly, there is the new trade route that would thus be brought into practical use—for there can be no important growth of commerce across the Pacific until direct and cheap cable communication exists. Strategically, the danger, as things now are, of communication being cut off for weeks between Australia and the whole of the rest of the Empire is hardly realised. The existing line or lines pass through and by eight or nine foreign countries, one or another of which must, in case of war with a European Power, be hostile. At sea, the Eastern lines can be cut almost anywhere; and the so-called duplicate cable affords no guarantee of security, as may be judged by this fact: so close are the two cables together at some points, that only the other day when they were picking up one to effect a repair, they fished up both, and broke the other too. Mr. Sandford Fleming, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who is also deeply interested in the proposed Pacific cable, happens at the present time to be in England, and we may expect that he and the Canadian Government will try hard to dissuade the Home Government from acquiescing in the Australian idea of selling for a mess of pottage the Imperial birthright that belongs to all of us.

THE FIRST SHOT.

THE Premier of New South Wales may (if, without being misunderstood, we may use such a bellicose simile) be said to have fired the first shot in the great Federation campaign in Australia. It was not unfitting that the Parliament of the oldest of the Australian Colonies under the leadership of the oldest of the Premiers should have commenced the real work of Federation. For it is with the introduction of the resolutions of the Melbourne Conference into the colonial legislatures that the real constitutional work of federating begins. That Conference, of the first importance as it was historically, was clothed with no political authority; it was a meeting of politicians who happened to be in office, but who were unable to speak for anybody beyond themselves and their colleagues in their several Governments. The Australian papers now bring us full reports of the introduction of the Conference resolutions into the first of the legislative bodies having a constitutional right to speak on the subject of Federation. We publish this month a summary, collected from the reports of different Australian newspapers, of Sir Henry Parkes' speech in moving the resolutions in the House of Assembly of New South Wales. We publish also, under another head, an extract from a speech delivered by him on the same subject a few days earlier in the debate on the Address at the opening of the Parliament. These, as well as some expressions of opinion upon Sir Henry Parkes' deliverances taken from the press of his own and other Colonies in the group, will, we feel sure, be read with great interest both at home and in other portions of the Empire. A great part of Sir Henry Parkes' principal speech was devoted to an explanation of the grounds on which he had acted in not nominating the leader of the Opposition as a delegate at the proposed Convention. Into these, generally, it does not concern us to go, further than to express regret, that whether

rightly or wrongly a step should have been taken, calculated to impair the unanimity with which the Parliament of New South Wales might otherwise possibly have acted in regard to this great question. One, however, of the grounds assigned, does peculiarly concern us as advocates of National Unity. In the course of his remarks the Premier read an extract from a speech made by Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the Opposition, in which the latter had stated that he did not mean to say anything unfriendly to the Mother Country, but if they were going into Federation, it should be on the distinct understanding that this was a step to separation from the old country and the establishment of a nation of their own. This, Sir Henry Parkes said, he thought was one reason for not appointing the leader of the Opposition. That is entirely satisfactory, and confirms the conjecture we made last month, on learning by the telegraph the bare fact of Mr. Dibbs' exclusion, that the circumstance might be found not unconnected with his anti-imperial or separatist tendencies. Satisfactory, also, are the comments on this point of the leading Sydney newspaper, a quotation from which, given elsewhere, concludes with these words: "The resolutions, if passed, will give the Convention a free hand in many directions, but will debar it from conspiring, under the name of Australian Federation, for the disintegration of the Empire."

Whatever defects may have marred it in point of temper, such as the treatment of the Opposition leader and the inimical reference to a sister Colony criticised in the press, Sir Henry Parkes' speech, when read in full, leaves the impression of an oratorical deliverance worthy of a great occasion. Among other matters, many of which necessarily entailed going over again ground already traversed by speakers at the Conference, he made special reference to Australia's eight thousand miles of coast line; and in another passage alluded to the growing strength of the great Empire of China, and the menace of such a neighbour in the not distant future to a disunited Australia. He would not be sorry, he said, to hear of the visit of a Chinese squadron to those waters as a means of opening the eyes of the Australians to the resources of a people whose future none could foretell. He spoke also strongly on another matter in which we are entirely in sympathy with him, in pointing to what he called "the unrighteous arrangement of the American executive," and extolling rather the Canadian Constitution as the federal model for adoption in Australasia. In dealing with the objection which some nervous member of the Assembly appears to have raised, that under Federation New South Wales would give up her power of self-government and her independence, the Premier showed that this was not the case, whilst she would make a gain of a share in the larger government which would belong to the Federation. We trust that Sir Henry Parkes and others besides him will see that the same objection to Imperial Federation is to be met in precisely the same way; indeed the case is much stronger; for if it can be shown that a Colony loses nothing of her self-government and independence by entering into federal bonds so close as must be those uniting Colonies of a single group, much less will an Australian Dominion suffer such loss by becoming a unit in the larger, and therefore necessarily much looser Confederacy of States constituting a united Empire.

This last reference brings us back to Sir Henry Parkes' earlier speech on the Address, in which he explained the phrase in the Conference resolutions, "United under the Crown." A member, taking that and some of the Premier's speeches together, had referred to him as an Imperial Federationist. Well, we know no better than Sir Henry Parkes, if judged by some of his speeches and writings; but it does not always suit him, in the midst of party politics, to admit the soft impeachment, and on this occasion, he said he had read the statement with amusement, or, perhaps he said, with amazement. We confess to experiencing both feelings in reading the reasons given by Sir Henry Parkes for disclaiming the title of an Imperial Federationist. He had always stated, he said, that there could be no Federation without the element of equality, and that there could be no Federation, as understood by Mr. Forster and Lord Rosebery, between the parent State and her groups of Colonies, because they could not meet on equal terms. We shall see in a

moment what he supposes Imperial Federation "as understood" by the former and present Presidents of the League to be. But meanwhile, we should like very much to hear how Sir Henry Parkes can reconcile these extreme views about equality with his sanguine belief in the Federation of Australia. According to him, it is impossible; there cannot be equality between the million and more inhabitants of New South Wales, and the forty thousand of Western Australia. Therefore, Australian Federation is an impossibility.—Q.E.D. And yet he purposes to carry it out; and he has good grounds, for he knows, as well as we know, that neither in Canada, nor in the United States, does the desiderated equality exist. He would probably answer that the inequality is so infinitely larger between the Mother Country and any of the Colonies. He seems to see something of this, and of the answer to it, for he proceeds to invent a definition of Imperial Federation to square with such an argument. And this is the strangest part of the whole business. "Imperial Federation means," Sir Henry Parkes deliberately told the Assembly at Sydney, "*that England as she is to-day, should form a union with the Colonies as they are to-day.*" We have italicised this definition to bring out in as striking a way as possible the kind of statements to which politicians will sometimes commit themselves. We need not repeat—for every reader of this Journal knows, and we wish Sir Henry Parkes was among the number—that the one great hope and desire of the leaders of the League is that Australasia and the other groups too should follow the example of Canada, and unite themselves under a central authority. We are always saying so. Everybody is saying so. We have a letter lying before us at this moment, addressed to a Yorkshire paper, in which the writer says:—"As to the connection between Australian Federation and Imperial Federation, it is just this. Before any scheme of constitutional union can be achieved, it is necessary that the different groups of Colonies unite themselves under a central authority. Canada has already done so. Australian Federation being a condition precedent to Imperial Federation, the accomplishment of the former is a direct assistance to the realisation of the latter." Sir Henry Parkes must be much less informed than we had thought on general topics if he is really unaware of all this. But in any case it is to be regretted he should have made so misleading a statement to the legislators and people of New South Wales, because in that Colony neither people nor legislators are, as a rule, sufficiently versed in Imperial politics, or indeed in any affairs besides those which immediately surround them, to be able to apply to their Premier's words the correction of a better knowledge.

"PASS, FRIEND! ALL'S WELL!"

By CASIMIR DICKSON, Secretary of the League in Canada.

Now that our period of activity in the League is, for a time, over, and there is time to go the rounds of our Imperial cordon of sentries, it will be fitting for the sentry of the Canadian Dominion to give over his orders and report what has transpired during his watch. I therefore trust that I may be permitted to write a few lines by way of answer to the challenge of the visiting rounds, and report progress for the Canadian League.

The Journal of the League has very ably and fully reported our proceedings in Canada during the past winter, and its readers are therefore *au fait* with what has been going on, and aware of the activity that has been displayed by the Canadian League during that time. I will for this reason not trouble them with any details as to our work, but will endeavour, so far as I am able, to give a general outline of the situation and of the stage at which we have arrived in the campaign.

At the outset I intend to claim for Canada the position of the advanced guard of Imperial Federation. In my estimation we have pushed our forces further forward than either our brothers at home or our cousins in the sister Colonies, and the time has arrived for us to take up our position until our allies have come in sight. Not that it is for a moment meant that we should relax our vigilance, or allow our forces to become disorganised. Entrenchments must be dug, order must be maintained, and a sharp

outlook be kept up on all sides. But we must not lose touch with the other divisions of the army corps to which we belong, and must guard against the mistake of advancing into an unknown country of which no maps exist, and of the difficulties and dangers of which we have no actual knowledge, before our allies have advanced to their proper positions, and our supports and reserves have come up. We must not endanger the success of the object we have in view, by advancing too hurriedly, and thus running the risk of being cut off by hostile forces; but must wait until an advance can be made along the whole line. Then, and not till then, will the forward march be wisely undertaken.

Firstly, then, Canada as one of the four groups of self-governing communities in the Empire is, constitutionally speaking, in advance of the others and more prepared to enter into an Imperial Federation. We are ourselves a Confederated Dominion, and our machinery of Government works well and easily. The large mass of our legislation—that immediately affecting the liberty and freedom of action of the individual—is managed by our municipal corporations and county councils; the management of matters immediately the concern of the individual provinces is relegated to the provincial assemblies; and the general affairs of national importance are in the hands of a strong central Government. So soon, then, as a conference of the States of the Empire should determine what classes of subjects are to be considered of general Imperial concern, it would be no difficult matter for Canada to so adjust the machinery of her governing institutions as to be able to take her proper place in the councils of a Federated Empire. I do not think that this is quite the case with the other constituent parts of that Empire. In Great Britain you have yet to solve the momentous problem of how to adapt your present institutions so as to meet the requirements of the case. You have to-day a central Parliament which transacts both the local affairs of the United Kingdom, and also the general affairs of the Empire. The question therefore arises as to how this state of affairs is to be adjusted so that, when the time comes, as come it will, when Canada, Australia, and South Africa in turn ask for it, they may obtain the right to take their proper part in the management of those matters of Imperial concern, in which they as members of the Imperial firm have a proportionate interest. So far as one can see, two solutions of this problem are offered. The first is to decentralise the business of the Westminster Parliament, and take away from it the immediate control of matters concerning Great Britain alone. And the other plan is to call together from time to time Imperial Conferences, which bodies might by degrees assume control of Imperial affairs, and thus relieve the present Legislature of this part of their work. There are other questions to be dealt with; but this, to my mind, is the all-important one, and the one which, being as yet unanswered, leads me to the conclusion that Great Britain herself is not yet prepared for a proper and adequate Imperial Federation in the sense that Canada is. It will be the duty, then, of our friends at home so to labour that this and other problems will be solved in the best and wisest manner, so that the consummation of our great object may thus be hastened. In Australia and South Africa also much has yet to be done as a necessary preliminary to the useful consideration of our great project. These countries consist, as yet, of disconnected communities, having no adequate cohesion, and consequently no proper means of expressing their wishes in a united and clear way. We in Canada are able to speak with one voice as one people, and having one common interest. Australia and South Africa cannot as yet do this, and until they are able, are labouring under great apparent disadvantages.

Then as to the work of the League in Canada, and as to what we may claim to have accomplished, let me say a few words. What has been the result of our efforts? It is now five short years since we started our labours, and I confidently claim that it has been proven that the sympathies of the people of Canada are all for the maintenance of their proud position in the British Empire, and the firm establishment upon the northern half of this continent of a Canadian nation living under free British institutions, all for the gradual working out and solution of an adequate plan of

Imperial Federation, and all against disruption and disintegration. A few "disgruntled" pessimists may preach the gospel that Canada cannot live except by the grace of our great neighbour, and do all they can to invite the hostility of our Yankee friends; but they do not represent the sentiments of any but themselves. Since Confederation a strong and ever-increasing pride in our country has sprung up—a Canadian national sentiment has been engendered. But there has been nothing in this foreign to a feeling that though we may be Canadians first, we are Britons always. We of the League can claim that we have placed the aims and objects of Imperial Federation side by side with this Canadian national sentiment, and that it has been demonstrated that the one is the complement of the other.

For a time, then, it will be our duty to devote our attention to the fostering of this noble sentiment, and also to such practical matters as may demand attention. Of such are the improvement of the intercommunications between ourselves and the other parts of the Empire, the establishment of a uniform cheap rate of Imperial postage, the endeavour to improve inter-Imperial and Colonial trade relations, and the like.

Meanwhile let me, as a Canadian sentry, answer on behalf of our advanced guard to the challenge of the visiting rounds—

"Pass, friend! All's well!"

Toronto, June 5th, 1890.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

BY JEHU MATHEWS.

NO. I.

MEMBERS of the League, whether at home or in the Colonies, are nowadays continually met with the question, What is Imperial Federation? The answer usually returned seems to me to be something to the effect that "it is a very wide question." However wide it may be, those who would solve the problem must grasp its meaning. The bolder our projects the clearer should be our minds. Knowledge of what we seek, and why we seek it, is the foundation of success in every search; and if the Imperial Federation League is to prove successful, its members must possess such knowledge. The fact that there is no clear understanding between them on this matter has been offered by some critics as a reason for leaving the scheme unnoticed in political discussion. This will not do. It is impossible to justify any policy until the policy itself has been defined and accepted. Nor is such definition of our policy at all so difficult as many seem to suppose. It will, doubtless, be very difficult work to form an Imperial Federation; but to discover the measures which are essential to its formation is by no means difficult; and in examining them some of the alternative policies open to choice successively present themselves. Feeling the need for some common conviction amongst Federationists, and having already traversed this field of inquiry nearly twenty years ago, I would ask space to convey my own ideas, at least on what the accomplishment of Imperial Federation demands. And writing only for myself I would offer what I have to say in the shape of letters over my own signature.

Any and every federation consists of several countries, or the different parts of one country, united by a federal tie. If this definition be correct, a federation derives its title from its polity; federalism is a form of government, and must have distinctive features whereby it can be distinguished from any other. Mr. Freeman has stated the vital distinctive point in the words, "A Federal Union, in short, will form one state in its relations with other Powers, but many states as regards its internal administration." His words may, perhaps, be disputed on the ground that Canada, a dependency and as such incapable of having any direct relations with other Powers, is yet a federation. But remembering that the Union Act was almost everywhere regarded as "the first step in a new nationality;" that under it the Dominion Government fulfils almost all the duties which devolve upon the supreme authority of a sovereign federation, with the single exception of diplomacy—and that with that addition it would

be much more powerful than the Federal Government of the United States—such an objection may be regarded as rather hyper-critical, and leaving Mr. Freeman's position untouched. Then turning to J. S. Mill, we find another political philosopher affirming that "Portions of mankind who are not fitted or not disposed to live under the same internal Government, may often with advantage be federally united as to their relations with foreigners; both to prevent wars amongst themselves and for the sake of more effectual protection against the aggression of powerful states." Thus we may conclude that the first condition of any federation is a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance, against all the rest of the world, between its members. This first essential of all federations would inevitably be essential to an Imperial Federation; its members must be united in such a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance—when it should become actively offensive being left with the Government to decide. But this conclusion once reached it is not very easy to state further conditions essential to any and every federation. The fact, as Mill has told us when examining the extent to which federal prerogatives may extend, is that "it is only in transactions with foreign Powers that the authority of the Federal Government is necessarily complete. On every other subject the question depends on how closely the people in general wish to draw the federal tie; what portion of their own freedom of action they are willing to surrender in order to enjoy more fully the benefit of being one nation."¹

Here it may be said that if this is a correct definition of a federation the British Empire constitutes one already. Undoubtedly it does—*de jure* but not *de facto*. On the union of Fatherland and Colonies, Mill has remarked:—"Their union with Great Britain is the slightest kind of federal union, but not a strictly equal federation, the Mother Country retaining to itself the powers of a Federal Government, though reduced in practice to their very narrowest limits."² It is the inequality, incompleteness, and unmixed ambiguity of the present union which render either its dissolution, or its reconstruction within a short time, inevitable. A glance at the manner in which this situation has arisen may best justify this judgment on it.

English colonisation, at the outset, was usually spontaneous and uncontrolled by the English Government. In the important case of New England it assumed the shape of expatriation to escape aggression. From this independent colonisation there resulted a good deal of local Colonial independence; the Colonists reproduced the institutions to which they had been accustomed at home, and managed local affairs by local authority. Active English supremacy seems to have been called into life, in a great measure, by the proximity of French Colonies, and the desire of France and England to annex each other's Colonies, along with an appreciation in the eighteenth century of the immense advantages derivable from Colonial trade. England's wars from 1688 to 1763 were largely influenced by these motives, as anybody may find evidence of in Mr. Seeley's valuable pages. They ended by leaving her unrivalled in North America and in India.

But this result had been gained at a heavy expense, leaving the Mother Country burdened by a heavy National Debt. As it had been incurred very largely for the benefit of the Colonies, the Mother Country thought that they might fairly be expected to bear some of its burden, and attempted to tax them for this purpose. She was met by a cry that "taxation without representation is tyranny," from people who ever since they fought to support this doctrine have legislated in violation of it by taxing their own unrepresented territories. Their resistance, however, was successful. England lost nearly all that she had gained, and found the amount and weight of her debt increased from this unlucky attempt to lighten the latter.

The war was followed by something of a new Colonial policy. The amount of local self-government granted to the Colonies was considerably contracted, and the monopoly of their trade, accompanied by differential duties in favour of Colonial goods entering English ports, was strictly enforced; but England distinctly declared that she would tax the Colonies only for their own interest. This language seems to have been understood, and intended, to mean their own

local interest; and the result was to leave the cost of all the armaments needed for the defence of the Colonies a charge upon the United Kingdom exclusively. And in the course of fifty years these distinctive features of the new policy rendered it distasteful to both parties.

With Colonial extension, local self-government became of increasing interest to Colonists. With possession of mechanical discoveries of immense value in advance of all the rest of the world, and with almost a monopoly of its carrying-trade from the days of Nelson to Waterloo, England acquired such a start in commercial industry as to leave her, after the latter date, an aspirant for the post of "Manufacturer for the World." Her Colonial trade seemed insignificant when compared with that of all the earth; and this more particularly when it was alleged that she could allow the Colonies perfect freedom of trade, compete with the world for their custom, and come off winner. Hence fear of losing the Colonial markets failed to stop the adoption of Free Trade, by which Colonial and foreign goods entering English ports were received on precisely the same terms. While, in order to reconcile the Colonies to their commercial loss, and prepare them for the separation which was now usually regarded as inevitable, they received the grant of local self-government. A few years' experience, however, showed this system to be unequal, inasmuch as it left the Fatherland uninterested in maintaining Colonial foreign interests, and the Colonies unable to make it take an interest in them, but themselves forced to follow the United Kingdom in any war which its local interests might cause it to undertake, but leaving the cost of armaments for the defence of both, a charge on its revenues exclusively; to be incomplete, inasmuch as international law rendered the several parts of the Empire responsible for each other to all the rest of the world, whilst constitutional law furnished no definition of their mutual responsibilities, either in abstention or practice; and to be ambiguous, as it left England free to define Imperial, and the Colonies free to define local, rights, at pleasure—the authors of the system confessing that should discord arise, disruption was the only remedy they had to offer. The result was that each party set to work to discover how it could best "secure the benefits of political society while escaping its burdens"—the Colonies by stretching the powers of self-government to the utmost limit, and when they preferred, adopting a Protectionist policy; and the Fatherland by neglecting Colonial foreign interests, withdrawing its garrisons and leaving the Colonies defenceless.

Can either side seriously suppose that such a policy can be permanent? Can any reflecting mind believe that it would have endured even so long as it has done, but for the lucky fact that almost uninterrupted peace has prevailed since its inauguration? It is pretty widely admitted that the American Union—possessed of a clear definition of the mutual responsibilities of its members, and of a strong Government to enforce them—would long since have been in shivers had not its circumstances rendered it able to dispense with any foreign policy, and made scarcely any armaments needful. But this can never be the case with the British Empire. Its territorial area and (including India) its population are immensely larger than those of the Union, and, not being territorially united, it is brought into contact with the Great Powers of the world at almost every corner, to say nothing of the many more diplomatic questions raised by the necessity of maintaining its commercial interests. It must be prepared to meet those with whom it is thus inevitably brought into contact. Besides which it should be remembered that its work in this matter bids fair to be increased very quickly. For with colonisation filling the waste places of the earth; steam encircling the world in about sixty days; and China, holding about a fourth of its population, possessing the art of civilised war before the end of another generation—the world's "Balance of Power" can scarcely fail to supersede the European balance within a very few years. And whilst the Empire is unpossessed of even American facilities for supplying a foreign policy, it is burdened by a deterrent from which America is free. It really consists of several democracies, in each of which the numerical majority can enforce the will of its own territorial section much more quickly than can the American federal majority its one will on any question of foreign

¹ "Representative Government," Chap. xvii.² *Ibid.*, Chap. xix.

policy. With infinitely smaller means of supplying, and with infinitely greater need of reaching, a coherent foreign policy, than exist in the United States, and with this need growing with Colonial growth, how much longer can the British Empire leave itself denuded of the means of attaining it, and live?

1. Here then I, at least, reach primary conclusions on Imperial Federation. Federalism is a device to enable several countries, or different parts of one country, to appear effectively before the world as one, whilst each retains exclusive control of its local affairs. Countries refusing to accept the amount of corporate unity demanded by Federalism are unfit for any sort of union whatever; for international law will impose upon them all that is required by Federalism, irrespective of the nature of their polity, so long as they demand recognition as one sovereign State.

2. The unity required by international law may sometimes be reached by acceptance of the supremacy of one of the countries desiring union, and permission to it to exercise Federal prerogatives, on the part of the rest. But in the British Empire this system is of the past. The Fatherland refuses to furnish armaments at its own expense, whilst Colonial extension must shortly increase the amount needed to a point beyond its power to supply single-handed. And the Colonies refuse to yield to it, individually, the prerogative of taxation. The system has thus refused to "work" under circumstances more favourable than those of the present.

The Empire now enjoys the local autonomy required by Federalism, but is *de facto* destitute of the corporate unity demanded by it, whilst its legal unity renders the parts responsible for each other, just as would a complete Federal Union. In other words, the Empire now imposes on itself the risks and responsibilities of Federalism, whilst eschewing the increased strength to meet them which complete union must confer.

Some of my readers may, perhaps, refuse to accept the above conclusions; but I do not expect many to reject what follows—that people need never be worse friends for understanding each other; that in the present, as in almost every case, a clear understanding of the existent situation is the best—if not the indispensable—preliminary to any successful modification of it; that, if so, it is of the utmost importance to have the several parts of the Empire made to comprehend the extent to which international law renders them mutually responsible, and constitutional law utilises their means of meeting their responsibilities; and that to explain these to Fatherland and Colonies should be one object of the next Colonial Conference—if not of a committee specially appointed to prepare a report on the subject for presentation to it.

Toronto, 1890.

UNITED UNDER THE CROWN.

It has fallen to the Parliament of New South Wales to be the first to enter upon the question of Australasian Federation. Before the Resolutions of the Conference came before the Legislative Assembly, the matter gave rise to some discussion in the debate on the Address at the opening of Parliament. The occasion elicited from Sir Henry Parkes the following statement, which we comment upon elsewhere, on the meaning attached by him to the principal Resolution of the Conference, "That, in the opinion of this Conference, the best interests and the present and future prosperity of the Australian Colonies will be promoted by an early union under the Crown." He said he had "read with amusement a statement made at Newcastle by Mr. Alexander Brown that he (Sir Henry) was an Imperial Federationist. At all times he had stated that there could be no Federation without the element of equality, and that there could be no Federation, as understood by Mr. Forster and Lord Rosebery, between the Parent State and her groups of Colonies, because they could not meet on equal terms. (Hear, hear.) He had explained himself scores of times and under all sorts of circumstances; and how anyone could say that he was an Imperial Federationist he could not understand." (Mr. Chanter: "What is the meaning of 'united under the Crown'?" "It meant that they were to be united under the Crown of England without being separated from the Crown; that was what the words meant, and he did think they were sufficiently explanatory without needing any attempt to explain them. He thought the words as they stood were sufficiently explanatory. He had stated that England and her Colonies had a prospect and a chance—if he might be allowed

to use the latter word—of doing what no national Power now in existence ever had the chance of doing—viz., of forming one great and mighty Power that would preserve the peace and promote the civilisation of the world."

A Member: "And you do not call that Imperial Federation?"

Sir Henry Parkes: "Certainly not. Imperial Federation means that England as she is to-day should form a union with the Colonies as they are to-day. That would be impossible, for the essential elements of equality do not as yet exist. Powers that unite in the formation of a great alliance must meet on something like equal ground. When he said that these Colonies might unite and become one in interest and purpose, it did not by any means imply severance from the Mother Country. (Cheers.) He did not believe the people of New South Wales would show less common sense in the matter of Federation than they did in other things. No proposal that could be evolved from the brain of the mere theorist could ever rival the power and glory and grandeur which the Colonies united on equal terms with the Mother Country, and probably at no distant date with America itself, would exhibit before the civilised world. (Hear, hear.) But on this topic he shortly hoped to have another opportunity of speaking. The Australian Colonies might form a congeries of Free States, and when thus collected could meet the Mother Country on something like equal terms. Then they would be united as one great English-speaking Empire, without in any way impairing their powers of self-government. His views on the subject were so well known that misrepresentation ought not to be possible. They could not discuss a question of such great importance in a disconnected way such as members had in the discussion, and in acting as he had done he had not the slightest intention of treating the Opposition with disrespect."

Upon this the *Sydney Morning Herald* makes the observations presently quoted. It must be borne in mind in reading them that, though Sir Henry Parkes proposed to appoint two members of the Opposition as well as two of the Government from the Lower House, he omitted the leader of the Opposition party, Mr. Dibbs, who also sits in that House, on the ground that he was opposed to Federation. The commentary of the *Herald*, anticipating Sir H. Parkes' own categorical statement subsequently made, confirms the conjecture we made last month, upon the telegraphic news of the omission of Mr. Dibbs' name, connecting his exclusion with the views he was understood to hold as to independence as the goal of a Federated Australia. The *Herald* says:—"There is one other point that seems to be worthy of notice at this stage. In the debate upon the Address Mr. Dibbs remarked:—'What Sir Henry Parkes really meant was doubtful. If it was the formation of a nation, then he was at one with him, but not otherwise.' What these words really meant is hardly doubtful. Mr. Dibbs is understood to be the head of a body that calls itself the National Party—a party whose members either ignore the actual position of the Colonies in the Empire, or wish them to emerge from it. Thus there are Federationists and Federationists: those who would, if possible, unite the Colonies as an independent Australian Republic; and those who would form them, in the clear and unambiguous words of the Resolution, into a 'Union under the Crown.' It is not desirable that this distinction should be overlooked. There would be false delicacy in attempting to cover it up. There would be something like cowardice on the part of those who hold with the Premier and not with the leader of the Opposition in this matter, if they shrank from the explicit avowal of their opinions. The Resolutions, if passed, will give the Convention a free hand in many directions, but will debar it from conspiring, under the name of Australian Federation, for the disintegration of the Empire."

*** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMERCE—BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—The annual statement of the trade of the United Kingdom in the year 1889 has now been published, and I can add the figures for that year to the table in the letter which you did me the favour to publish in the last number of the Journal. They fully substantiate the accuracy of your comments upon the figures published in your April number, and only differ from my estimate of the results of the trade of 1889 by proving that the actual increase in the proportion of the trade with foreign countries, as compared with the Indian and Colonial trade, was much greater than was derived from a calculation

founded upon the tonnage employed in them respectively. Your readers may desire to see the comparison.

Statement of the amount and percentage proportion of the total trade (imports and exports) between the United Kingdom and foreign countries, India, and the Colonies, respectively, in the years 1888 and 1889:—

Trade of United Kingdom with—	Amount omitting 000.		Percentage proportion.	
	1888.	1889.	1888.	1889.
	£	£	Per cent.	Per cent.
Europe ...	280,353	326,987	43.5	44.0
United States ...	118,012	139,340	17.6	18.8
Other foreign countries	84,301	88,118	12.9	11.9
Total	482,666	554,445	74.0	74.7
India and Straits	71,486	76,374	10.6	10.3
Colonies	100,928	111,150	15.4	15.0
Total	172,414	187,524	26.0	25.3
Total trade	655,080	741,969	100.0	100.0

It will be seen that while in 1889 the trade with foreign countries increased beyond 1888 by nearly £72 millions, or about 15 per cent., the trade with India and the Colonies increased by only £15 millions, or 8.7 per cent. This has increased the percentage proportion of the foreign trade by nearly 1 per cent., and reduced that of the other by nearly 3 per cent.

The comparison is much more disadvantageous to the Colonies if imports and exports be separated, and will prove rather disconcerting to those who think that England is becoming more and more dependent upon the Colonies, especially as a market for her exports. In 1889 the imports into the United Kingdom, as compared with those in 1888, increased 9.6 per cent. in the foreign trade and 11.9 per cent. in the Colonial; the exports increased 8.6 per cent. in the foreign trade, but decreased 1.1 per cent. in the Colonial.

This shows that—last year, at least, and in the direct trade—we were better customers to our Colonies than they were to us. But as it may be suggested that this was exceptional, I propose on a future occasion to examine, and, with your permission, to insert in your columns, a similar comparison spread over the same period of twenty-one years—1869 to 1889—as in my present inquiry. It may serve to throw light upon the claim sometimes urged upon the Mother Country to make tariff concessions to the Colonies, which would not only involve a revolution in her commercial policy, but manifestly operate to the prejudice of her best trade customers.—Yours truly,

RAWSON W. RAWSON.

AFFAIRS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE High Commissioner's tour—progress would be the more appropriate expression—has been attended by many interesting and gratifying events, and will probably prove to be fraught with far-reaching political consequences in respect of the relations of the various Colonies and States in South Africa to one another, and of the whole region to the Empire. Sir Henry Loch returned to Cape Town towards the end of May, after spending some five months in visiting the territories in which he has been appointed to represent the sovereignty of Great Britain. Commenting upon this tour the *Cape Times* writes as follows:—"It is by the creation and maintenance of one firm policy, based on a general understanding, that South Africa will advance in unity and prosperity. If His Excellency the High Commissioner should travel so far as Pretoria, as the cordial relationship now existing would indicate as not being unlikely at no distant date, he will be told there, as he will be told in those towns of the Colony most in sympathy with British rule, as well as at Bloemfontein, and certainly in Basutoland, that there is no desire on the part of any body of politicians here to have any other flag guarding the coast than that of Britain. Indeed, going further than that, it might safely be affirmed that it is only for the British Government to develop some such plan of action as we have indicated to secure a policy being carried out which should be both Imperial and Colonial, which means that in the grand work of the development of this southern land Britain should control the governing of South Africa. It is, as has often been pointed out, only for Britain to know the relationship in which she wishes to stand in respect to South Africa, based upon the fundamental principle that the wishes of the people as to their government should be duly recognised, for her to hold the position of paramount power. If this has not been impressed upon his Excellency the High Commissioner during the tour which he has just accomplished, then those who have watched the events of that tour will be sadly disappointed. We cannot too often repeat that any danger respecting Britain's paramountcy in this part of the globe is not from within South Africa, but from without." A similar tone is noticeable in the following observations of the same journal upon Colonel Owen's paper on the Military Defence of the Empire referred to in our last issue. "As an abstract theory, there is no question that Colonel Owen is perfectly right when he says that Imperial interests require the retention of Imperial forces. In practice his theory savours a good deal of pure wordiness. There can be no doubt that where Imperial interests are concerned Imperial forces should

also have something to say, but if a Colony is going to make itself strong and to bind itself more firmly into the woot of the Empire, it must prove itself sufficiently in earnest to recognise the fact that the Empire is not made up of impotent units. The children must be sturdy enough to stand on their own feet. They will never forget that they belong to the Empire, but they do not ask the Empire to suckle them. To imagine that it is necessary to retain in Great Britain a force sufficient to defend all the Colonies against what attacks may be made is an absurdity. We must do our share. We have our advancement in our own hands, and when the day comes, if it should come, that we have difficulties with our neighbours, then those are our difficulties. The Imperial interest only comes in when the neighbours prove themselves too strong. That day will not come soon. As Colonists we must safeguard our own interests, and those interests are absolutely identical with the interests of the Empire."

In the course of his tour, the High Commissioner visited Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and was present at the opening of the Volksraad; the band playing the National Anthem upon his entering the portion of the Chamber reserved for the accommodation of His Excellency and his suite. The burghers entertained him at a banquet in the evening, at which President Reitz was present and spoke. A reference by Mr. C. J. Rhodes to the possibility of a South African Federal Union based upon a Customs Union was greeted with applause; as was also the declaration by Captain Graham Bower, R.N., that the service to which he belonged was the navy not only of England, South Africa, and Australia, but of the Free State.

Referring to the visit to Basutoland the *Kimberley Diamond Field Advertiser* says:—"As one of the chief grain-producing countries in South Africa, it is of some importance that peace should ever prevail within its borders, and as its large population provides a considerable proportion of the native labour required here and in other industrial centres, it stands to reason that in time the Basutos will reach a stage of enlightenment not altogether the result of missionary effort, or the improved conditions of life gradually accepted by them through the example of European traders. Whether their progress be rapid or slow the Basutos are unquestionably a highly interesting nation, and we believe that Sir Henry Loch has not only been impressed with the productiveness of the ground in the land of Moshesh, but also with the extraordinary physical capabilities of the people. We can almost imagine him saying to himself—what a chance for the Cape Government to have lost, and what an opportunity by which the Imperial authorities can so greatly strengthen their position in South Africa."

Upon Transvaal politics the same paper writes as follows:—"Then arises again the all-important question—what is to be done in the present to avoid complications and enable the country to continue in a course of peace, progress and reform? There appears to be but one answer, and that is, some kind of political fusion is absolutely necessary, seeing that there is no possibility of fusion of races and ideas taking place in time."

"The history of the Cape Colony surely affords a precedent, and proof as well, of the wisdom of the pursuit of a conciliatory policy by the governing body. . . . When the franchise was given to the inhabitants it was given without distinction of race, and before long the native language of the burghers was placed on an equal footing with English, with the result that since the adoption of Responsible Government the Cape Colony has been practically governed by the Dutch majority. . . . At the present time we see the leaders of the Afrikaner Bond applauding Mr. Rhodes, and approving his Chartered Company. We see the Paarl district, once considered a hot-bed of treason, loyal to the British Throne and Empire, the reason of all this being that the British Government has shown South Africans that it is no despotism, but a means of bestowing liberty and instructing in the arts of freedom. In the British Colony of Natal—where the Dutch farmers are in an insignificant minority—and in the chief towns of which seldom or never is heard a word of the Dutch language, with a view to facilitating the much desired unification of South Africa, that language has lately been accepted as a language of Natal, and is being learnt in schools by the English children of English parents. While this has been British tolerance, and it may well be called indulgence, in South Africa—what is the case in the Transvaal since its retrocession? By showing an exactly contrary spirit to that of the English in the Cape and Natal, ill-feeling has increased rather than diminished, and oppression—it can be called no less—has had the usual effect. The difficulties of the position of the two South African races have, however, been greatly increased by the introduction of a new element in the shape of the Hollander immigrant. Not possessing among their own body men of sufficient intelligence and education to carry out the requirements of Government, the Transvaalers, suspicious of Cape Colonists and jealous of Englishmen, were forced to have recourse to their kinsmen beyond sea to help them, and numbers of hungry Hollanders flocked into the country and occupied, as they became vacant, all the posts of the Civil Service one after the other." On the same subject the *Cape Times* has the following:—

"The time seems to have come in the Transvaal when some process of amalgamation of races as well as gold companies ought to commence. So far the process, if even it has been in operation at all, has certainly made remarkably little progress, owing chiefly to the stupid policy of the Boer-Hollander Government in doing their utmost to prevent, or, at least, delay the inevitable. . . . But at last it is made evident that it is hard—and in this case useless also—for Paul to kick against the pricks. The English-speaking inhabitants of the Transvaal have increased and multiplied to such an extent, that they form at the present time admittedly a majority of the population containing a large balance of the wealth and a still larger one of the intelligence of the country. . . . An enlightened member of the community called Afrikaner or South African, one who knows and understood both classes of the inhabitants of South Africa, at the head of affairs in the Transvaal—and all would be well. There are many enlightened members of the class willing and in every way suited to the position now held by President Kruger—some few in the Transvaal itself whose names will readily occur to the most casual reader. But it would be better still if a man could be prevailed upon to accept this great but difficult position whose public reputation is more or less known over sea as well as at home. The nomination, for instance, of such a man as Sir Henry de Villiers, the ornament of the South African Judicial Bench, who would be an ornament to any Bench in the world, would of itself alone work wonders of benefit to the South African Republic."

The passage of a Railway Bill by the Transvaal Volksraad is a matter of congratulation, and our London contemporary, *South Africa*, writes of it in a tone of extreme jubilation.

"The Sebastopol of Boer Anti-English prejudice has fallen," it writes, "and come what may now, the way is open and unclosable, alike for the reward of the pioneers of and investors in the Transvaal gold industry, and for a development of the mineral and agricultural resources of the country, far and beyond what is yet dreamt of by those chiefly interested—the people of England. The line sanctioned is one from the seat of Government at Pretoria, running thirty-five miles to Johannesburg, and then southward some eighty miles to a point on the Vaal or boundary river near Schoeman's Drift—the Venterskroon Gold Fields. At that point it will meet the railway now being constructed in the Free State. Coming simultaneously from two points on the sea-board, i.e. (1) from Durban *via* Ladysmith and Harrismith, and (2) from Port Elizabeth *via* Norval's Pont and Bloemfontein, this line will meet the former a few miles south of Schoeman's Drift in the Free State. It is a mere question of a few months before the further extension from the Natal terminus at Coldstream will be laid to Johannesburg, a paltry 144 miles over flat country. We confess to a feeling of great satisfaction that this most desirable goal of progress has been attained without the friction and pressure other than constitutional, which some had feared would be the resort of the oppressed mining communities of the Transvaal."

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

IT was in accordance with the fitness of things that the Parliament of New South Wales—"the Mother Colony" in Australian parlance—should be the first to take up the great question of Australasian Federation now devolving on the Legislatures of the various Colonies represented at the Melbourne Conference in February. On May 7th, the Premier, Sir Henry Parkes, moved in the House of Assembly the series of resolutions agreed to be submitted in identical terms to the several Colonial Legislatures, together with a second set of consequential resolutions defining the action of his own Colony in the matter. The resolutions in which the Legislatures are asked to concur are these:—

1. That in the opinion of this Conference the best interests and the present and future prosperity of the Australian Colonies will be promoted by an early union under the Crown; and while fully recognising the valuable services of the members of the Convention of 1883 in founding the Federal Council, it declares its opinion that the seven years which have since elapsed have developed the national life of Australia in population, in wealth, in the discovery of resources, and in self-governing capacity to an extent which justifies the higher act, at all times contemplated, of the union of these Colonies under one legislative and executive Government, on principles just to the several Colonies.

2. That to the union of the Australian Colonies contemplated by the foregoing resolution, the remoter Australasian Colonies shall be entitled to admission at such times and on such conditions as may be hereafter agreed upon.

3. That the members of the Conference should take such steps as may be necessary to induce the Legislatures of their respective Colonies to appoint, during the present year, delegates to a National Australasian Convention empowered to consider and report upon an adequate scheme for a Federal Constitution.

To these Sir Henry Parkes added the following resolutions:—

1. That the following members be appointed delegates to a National Australasian Convention, and be empowered to consider and

report upon an adequate scheme for a Federal Constitution for the Australian Colonies, viz.:—Sir Henry Parkes, G.C.M.G., William M'Millan, Esq., Joseph Palmer Abbott, Esq., and James Patrick Garvan, Esq.; and that such members act with three members to be similarly appointed by the Legislative Council.

2. That the Constitution as adopted by the Convention, together with any documents relating to such Constitution, be submitted as soon as possible for the approval of the Parliament of this Colony.

3. That the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the Legislative Council, with a message desiring their concurrence therein, and requesting that the Legislative Council will appoint three of their members to represent the Colony at the National Australasian Convention, to act with the four members of this House who have been appointed to represent the Colony at the said Convention.

The delegates proposed to represent the Colony from the Legislative Council were Mr. Edmund Barton, Sir Patrick Jennings, and Mr. W. H. Sutton. The main resolutions were introduced in the Council on the same day, and discussion postponed.

The following is a summary of Sir Henry Parkes' speech:—

The Premier said that he had a very large subject to deal with, and felt almost unequal to the task. He wished first of all to put himself right before the country in respect to the nomination of the gentlemen named in the resolutions. He had not been actuated in submitting these names by any unworthy motive, or any narrow view. He honestly desired to represent both parties in the two Houses, and he doubted the theory that a leader in the House must necessarily be appointed in such a case. He could find no rule for that being observed either in Europe or in the Colonies. What had to be done was to appoint persons who fairly represented the different sides of political opinion, sentiment, and feeling. He would tell Mr. Dibbs that he had not acted out of any disrespect to him. He had made the nominations, not from any party, political, or personal feeling, but on the simple grounds of not nominating anyone who had declared his open hostility to the matter in hand. He (Sir Henry Parkes) found that for six months from the time the Federation question was opened to the public Mr. Dibbs had persistently denounced him and his proceedings in the matter. Sir H. Parkes then read numerous extracts from the speeches of Mr. Dibbs in different parts of the country, in which Mr. Dibbs opposed Federation of the Australian Colonies on the lines proposed. He further read a statement from a speech by Mr. Dibbs at Orange, in which the latter said he did not mean to say anything disloyal to the Mother Country, but if they were going into Federation, it should be on the distinct understanding that that was a step to separation from the old country and the establishment of a nation of their own. Sir H. Parkes thought this another reason for not appointing the leader of the Opposition. It had been said that the other Colonies had appointed leaders of the Opposition. This was not correct. So far as Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and West Australia were concerned there were no appointments at all. The gentlemen who represented those Colonies were simply old members of the Federal Council. Sir H. Parkes went on to point out that the Melbourne Conference was only a body for consultative purposes. It was never intended to do anything but consider whether the time had come for the Colonies to federate. In the commission under which the New South Wales delegates were appointed, care had been taken that they should be drawn into no business outside the commission. He next showed that in selecting delegates to the proposed Convention he had selected those directly opposed to himself in policy, and thoroughly representative of the general feeling of the Opposition. He appealed to the highest authority to which he could appeal, the people, to judge if he had allowed any side issue to creep in. He had tried to rise to the level of a great subject. He had always been consistent in his advocacy, and open in his desire to leave the subject to be settled by a Federal Parliament. He had stated, moreover, if there was a majority in the Federal Parliament representing protection, and he were in a minority, he would submit, and live in the hope that the policy would be reversed. He was sincere in his desire for Federation. He denied he had any personal ambition in urging on Federation. The Colonies were in full accord in favour of Federation. Even New Zealand was unanimous in passing resolutions, and would join the Convention.

So far the Premier's speech was largely impregnated with matters of a semi-personal character. It was time for him to place his project in its true character before the House. The period had at length arrived when the dominant Australasian question was—union or disunion. Over a hundred years ago, when the American States—fortunately for themselves, for England, and for mankind—rebelled, and, after a long struggle, achieved their independence, their population was about 3,000,000. Some time since, when the Canadian Provinces became a Confederation, their aggregate population was a little over three millions and a quarter. The Australasian census to be taken this year will certainly show not fewer than four millions. At the doors, therefore, of those who oppose union, lies the onus of proving that such union is premature, and the further burden of demonstrating that Federation could be more easily attained at some future period. To him it appeared that, if Federation was a desideratum, the time for it had arrived. But was it a project to be welcomed, or one to be banished? Upon those advocating the latter view, fell the responsibility of showing either that one stick is stronger than a bundle, or that in national affairs weakness, not strength, is the real goal to be kept in view and welcomed.

Sir Henry Parkes invited attention to Australia's eight thousand miles of coast-line and the eight hundred appertaining to New South Wales. So long as segregation held, so long would the Colony be squeezed within these narrow limits. Coalesce with northern, southern, and western neighbours, and the present barriers to jurisdiction would at once be removed. True, this jurisdiction would be the common property of many; but it would widen the boundaries and the aspirations of all. And in what way would this Colony be less free than at

present? She would still be supreme within her own borders except, of course, as to Federal questions, of which the general Congress would alone take cognisance. The material advantages of union, too, would be the least. Far superior to them would be the moral advantages which would inevitably result from the welding into one homogeneous dominion of a number of communities having so much in common, before the centrifugal forces making for disunion had acquired too dangerous a predominance.

Adverting to the remark, "We want no Privy Council," which seems to have fallen from a member of the House a few nights ago, the Premier made some pertinent references to affairs in the United States, where the President not alone possesses, but frequently exercises a power of veto which has been exercised by no English monarch since Anne. Owing to the unrighteous arrangement of the American executive—modelled as it was upon the plan in vogue when the New England colonists broke away from the tyranny of George III.—the Chief Magistrate possesses a power denied to European sovereigns. For a person to possess powers so extensive without occasionally abusing them is a thing unknown in the annals of mankind. Thus it came that American Presidents, such as Jackson and Grant—men of many admirable qualities—were now and then led away by the very possession of this almost absolute power to sanction acts which it would be impossible to defend. Grant, for example, surrendered to Spain a prisoner whom the country should have protected, and expelled the duly elected members of three State Legislatures to make way for other members who represented themselves alone. Sir Henry doubted whether the wit of man has, so far, devised any institution superior to the British Privy Council for forwarding the ends of justice or curbing the caprice of princes.

Before entering on the peroration of his address the leader of the Government alluded to the growing strength of Asiatic nations, especially China, and the probability of their playing in the future a part as momentous as that played by them in the past. China's people were numbered by hundreds of millions; with them human life was held in little or no account. They were models of industry and ingenuity. They were at present in possession of some of the finest ironclads afloat, while their troops were taught and disciplined by prominent English and German officers. He would not be sorry to hear of the visit of a Chinese squadron to these waters, as he felt sure that such a visit would open the eyes of Australians to some conception of the resources of a people whose future none could foretell. It required no argument of his to show that a United Australia alone was fit to cope with the questions which the future would inevitably bring forth. It was 8.15 p.m. when, amid loud applause, the Premier resumed his seat after a brilliant peroration, in which the coming Federation of Australasia was referred to in glowing terms.

Sir H. Parkes having moved the resolutions, Mr. Dibbs asked for the debate to be adjourned to a later date, when he would be prepared to reply. Sir H. Parkes assented, and the House adjourned.

COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE third of the series of lectures on Commercial Geography, delivered by Mr. J. Scott Keltie, Librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, was published in the May number of the "Journal of the Institute of Bankers." As it deals exclusively with "The British Empire," we commend it to the attention of our readers, adding here a few brief extracts, showing the manner in which the subject is handled. Mr. Scott Keltie is the editor of the "Statesman's Year-Book," recently reviewed in these columns; and we have been much pleased to observe that the new arrangement of this year's issue of that publication, whereby the Empire is kept distinct from the foreign world, which we welcomed as so excellent an innovation, has been singled out for special commendation in almost every review we have seen of it—an indication in itself of the ground being gained by the belief in the "unity of the Empire."

In his present lecture Mr. Keltie lays down the same broad line of distinction at the outset. . . . "From our own standpoint, he says, 'we might divide the world into two parts; ourselves on one side, and the rest of the world on the other—the British Empire and Foreign Countries.' After giving some idea of the extent of the Empire he continues:—"But the British Empire is scattered. It lacks the compactness of the Russian Empire and of the United States. You find fragments of it in all latitudes and longitudes; and whatever it may be politically, it is good for us commercially that it is so. But it is so because we are what we are, and what the geographical situation of our island has made us; and it has enabled us, nay forced us, to become the greatest political power on earth. Whether we shall continue to be so, with our children growing up into formidable rivals all over the globe, remains to be seen; for remember that the United States, whose trade with us far exceeds that of any other country, was once an integral part of the British Empire. . . . I shall only try to give you a few hints as to some of the bearings which its geography has on its commerce, using commerce in the wide sense I have already referred to in previous lectures. There are two divisions of the Empire which suggest themselves to us living in these islands:—(1) The Empire at home; (2) The Empire beyond the seas: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the one hand; and the Colonies, India, protectorates and spheres of influence on the other. To do

justice to the commercial geography of the United Kingdom alone would take us hours."

After glancing then briefly at the geographical and material conditions under which the commercial and political position of the United Kingdom has been developed, he proceeds:—"Now as to the rest of the Empire. The relative importance of the Mother Country, so far as size and population are concerned, compared with the rest of the Empire may be seen from the fact that, of the 10 million square miles, only 121,000 belong to the United Kingdom, *i.e.*, in size, the Mother Country is only one 82nd part of the whole Empire. Her population to-day is close on 38 millions, or just about one-eighth part of the whole of Her Majesty's subjects. The total trade of the Empire may be valued, imports and exports, at about 1,200 millions sterling, and of this the share of the Mother Country is about 68 per cent., leaving just 32 per cent. to the vast remainder of the Empire.

But then let us remember that the trade of the Mother Country has been the growth of, say, a thousand years; while the Colonial Empire only began to take its rise about 250 years ago. Eighteen years ago the total trade, so far as value goes, of the Mother Country was much what it is now; while in the same period the trade of the Colonies and India has increased by 70 per cent., from about 290 millions to 415 millions."

The geographical distribution of the Empire beyond the seas is then surveyed, and in the course of this survey in its connection with the commercial peculiarities of the past, the following passages of general application claim our special notice:—

"The total trade of the Empire, we have seen, may be estimated at about 1,200 millions sterling annually, just one half of the trade of all other civilised countries put together. Of the 1,200 millions, 460 millions must be credited to that portion of the Empire beyond our shores. Of these 460 millions, about 170 millions belong to the 7 million odd square miles of what we call colonies of settlement, with their population of 10 millions, mostly whites. The remaining 290 millions sterling must be credited to the tropical and sub-tropical possessions, which cover only about 2,700,000 square miles, but with a population of some 300 millions, among whom is only a sprinkling of whites. In the latter case the total trade is just about £1 per head; in the former £17 per head.

"That, of course, is a rough way of dealing with the subject. When we come to look more clearly into it, we are met with some very interesting facts. We find that of the 290 millions of trade which we have allotted to tropical possessions, about 180 millions belong to our great Indian Empire alone. But, remember that this great trade is divided among a population of some 270 millions, living on an area of a million and a half square miles. India stands in a unique position in our great Empire."

India having been dealt with, the tropical Colonies are treated of, and the following striking observation is made: "Leaving India then out of account, as in all respects unique, we may estimate the total trade of our tropical Colonies at 100 millions at the most; but remember that half of this must be attributed to the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong, and cannot be regarded as the produce of these Colonies themselves. Taking what we may call the productive tropical Colonies, there is one striking feature, and that is their comparative stagnation; the value of their trade now is much what it was twenty years ago. The climate is not conducive to enterprise; labour is difficult to obtain; and, therefore, capital is slow to flow into regions where it might probably give little return."

Attention is then turned to the temperate Colonies. "Canada, take it all in all, is a portion of the Empire with a great future before it, and which is bound to increase rapidly in commercial importance.

"It is just about a century ago since the first convict Colony was founded on the site of the present city of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, in Australia. Now, in the 3 million square miles of the continent, there are 3 millions of white inhabitants, and that is only one to the square mile. Yet Australia does an annual trade amounting to 110 millions sterling; the foreign trade of the Colony of New South Wales alone is equal to that of Canada, though its area is only one-tenth of that of the Dominion."

"Unfortunately," adds the lecturer, "all these Australian Colonies, like Canada and the Cape, treat the Mother Country as a commercial enemy. . . . We must not discuss the wide subject of Free Trade and Protection, but the fact of these high tariffs must be referred to as an obstacle to free commercial intercourse."

Mr. Keltie concludes his lecture in these terms:—

"Thus you will see that whatever habitable parts of the earth were available for European settlement have fallen to the lot of English-speaking people; and among them we must reckon the United States, which we cannot treat as a foreign country, and which does an annual trade of 300 millions sterling, 90 millions of it with the old Mother Country, which, in this matter, stands far ahead of all others. In commerce, as in some other things, blood counts for something. Whether our Colonies

remain attached to us, or whether the larger ones (who now manage their own affairs) may, like the United States, set up for themselves, the future alone can tell. Whatever form it may take, however, I think in the interests of commerce, as much as for sentimental reasons, we ought to stick together. The spread of our race on the face of the earth, the enterprise of our explorers and adventurers, has helped to give us predominance in the commercial, as it has done in the political, world. In one form or another, the English language is the medium of communication for something like 400 millions of people, nearly one-third of the population of the earth; some of those who try to forecast the future think it may yet become the universal language. When we remember that more than one-fourth of the whole trade of the United Kingdom is with the rest of the Empire, it is surely our interest to do all we consistently can to promote that commerce, to encourage the development of our Colonies, and the judicious extension of the British sphere. As yet, our Colonies cannot do without us; without boasting, we may say we have the ships, and the men, and the money; and it is surely in the interest of our trade that our position in this respect should not be less eminent than it is. One means, among others, of enabling us to keep our place with so many powerful rivals in the field is to acquire a full knowledge of the geographical conditions which bear on the interests of commerce. My object in this lecture has been to give you such hints on the subject as you may be able to work out in detail for yourselves."

OPENING OF THE VICTORIAN PARLIAMENT.

THE "Speech from the Throne" delivered by the Governor, Lord Hopetoun, in opening the Victorian Parliament at the end of May, has been made the theme of considerable comment in the English provincial press. All the papers, by the way, treat the opinions expressed as being Lord Hopetoun's own, apparently forgetting that this is only partially true, since, as a Constitutional Governor, he is the mouthpiece of his Ministry. This, however, only enhances the importance of whatever favourable deductions are to be drawn from the speech, seeing that the political future lies with representatives of the people rather than with the Governor of the Colony. Some papers from which we take extracts bearing on the annual meeting of the League have fallen into the common error of supposing that Lord Hopetoun's reference to the feeling of a common Australian nationality having grown more vivid, point to a belief on his part in the growth of a national spirit in Australia inconsistent with the maintenance of a united British nationality. We are not, however, concerned with that here, but wish to reproduce some evidence of the satisfactory attitude towards both Australasian and Imperial Federation now assumed by some of the leading papers in the provinces.

The *Manchester Guardian* writes:—

Last Wednesday the Governor of Victoria took occasion to congratulate the Parliament at Melbourne on the recent growth of "Australian nationality." On the following day Lord Rosebery, in moving the adoption of the annual report of the Imperial Federation League, alluded to the "sudden wave of feeling" in favour of exclusively Colonial Federation that had lately swept over Australia, and deprecated any present attempt to urge the Imperial question on the attention of the Home Government. Lord Hopetoun's official position and Lord Rosebery's well-known point of view are the best of guarantees that they have not exaggerated the distinctive character of the movement. The viceregal powers of the one represent the voice of the British nation in the affairs of Victoria, and the other's genuine faith in the maintenance of the Federated Empire is thoroughly intelligent and enthusiastic. Were such guarantees wanting, they would be found in a Blue Book published within the same week, and giving the complete report of the Australasian Conference, to which we alluded a few days ago; and we may add that the record contains not a word that need cause a moment's uneasiness on behalf of the interests which Lord Hopetoun represents, or of the ideal, in its widest and most generous sense, in which Lord Rosebery believes. At the present moment the future history of the Australian continent appears to us to have taken a turn that is absolutely inevitable and entirely acceptable. It is true that existing connections will be completely revised, and that possibly some outward changes in the footing of Australia and England may result when the "solidarity" of Australia has once been fully established. But there will be no new form that is not already old in substance, and no new substance that at present lacks anything but the form. The slightest examination of the tendencies at work in Australia will serve to prove that among the forces working out the Australian nationality there are none which involve a trace of danger to the growing sense of union among all English-speaking races.

A short article in the *Huddersfield Chronicle* contains the following passages:—

Ardent believers in the cause of Imperial Federation must hail with delight the progress which the spread of inter-Colonial Federation is making in our Australian Colonies. Lord Hopetoun, in opening the Victorian Parliament, congratulated the members on the fact that the feeling in favour of unity is not being developed through any outside pressure or fear, but is a result of the feeling that a united Australia is capable of conferring advantages upon those who dwell within its

borders that the separate Colonies are not competent to give. . . The feeling of nationality is growing. No doubt there is something commendable in the feeling of pride in acknowledging New South Wales, Queensland, or Victoria as a home, but there are wider and more important associations connected with Australia. The tendency to union in Australia is one which we can all rejoice at, but Imperial Federationists see in it a step in the direction of that course which they believe will, if adopted, make the future of this Empire more glorious and influential for good than all its past has been.

The *Newcastle Journal* writes:—

In presenting the public some time ago with a portrait of the Earl of Hopetoun as "the latest Imperial drummer," an Australian newspaper good-humouredly rallied that nobleman on his sincere advocacy of Imperial and Colonial Federation. The speech made in opening the Victorian Parliament on Wednesday by the Earl, of which a summary is given in our telegraphic news, shows that he beats the Federation drum to some purpose. Its chief topic, as a matter of course, was the Melbourne Conference on the subject of Federation, the spirit and aims of that gathering, as a continuation in Australia of the great movement inaugurated by delegates from the Colonies at the first Colonial Conference in London some years ago, and the stage of development the question between the various Colonies, and the Colonies and the Mother Country, has now reached. . . . Amidst all that has been achieved in Imperial and Colonial defence, and all that is in contemplation for making it fully and permanently effective, the sentiment of patriotism, the feeling of race, and the common heritage of British civilisation, are still the leading ideas in Imperial and Colonial Federation. . . . Closer union is the watchword of Colonial as well as of Imperial Federation. . . . Facts, indeed, will force on in the future closer union in the Colonies as much as it has been developed between the Colonies and the Empire by pure sentiment, and that feeling of common origin that has its Colonial counterpart in "the feeling of a common Australian nationality." It is utterly impossible to deal with the questions of sentiment and interest apart, either in the case of the separate Colonies or the united Colonies and the Empire. Feeling and policy, trade and kinship, alternately act and re-act on each other at every point, and hence every solid attainment of common action seems to create a fresh sentiment, and also to suggest further approaches towards the general idea roughly discerned afar off in the deliberations of the first Colonial Conference in London. . . . But for these deep sentiments, not one of the Colonies would have had any effective defence, and the individual Colonies have each almost obtained by common action and co-operation with the Empire what would, it is not too much to say, but for the London Conference, have been unknown in any Colony. And who does not feel, distant as its scattered portions are, that armed Australia can treat the pretensions of foreign Powers in the Pacific very differently now than it could possibly have done ten years ago? But even Colonial defence is palsied without an executive, a central heart and head; and once these are obtained, it will be seen that some first bold step to closer Imperial Federation will become far more imperatively necessary than the cruisers now being constructed in the Tyne for Colonial defence. In Federation it is, as in other things, the first step that is the most embarrassing; and when the first and second steps have been taken in Australian Federation, many things now vague and cloudy will be as clear and intelligible as the Australian coast defences.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT IN TORONTO.

THE "Queen City" seems to have given their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught the heartiest of welcomes, and the Imperial Federation League in Canada, having its headquarters in Toronto, took the opportunity of joining as a body in the presentation of loyal addresses. The address of the League, which was presented by Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P., one of the vice-presidents, representing the Province of Ontario, was as follows:—

"To His Royal Highness Prince Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., C.B., Lieutenant-General, A.D.C.

"May it please Your Royal Highness: We, the Imperial Federation League in Canada, being an organised society with a large number of branches extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and numbering among our members very many leading statesmen of all parties and men of letters in this country, desire to embrace this opportunity of extending to yourself and Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught, a most heartfelt and loyal welcome upon your visit to Canada!

"As Canadians, we feel a just and proper pride in our country and its institutions; but while we feel that our first duty is to that country, we never forget the land from whence our fathers came, nor fail in our love and devotion to the person of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, your revered mother.

"Our land is blessed by Divine Providence with great natural resources and a healthy climate, free institutions, and all those boons consequent on a constitution framed on true British principles.

"In welcoming your Royal Highness to Canada we desire to assure you that the vast majority of our people are in favour of the perpetuation of the connection between the Dominion and the Mother Country. We have prospered under the mighty flag of England, and as a people will do as our fathers have done

before us. We are content to live under the ægis of the British crown.

"The Canadian people are rapidly approaching the period in their development when they will be ready and willing to take upon themselves the burdens of full nationality; and it is the earnest endeavour of our League to ensure the result that when this time arrives, these burdens will be assumed in conjunction with our brothers at home and our cousins in the other Colonies, in common with whom we are joint heirs to the priceless heritage of British liberty, laws, and institutions.

"We are to-day loyal subjects of Her Majesty, and we look forward with pride to the time when we shall assume the privileges of full citizenship in the greatest Empire the world has ever seen.

"In conclusion, we pray that you will convey to Her Most Gracious Majesty our assurances of loyalty and devotion, and our hope that it may please God long to continue her happy and prosperous reign.

"On behalf of the Imperial Federation League in Canada,

"D'ALTON MCCARTHY, President.

"R. CASIMIR DICKSON, Hon. Sec.

"Toronto, May 30."

The Duke, in reply, said:—

"GENTLEMEN OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE: I have listened with deep interest to the words you have just read. The question of Imperial Federation is one which is being rapidly brought forward. It is one which as an Englishman and a soldier I have considered a great deal. But when the question becomes a reality, the movement must come from the Colonies themselves. When they desire to enter into federation with the Mother Land, England will not be found backward in accepting the proposal. We can never forget that in the time of the Egyptian war we had representatives from Canada in the persons of brave militia and boatmen, and that Australia also sent her sons. Thus a strong feeling of affection of one toward the other has sprung up. I hope that some day you will have your wish. It must be, however, as I said before, the express wish of the Colonies. I thank you for your warm expressions of devotion and interest, to which I have listened with intense pleasure."

We observe, by the way, from the reports of the proceedings, that the Governor-General's body guard, which led the way to the Pavilion where the addresses were presented, was under the command of Adjutant Casimir Dickson, who is also Secretary of the League, and that the deputation of the League followed in the procession immediately after the Royal carriages.

A USEFUL CRITICISM.

WE have received a pamphlet, published by the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Limited, containing a paper entitled "A Chat about the Colonies and India," by Thomas Shore, Jun., member of the Mildmay Club, together with a criticism, written by request, by Sir Charles Dilke. We opened the pamphlet with satisfaction—glad to find the subject being discussed in working men's Institutes, and hoping to find, if not something to agree with—at least, something to differ from with respect. But we were disappointed. Though not wanting in that kind of "cleverness" so often found in similar situations, the paper does not repay perusal, much less reproduction in any form. It is worth while, however, in order to show the line of thought pursued, and at the same time to expose its fallacies, to reprint Sir Charles Dilke's criticism, which is as follows:—

"I understand that 'A Chat about the Colonies and India' did not receive a prize because it did not come within the terms of your Essay Competition, but that it received a considerable present on account of its ability. I am asked to criticise it, but that is not very easy, for the writer is a clever controversialist, who is able to suggest ideas without distinctly stating them in so many words.

"He begins by putting in the mouth of his imaginary opponent, as a defence of the retention of the Colonies, an argument that they take millions of our people, while we at home are anxious to get rid of our surplus population. I, for one, have constantly contended that the Colonies form, as Colonies, no outlet for our surplus population; that the United States, under a different flag, take by far the greater portion of those who emigrate from our shores; that Australia and South Africa are a long way off as compared with Canada; that the promoters of all schemes of public emigration, therefore, naturally try to send people to Canada, and that, once in Canada, great numbers of them cross to the United States, and that there exists no means of keeping them on British soil.

"After suggesting, in order to upset it, one false reason for the retention of Colonies, the writer, in the next place, goes on to explain that we are asked to spend a large sum of money to defend the Colonies and India. As a matter of fact, India has always paid the whole cost of her defence, and I am unaware of any suggestion that she should cease to do so in future. In fact, it may be shown that India is charged a good deal too

much, in consequence of our forcing upon her a military system, as regards the British troops employed at her expense, unsuitable to her needs. As regards the Colonies, Australia defends itself; Canada defends itself, so far as it is defended, which is not very far, I freely admit; and the other Colonies are not costly to defend. Moreover, our enormous sea-going trade and the food supplies of our home countries can only be protected, in the event of war against a naval Power, by the defence of a whole system of coaling stations and harbours of refuge, which form the main portion of the defended spots of these other Colonies; and if they ceased to be our Colonies, we should for safety have, nevertheless, to spend all the same the money that they cost.

"Just as I admit to the writer that I do not differ from him as regards the Colonies considered as an emigration field, so also I am prepared to go a long way with him in admitting the extent of the popular exaggeration conveyed in the phrase 'Trade follows the flag.' The case of the Ionian Islands, which he does not name, is a most striking one upon this point. But he is hardly candid in omitting to discuss fully the case of the Australasian Colonies, which is the main case upon the other side.

"Again, Mr. Shore's attack upon 'the English' for the 'utterly damnable fashion by which they have made their name feared and hated all over the globe,' is unfair to our own country.

"No doubt Queensland writers have heaped reproach on Queensland for her treatment of the natives in the past; no doubt there are some ugly stories that can be told from the Pacific, and from many other portions of the globe, about our captains and colonisers; but Mr. Shore goes further, and suggests that we are the worst offenders. No one who knows, however, the popularity of the English in the Pacific, as compared with the unpopularity of the French, among the natives, and no one who compares the feeling of the natives on the East Coast of Africa with regard to the Germans and the English respectively, can deny that in this respect we stand infinitely above either of our chief rivals. In the Pacific, moreover, if an Englishman commits a crime against a native, he is pretty certain, sooner or later, to be punished. If a Frenchman or a German commits such a crime, he is almost equally certain of impunity.

"The destruction of the Red Indians of North America was doubtless inevitable, for they disappeared as fast in those districts where our Quaker settlers made friends with them, as in those districts where our Puritan settlers made war. The Maories of New Zealand have not been 'killed out,' as Mr. Shore asserts, as he will see from the simple fact that (themselves an immigrant race but recently come into the country, the climate of which, apparently, did not suit them) they were declining more rapidly in population immediately before our settlers reached the island than they are declining now. Still, like the North American Indians, they are dying out; but, on the other hand, Mr. Shore does not mention Natal, in which, under our rule, the native population is increasing with the most extraordinary rapidity, both by natural growth at home, and also by natives pouring into the Colony from the surrounding native districts; and when he speaks of 'races' being 'killed out' in India, I do not know what he means, for nothing can be more extraordinary, and indeed more dangerous from certain points of view, than the rapidity of the rate of increase of the natives of India under British rule. Mr. Shore suggests, in his remarks on India, that the country is going out of cultivation and reverting to jungle; but, as a fact, the acreage yielding food increases every year. I admit freely to him, however, that there is something to be said with regard to the standard of comfort, and that it is far from certain that the condition of the population is improving at the present time, although there is endless controversy upon this point, and although, by considering only portions of the country, a case can be made each way.

"At the same time, all these are criticisms of detail, and the main remark that has to be made upon Mr. Shore's very able paper is that, as far as India and the Colonies are concerned, it leads to nothing. He does not tell us what he would do. He makes no proposals, he blames much that exists, criticises everything, but has no suggestions of his own to offer, except such as concern home affairs; and an air of sterility, therefore, pervades the whole of his production. I do not know that his conclusions, if he drew them, would differ from my own, but I have no right to assume that this is so."

Affected with Marasmus.—Since his return to Australia from his Divorce Act Mission, Mr. W. Shiels has been unbosoming himself in regard to his English experiences. Asked "*What is thought of Imperial Federation*" in England, Mr. Shiels said "it was not at present in high favour. Despite the nursing of Lord Rosebery's League, it is a sickly child, affected with marasmus, and does not grow in popular regard." Marasmus sounds bad; but an invalid always likes to have a long name for his complaint—especially when, as in this case, the name is quite the worst part about it.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the whole over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

JULY 1, 1890.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to n glorious and enbiable heighth. with all her Daughter Islands about her. stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

WE publish in this Number the first of a series of five or six articles seeking to go to the root of the question "What is Imperial Federation?" from the pen of MR. JENN MATHEWS, of Toronto, who has from time to time contributed valuable matter to the Journal almost from its commencement. As many as eighteen or nineteen years ago MR. MATHEWS produced a book under the title of "A Colonist on the Colonial Question," in which the federal solution was ably expounded. The volume was extremely well reviewed at the time in England, and received high commendation from the late W. E. FORSTER. The present series of articles should be of great value. From Canada we also have another contribution for which we are indebted to the energetic Secretary of the League there, MR. CASIMIR DICKSON. His message, couched as it is in striking terms, will be read with satisfaction. Our readers may remember that last November we gave a brief summary—all that was then obtainable—of PRINCIPAL GRANT'S admirable lecture delivered at Winnipeg. It has now been published in Canada in pamphlet form, and we hope shortly to reprint it in the Journal. We beg this month again to call attention to a further letter on British and Foreign Commerce from our valued correspondent SIR RAWSON RAWSON.

WE have referred on two or three occasions lately to MR. D'ESTERRE TAYLOR'S paper on "Three Great Federations," and in a recent issue gave copious extracts from that portion of it which was printed by our antipodean ally, *Young Australia*. We have now had the advantage of perusing the paper as a whole, and wish that others, and especially those who are not with us, but against us, could also have the opportunity of doing so. The earlier portion of this important contribution to the controversial literature of the subject, of which we had previously received only the barest outline, will have proved especially valuable

in carrying conviction to the minds of those to whom the arguments were addressed—namely, those members of the Australian Natives' Association, and others, who, while favouring Australian Federation, are yet averse to the application of the same principle on Imperial lines. For MR. TAYLOR convicts them of inconsistency; showing that one principle—the principle that union is strength—underlies all forms of Federation, and that the grounds on which they support the narrower application of the principle are equally applicable to the wider; while, conversely, the arguments they bring to bear against the larger are quite as valid if used against the narrower form of Federation they themselves approve.

MR. TAYLOR makes several other good points, too, in the earlier part of his essay. He shows that if unity of tariff is not an absolutely necessary condition of a strictly local Federation, it is very much less so in the Federation of an Empire; and disabuses people's minds of the idea that Imperial or National Federation means the assimilation of Colonial tariffs to the standard of the United Kingdom, quoting the fundamental doctrine of the League, which declares against any interference with all such matters of local interest already controlled by the several local governments. We have previously noted, we believe, the neat way he demolishes the argument against us, founded on the absence of a plan, by asking a red-hot supporter of Australian Federation to produce *his* plan—not omitting at the same time to enforce the historical lesson that no federal system has ever been started upon a prearranged "plan." He does not much more than glance at the idea of federating the whole of the English-speaking races; but takes occasion to expose the absurdity of the proposition put forward by some that Australia, and we suppose all the other Colonies, must first separate—the policy that would disunite the two great branches, now united, as a preliminary to re-uniting them with the third.

A CANADIAN correspondent sends us a cutting from a Dominion newspaper, which informs its readers that the delegates from Western Australia, who came to London "to assist in furnishing the scheme for Federation" are thoroughly disgusted, and are returning home without presenting their case. Their treatment, it is added, has greatly increased the general desire in Western Australia for autonomy. Some one on that paper must have been reading the *Daily News*, which (*teste* the *Age*) informed the world that SIR W. C. ROBINSON, and other gentlemen from Western Australia, had been laying before LORD KNUTSFORD "the views of New South Wales on the Imperial Federation scheme." Our correspondent, who describes himself as a Britisher living in Canada, and with strong Imperial Confederation leanings, ask us if there is any truth in the statement he sends us, observing that such news "will not improve the cause" in Canada or elsewhere. He will be relieved to hear that not only is there no truth in it, but that it is just a farrago of nonsense. Possibly our correspondent knew that already. But we are much obliged to him for giving us yet another text from which to preach on the inconceivable ignorance that prevails in every part of the Empire about every other part.

THE reports we publish this month of further declarations of policy by leaders of the Australian Natives' Association are eminently encouraging. Last month we reported MR. PURVES as claiming equal obligations and an equal voice in Imperial affairs, in a speech delivered before surrendering the presidency. Since then he has delivered a lecture to a literary society, specially dealing with the aims and objects of the Association, in which he deprecates the opinion formed of their members as holding views subversive of the connection with the Mother Country. We particularly commend the report of this address, and of the subsequent address of the incoming President, MR. WHEAL, to the careful attention of our readers. The significance of the present tone of the Association is very great indeed. The Australian Natives' Association represents the young

democracy of Australia ; its members are men of the people, and among them it is not too much to say that the spirit of separation has been exorcised. But now is the time to take occasion by the hand. Evil spirits, we know, sometimes come back in force, and come to stay. Now is the time, by means of conferences, or how we may, to get statesmen on both sides of the water to take care that no room be left for such a calamitous re-entry.

IN the *Revue de Belgique*, M. NAVEZ, in a paper entitled "The Causes and Consequences of England's Colonial Greatness," pays a glowing tribute to England and the English language. He considers the British Empire "the most prodigious political edifice that the world has seen erected since the beginning of its history." Prodigious it undoubtedly is, but we want to see the relations of its constituent parts reduced to a less monstrous system than the "haphazard" under which, as LORD ROSEBERY said lately, things had somehow been successfully administered ; because the time has come when haphazard can no longer command success. The writer believes that the English language, already spoken by more than a hundred millions of men, will end, through the mere force of things, in supplying that universal language that cannot be created out of hand ; and we are not indisposed to agree with him, the *Alliance Française* notwithstanding.

IN the column wherein is chronicled the "Progress of the League and its Principles," we make a brief note, which, in the absence of any report, is all we can give, of a recent debate on Imperial Federation at the Oxford Union Society, to which additional interest was lent by the presence of Mr. PARKIN, who had been specially invited to attend and to speak. The motion on the paper advocated a sufficiently advanced programme, being—"That Her Majesty's Government should take immediate steps to frame a Federal Constitution for Great Britain and her Colonies." The strength of the proposition, which some of the elders among us would certainly regard as somewhat premature, was not, as might have been supposed, attributable to mere youthful exuberance of irresponsible zeal. When Mr. PARKIN expressed some little hesitation on being asked to support so advanced a measure, he was assured by the President of the Union that the motion had been purposely framed in extreme terms, because the approval of Imperial Federation generally was so almost universal that no milder proposition would have been effectual in eliciting any opposition at all. Even as it stood, the motion was carried by a large majority.

A PECULIAR interest, both personal, and, in the annals of our cause, historical, attaches itself to MR. PARKIN's presence in the Union at Oxford at this debate. In May, 1874, just sixteen years before the debate just referred to, the following motion had been brought forward and carried in the same chamber :—"That in the opinion of this House a closer union than at present exists between England and her Colonies is essential to the highest future prosperity of both, and should as soon as possible be effected by such an Imperial Federation as will secure the representation of the more important Colonies in the Imperial Councils." The mover of that resolution was no other than MR. PARKIN himself, at that time Secretary of the Union, and a constant speaker in its debates. To appreciate the significance of this, we must remember that the time when MR. PARKIN was enforcing these views, and under the very name too of Imperial Federation, at Oxford, was a full ten years before the birth of the Imperial Federation League.

It was with striking effect then, to which too some element of dramatic fitness was not wanting, that Mr. PARKIN was able to point the other day at Oxford to the difference between *then*—when no one, outside a few political thinkers of the study, talked of these matters, and no public man had committed himself to any views of the kind—and *now*, when Federation is on every lip, and in some form or other tinges

the political beliefs of the best minds of the generation. It is rather a curious coincidence too that Mr. PARKIN, who has lately been much commended, and very rightly, for familiarising people with the title of National Unity as a variant upon that adopted by the League, should turn out to have himself used the much abused term Imperial Federation years before it was decided upon at the inception of the League—and may, for aught that we know, have been the very inventor of the term : in which case he has much to answer for.

THIS question of the name is not altogether, as it may appear to some, a vain thing. It is all very right and sound to say—we believe we have said it ourselves—"Don't let us trouble about the name so long as we get the thing." But there is no doubt that the word Imperial has been a stumbling-block to many, and the word Federation to some, while the combination of the two has, we all know, caused so great a person as PROFESSOR FREEMAN to sign his name to much hypercritical pedantry. The great thing is, to make people understand that whichever term we use we mean the same thing. National Unity is what we all want, and we all purpose to achieve it by—in the words of the constitution of the League—"some form of federation ;" and the federation is that of the British Empire, or Imperial. The terms are wide enough. None but doctrinaires confine their scope to one form, or one degree, of federal bond or co-operation. Some people credit the League with nailing its colours to the mast for some formally complete stereotyped constitution, and passing by as worthless anything less. The League is not so foolish. We want National Unity, and as much of it as we can get.

A LETTER which we published in our last issue under the heading of "A Chinese Exemplar" from a correspondent signing himself "SHANGHAI," advocated, it will be remembered, the institution throughout the Empire of universal competitive examinations for the Imperial services on the Chinese model. If such a system should ever be inaugurated—and, as we know, some such opening of the services is a project commending itself just now to many minds—it is sincerely to be hoped that it will not lead to such chicanery and fraud as flourishes in connection with the competitions in China, and is engaging the serious attention of that august body the Board of Rites. Two special forms of fraud, it appears, have lately become extremely prevalent, personation, and the illicit supply of information to the candidates. As a means of preventing the latter form of fraud, vigilant guard is to be kept by proctors within and police without the walls of the examination hall ; and it is forbidden to fly pigeons, throw bricks (half-bricks are not apparently within the prohibition), let off crackers, or hang out lanterns in the neighbourhood of the grounds, lest these should be used as secret signals. BRET HARTE's great creation is evidently not a solitary specimen. It may fairly be expected, however, that British candidates would display more ingenuousness and less ingenuity.

OUR friend and ally *Young Australia* turns the tables rather neatly on a contributor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, who argued that, England's stake in the Australian Colonies being so large in respect of capital invested there, it was only fair that the Imperial authorities should defray the cost of their naval defence. Suppose, replies our contemporary, that instead of paying nothing (as was the case until recently), or a small fraction, as now, Australia paid the whole cost of the navy that protects her shores and her commerce and asked Great Britain to contribute. The English taxpayer might (if the above reasoning is right) reply :—"Oh, the interests the Australians have at stake are so vast that it is quite right they should pay the whole cost ; some of our ships, no doubt, are protected by them, and their loss would be a serious matter, but then Australia's very existence is at stake, you know, so it's very unfair to ask us to contribute anything!"

THERE can be no manner of doubt about this being a "Federal age." The question is, Where is the Federation

idea to stop? The planet Jupiter, it is understood, declines to enter into federal bonds with the other members of the solar system, fearing, like some good people in New South Wales, to lose the advantages of its greater bulk. But we anticipate. For the moment we were about to call attention to a much smaller matter, nothing more serious than the "Federation of the whole world," advocated by MR. COLE, of "Cole's Book Arcade" fame in Melbourne. MR. COLE offers prizes for the hundred best essays on the subject, and opens the ball himself. We are glad, at any rate, to welcome him as an ally along the little portion of the road that we can travel together with him. He says: "The Federation of Australasia, the Federation of the British Empire, the Federation of the English-speaking peoples, are all steps in the right direction, but Federation will not, cannot stop at this; it must and will include all humanity." He predicts that in the year 2000 flying machines will be in common use and the whole world federated, "and men will wonder why they were fools so long." Really, we feel almost ashamed to be concerning ourselves with such a peddling little parochial affair as the Federation of the British Empire.

MR. ARNOLD WHITE gave some rather interesting evidence last month before the Colonisation Committee, with regard to a scheme that was tried of removing surplus agricultural population, county by county, on the territorial system. The experiment had to be tried, not with the best material, which would not go, nor with the worst, which the Colonists objected to receiving, but with "adventurous second-raters." South Africa was chosen as the field for the experiment—the Anglicisation of the Cape being kept in view as a result of the scheme, since every English vote is a vote in favour of railways, education, progress, and a stronger tie to the Empire. The first settlement did not succeed, and after two and a half years had to be closed. Some of the causes of failure enumerated are curious, among them being, "drink, religious questions, and newspaper comments and criticism." A second settlement—composed of people from Hampshire, round about Lord Tennyson's estate—has been more successful, and is now self-supporting. This settlement, it is said, has been unpopular, because it introduced English votes, every one of which "was a nail in the coffin of Dutch supremacy."

WE were not a little troubled to read in a newspaper cutting that came into our hands that we had been waxing eloquent upon "Forced Draft;" and, reading on, we had the advantage of learning that in connection with the machinery of Her Majesty's ships "Forced Draught" would have been more accurate. We felt sorry to think we should ever have committed ourselves to writing at all, much less waxing eloquent, about a subject on which we certainly possess a plentiful lack of knowledge. But a second glance at the paragraph in question shed a light. This Journal is, and is known as, the "Organ of the Imperial Federation League," while the object of criticism about draughts was referred to as "The organ of Imperial Federation" at large; and we called to mind the fact that a Service paper, with which we have every desire, and, but for this one thing, every reason to live on terms of perfect amity, arrogates to itself that title. We are only too happy that the paper in question advocates Imperial Federation, if only to the extent of placing the words on its title-page; but we would suggest to the editor that, since the only organised body in connection with Imperial Federation has an accredited "organ" in this Journal, his second title is, to put it mildly, just a little misleading.

LEAGUE NOTICE.

THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN VICTORIA.

President—G. DOWNES CARTER, M.L.A., late Mayor of Melbourne.
Secretary—J. NIGHTINGALE, Esq.

The Offices are at

METROPOLITAN CHAMBERS, 261, COLLINS STREET EAST, MELBOURNE.

Where Members are enrolled and every information given.

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE Board of Trade returns for May exhibit a continuance of the same depression in the value and price of imports, with a moderate increase in the tonnage. The exports, on the other hand, exhibit a satisfactory increase in value and price, with a small increase in tonnage.

MAY, 1890, COMPARED WITH MAY, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
2,303,000 ... to ... 2,382,000 = 3·4 per cent.
2. Value of imports has decreased from—
£34,835,000 ... to ... £33,341,000 = 4·3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£15 2s. ... to ... £14 = 7·3 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
3,076,000 ... to ... 3,108,000 = 1·4 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£27,153,000 ... to ... £29,418,000 = 8·3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£8 16s. ... to ... £9 8s. = 6·8 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,745,000 ... to ... 2,791,000 tons = 1·6 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
9s. 11½d. ... to ... 12s. 8d. = 27·1 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 7·8 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has slightly increased from—
1,245,000 ... to ... 1,247,000 = 0·1 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£25,785,000 ... to ... £27,647,000 = 7·2 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£20 14s. ... to ... £22 2s. = 6·7 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF MAY.

1. There has been a moderate increase in the tonnage of Imports. The decrease in the value of imports is the same as last month; the reduction in price is double, and nearly equals the average of February and March. The chief decrease in value has been in sheep's wool, with some decrease in raw cotton, hemp and jute, chemicals, and silk manufactures. There has been an increase in live cattle (from the United States), quicksilver, and in most raw materials for sundry industries. Most articles of food have increased: wheat, barley, and sugar are exceptions. Raw sugar has decreased 11·7 per cent. in quantity, 42 per cent. in value, and 34·6 in price. Refined sugar has increased 21·7 per cent. in quantity, but has decreased 13·9 per cent. in value, and 30 per cent. in price.

2. The slight increase in the tonnage of exports corresponds with the slight increase in the export of coal. The tonnage employed in the shipment of merchandise remains almost the same. But the value and price, which had fallen off in March and April, has increased respectively 8·3 and 6·8 per cent. The value of British produce and manufactures exported has increased 12·3 per cent., and exclusive of coal 11·1 per cent. That of foreign and Colonial merchandise has decreased 3·8 per cent.

3. The chief increase in exports has been in cotton piece goods and yarn, metals, and machinery. There has been an increase in most categories. Horses and apparel are exceptions. Cotton piece goods and yarns have each increased slightly, (1·5 per cent.) in price.

4. Iron and steel goods have increased 11·4 per cent. in quantity and 7·6 in price; Pig Iron, 34 per cent. in quantity, and 26 per cent. in price; Railroad Iron, 19 and 22·7 per cent. respectively in quantity and price; Bar Iron has decreased 38·7 per cent. in quantity, and risen 32 per cent. in price; Steel has increased 5·8 and 16·2 per cent. in quantity and price respectively. Tin Plates have continued to decrease in quantity, but have risen in price 7·6 per cent. Copper has increased in quantity 30·3 per cent. and in price 9 per cent. Machinery has increased 23·6 per cent. in value, the chief increase being in steam-engines and their parts.

THE PRESS ON THE ANNUAL MEETING.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

IMPERIAL Federation is a rising and progressive cause, as the reports read at the meeting held yesterday under the presidency of Lord Rosebery would seem to show. Lord Salisbury has not yet been able to receive the deputation from representatives of self-governing Colonies which was to have met him last January. But the sudden growth of the Federation movement in Australia renders further delay advisable, because it would be imprudent to hold a conference to consider modifications in the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country till something is known as to the decision which the Australians will arrive at. We believe that in Australia the movement for inter-colonial federation has paralysed for a time the movement in favour of Imperial Federation. . . . "The feeling of a common Australian nationality," says Lord Hopetoun, "has grown more vivid." Whether this will counteract the tendency to draw closer to the Mother Country or not is far from certain. All we can say is that inter-colonial federation in Canada has given no stimulus to the cry for independence. In fact, nothing can be more striking than

the progress made by the Federation League last year in extending a chain of its branches across Canada from sea to sea. . . . To the question, What is Imperial Federation? Lord Rosebery said it was idle to expect a private society to give an answer. His own definition, an attempt "to base the empire on the co-operative principle," is not a bad one.

SCOTSMAN.

Imperial Federation, as a cry, is being raised in almost every part of the world where the sovereignty of Queen Victoria is acknowledged. It may be that here and there it is as yet faint and comparatively indecisive; but it grows in volume as the months roll on. It is but a short time ago since the demand for Imperial Federation took shape and form, and now it is heard of, not merely in this country, but in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa, in every part of the world where the British flag is flying. No doubt there were men who, long ago, saw the desirableness of drawing closer the various parts of the Empire, but they also saw the difficulties in the way of doing what they thought desirable, and those difficulties appeared to them to be insuperable. The question is now being approached from a different point of view. "It is the business of statesmen," said Lord Hartington years since, "to find the means of overcoming difficulties;" and in this belief the movement for Imperial Federation has found fresh adherents in every month of the year, and has received fresh impulse and vigour. . . . In Australia we see a movement for Colonial Federation, the result of which will certainly be the growth of a great Anglo-Saxon Power in that part of the world, as strong in course of time as the great Colonies we planted on the North American continent have since become. Is that new Power to be parted from us as the United States were parted? Lord Rosebery says no. All who desire to see the Empire stronger, and its parts knit more closely together, say no. What is to be accomplished is—to show to all the British Colonies that they have a more magnificent and prosperous future in connection with the Mother Country than they can have if they cut themselves loose from her. Further, it has to be shown that in close alliance with the Mother Country they will be part of the ruling Empire of the world. Who can doubt that means will be found to attain these objects? . . . Union all round is the motto, or should be the motto, of the British people—Union at home, union with our blood relations abroad, union for the purposes of defence, union for the growth and extension of free institutions.

LIVERPOOL DAILY COURIER.

Two items of news published to-day suggest in a manner strikingly vivid the kinship of blood and the community of objects, interests, and difficulties that subsist between the Mother Country and her Antipodean Colonies. The fifth annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League was held in London, under the presidency of Lord Rosebery. The chairman was able to congratulate the League on the steady and encouraging progress being made. . . . While Lord Rosebery was speaking the cabled summary of the speech of the Governor at the opening of the Victorian Parliament was being received in this country. The leading note of his Excellency's speech was also Federation. . . . Not danger from outside, nor internal embarrassment, but closer relations and a deeper sense of common nationality, had urged on the movement, and it was not too much to say that even already the provincial boundaries had been obliterated in sentiment. Obviously, then, the wave is in progress, and ere long a consolidated Australia may be in a position to contemplate the larger scheme. It is a noteworthy coincidence that sentiments so similar should almost at the same moment of time have been uttered on opposite sides of the globe by two distinguished subjects of the Queen, who are not only fellow-country-men, but, when at home, next-door neighbours. . . . The fact is significant of the truly far-reaching character of British Empire and feeling. For, though necessarily clothed in guarded language, it is not difficult to perceive that Lord Hopetoun indicates something more than merely Australian Federation as the ultimate goal. . . . The fisheries question now so profoundly agitating Newfoundland, the perennial Behring Sea difficulty—anent which Cousin Jonathan, to say the least, does not studiously pursue a policy of appeasement—and other similar bugbears in the path of our Colonists, all point to the necessity of their being in a position to bring the facts promptly and fully before the Imperial authority and to have their just rights safeguarded, not by occasional protests and perfunctory negotiations, but by the concentrated force of a federated, consolidated, and self-complete Empire. Such a fabric cannot be built up and cemented by battles, demonstrations, and torchlight processions; but it is worthy of untiring labour, unbounded patience, and unflagging zeal.

LEEDS MERCURY.

The proceedings of the annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League, which took place yesterday at the Westminster Palace Hotel, under the presidency of Lord Rosebery, will, we are happy to think, possess a very real and living interest for a

very large number of our readers. . . . Both the annual report of the League and its President's elucidatory speech are utterances of first-rate public importance. The report furnishes a record of a very clear and satisfactory character "of steady and unremitting progress as the history of the working of the year 1889-90." Of the progress which has taken place in this country it is unnecessary for us to speak further. It is one of the most patent facts in the annals of the year. But it is to be noted with satisfaction that in other parts of the Empire there has been a gratifying growth of sympathetic interest in the same direction. Especially is this the case with regard to Canada, where the League "has largely extended its operations during the past year, and has been carefully organised upon a thoroughly representative basis. It now consists of twenty-six branches, sending representatives to a central Council, which appoints an executive committee and officers. In addition to the president of the League, there is a vice-president for every Province of the Dominion, and the chain of its branches extends from sea to sea." Here, surely, is a lesson for English supporters of the Imperial Federation cause. Much might be done by the organisation of those interested in the subject here, both to develop public opinion in their own respective neighbourhoods on the general question, and to bring into view those aspects of it which are of special importance to the people of the United Kingdom. Having regard to all these circumstances, and to the unquestioned importance of avoiding all needless delay in placing on a regular footing the relations between the United Kingdom and the great self-governing British Colonies, it is certainly much to be regretted that at the present moment, notwithstanding the rapid growth of the Imperial Federation movement in the Empire, and the very favourable disposition evinced on the part of the Government in Lord Salisbury's reply to the Leeds resolution, the year seems likely to pass without any definite step forward towards the realisation of the Federation ideal. We do not doubt, however, that both here and in the Colonies due weight will be attached to the explanation given in the annual report of the League, and at greater length in Lord Rosebery's speech, of the reasons deemed sufficient by the Council of the League for deferring for the present an approach to the Prime Minister on the subject of Imperial Conferences.

SCOTTISH LEADER.

If we are to judge by current signs, the word of the future for British subjects is Federation. The air both here and in the Antipodes is full of talk about it, and men's minds everywhere are busy with plans for its embodiment in constitutional forms. It is the solution of many problems, and for each problem of course it adopts a different shape. . . . There is, therefore, Federation and Federation, and all the forms of Federalism do not go abreast of each other, or advance at the same pace. . . . In fact the very natural and patent truth is admitted that the Federation of the Colonies must retard the Federation of the Empire. At the same time, Lord Rosebery was careful to maintain that the two movements were really parallel. In postponing their Conference, he said, the Imperial Federation League had been anxious mainly that their scheme should not be misrepresented by being made to seem antagonistic to that of the Australasians. In the champions of Imperial Federation this attitude is, of course, a perfectly natural one, but to the critical outsider it may suggest some of the weak points in their inspiring scheme. And in this connection, it is not amiss to refer to the speech in which, only twenty-four hours before Lord Rosebery's utterance, the Earl of Hopetoun opened the Parliament of Victoria. After referring to the recent Conference as a landmark in Australian history, the Governor added these somewhat significant words:—"It is our good fortune that the desirability of a closer union is not forced upon us by danger from a foreign foe or external embarrassment, but comes of itself as our relations one with another are becoming closer, and as the feeling of a common Australian nationality becomes more vivid." In fact, so far from admitting that Colonial and Imperial Federation run on parallel lines, we may say that the former makes the latter ever the more difficult, if it does not tend actually in the direction of Australian independence.

MANCHESTER EXAMINER.

Imperial Federation, if it is to be established with advantage to this country and to the Colonies, must be the outcome of a real desire for, and appreciation of the necessity for a closer union of the scattered portions of this vast Empire. Lord Rosebery, in reply to the question, so often put, "Where is your plan?" asserts, with truth, that no private society can be expected to frame a plan. Such a plan must needs be the result of conference and negotiation between the various parts of the British Empire, and these in turn must be the outcome of popular sentiment and opinion. . . . Undoubtedly the plan will have to be devised, and it will be necessary to obtain the general approval of the people in this country and in the Colonies before any statesman or set of statesmen can advocate treaty-making and legislation; but the time for official conference and negotiation is not yet. What is needed, and can be done, is,

to show the public that Federation is not only desirable, but necessary, if our commercial and political position is to be maintained. . . . The task of educating the public mind in this direction is in the hands of the Imperial Federation League; and well that body is accomplishing it. The name of Lord Rosebery, where non-party questions are concerned, commands the respect of all our leading men; and his devotion to a cause in which, fortunately, the ordinary party politician does not see what he regards as an advantage, shows him to be of such stuff as national leaders are made of. He has associated himself with a movement which, if it can be brought to a successful issue, will be renowned in the history of the world when the political struggles of the present day, together with the names of those who are engaged in them, shall be forgotten. . . . But there can be no doubt that sooner or later we shall be face to face with the question "Federation or Separation?" Nay, if we fail to take steps in the direction of Federation, the time may come when no choice is presented to us. Separation in the case of the Colonies would probably entail what it has entailed in the case of the United States, an enormous commercial loss. Besides this there would be the political loss. The break-up of a great Empire like ours is not a matter to be contemplated with a light heart.

NOTTINGHAM DAILY GUARDIAN.

There are certain very obvious difficulties in the way of doing what Lord Rosebery calls managing an empire on the co-operative principle, and while everyone can see the difficulties, nobody has yet been able to suggest a means whereby they are likely to be surmounted. After several years of continuous discussion we still seem to be as far off as ever from the promulgation of anything like definite proposals, and it cannot cause surprise, therefore, if the faith of some people who were once enthusiastic upon the subject has grown cold. That the Australian Colonies will federate we do not doubt, but this step will simply make Australia a nation. It will not tighten the bonds which unite the Colonists with the Mother Country, or make the task of arranging a permanent and close working agreement any easier.

YORKSHIRE DAILY POST.

It was the absence of a plan that made yesterday's meeting so utterly dull and barren. Until some definite proposal for getting the central idea into working order is decided on, the League may rest assured that it is only "treading water," making no progress whatever, just managing to keep itself afloat, in fact. With regard to the strong federal wave Lord Rosebery refers to as having lately swept over Australia, some distinction, we think, must be drawn between it and the movement of which the League has taken charge. Australia is federating itself. The League, as we understand it, is for federating all the Colonies and the Mother Country in one.

NEW YORK HERALD. (London Edition.)

The cause of Imperial Federation, like all good causes, moves but slowly. That it moves at all is perhaps due chiefly to the good sense of Lord Rosebery, who takes an essentially practical view of the subject when he recognises its utter impracticability. This sounds paradoxical; but in point of fact Lord Rosebery never said anything more accurate, or more likely to win friends for the movement of which he is the head, than when he remarked yesterday that no scheme of Imperial Federation would ever be produced by any private society. That is to say, Lord Rosebery admits that for any one to attempt to formulate a cut-and-dried scheme of Imperial Federation would be the merest foolishness. If anything like political unity is ever carried out in the British Empire, it will come as a growth rather than as a creation.

DAILY GRAPHIC.

The annual general meeting of the Imperial Federation League served to show that, while the desirability of Federation has been accentuated by the recent course of events, the difficulties in the way of formulating a practical scheme appear not less formidable than hitherto. The inconvenience of the existing system under which the Colonies have no voice in determining our foreign policy is conspicuously illustrated in the Behring Sea and Newfoundland disputes. But, in this matter of Imperial moment, necessity has not yet proved the parent of invention. Nor is it improbable that the problem may long defy solution. The Empire, which Lord Rosebery describes as successfully administered in a haphazard and inconsequential manner, was, it should be remembered, built up in a fortuitous and accidental fashion, and was based, not on a definite plan, but on the enterprise and energies of the race. It may well be that the same enterprise and energy will in the same fortuitous fashion happen on a sound and satisfactory method of "basing the Empire on a co-operative principle."

BRADFORD OBSERVER.

Federation has two sets of advocates. One set contemplates nothing more than that the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the

world—or at any rate so much of it as now bears allegiance to the British Crown—shall strive after such a degree of union as may conserve the family bond, whilst allowing to each section full liberty to safeguard its own national development, both internally and in its relations to the outer world. Men who take this view of Federation recognise that premature action would do more harm than good. The cause can only be effectually furthered by being largely left to ripen with the growth of opinion enlightened by the progress of events. That is always a slow process; but it is sure. The other set of advocates regard Federation as synonymous with universal dominion. Indeed, they hardly care to disguise that that is their ultimate aim. Their ideal is that Britain and her federated daughter-nations shall be to the world of the twentieth century pretty much what Rome was to that of the Cæsars. The zeal of this section has outrun its discretion. . . . The natural result has been a phase of revulsion. Legitimate Federation has been overshadowed by the advocacy of those who only use it as a means to more pretentious ends. Seeing the whole movement thus in danger from overforcing, the leaders have deliberately removed it for a season to harden into the outer air of obscurity. Lord Rosebery has taken the initiative in this course, of which the prudence is scarcely open to question. . . . For these reasons, Lord Rosebery wisely set his face against anything having the least appearance of hasty action. With proposals for the pulling down of landmarks, or the airing of schemes, he will have nothing to do. . . . The point upon which labour may for the present be more profitably spent is not at the apex of the fabric, but at its base. It will be time enough for formulating a definite scheme of Imperial Federation when each of the countries entering into it can guarantee its own unity within itself.

SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH.

The movement for National Unity, as Mr. G. R. Parkin calls it, but Imperial Unity as I prefer to describe it, is making headway. . . . Another triumph for the League is the adoption by Lord Hartington's Committee of the recommendation for the formation of a Council of National Defence. One of the most burning questions of Imperial Unity just now is, however, the subject of fiscal arrangements. Most of the one-sided Commercial Treaties for the plunder of British Industries expire in 1892, and Canada is deeply anxious that when they are renewed the fatal mistake should not be made of committing the Colonies to the foolish bargains made by the Mother Country.

BRADFORD TELEGRAPH.

The country no doubt owes to its protracted exemption from war with a first-class Power the indifference with which the question of Imperial Federation is regarded by the politicians and the public generally. . . . It is, however, a long lane that has no turning, and the protracted exemption, gratifying as it is in one sense, ought in another to furnish strong reason for fearing that a change may take place before long. . . . In such circumstances it is clearly the duty of patriotic statesmen to do what they can to strengthen the Empire so as to make it increasingly difficult of attack. . . . At present the position is very simple. There are no ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies save those of kinship and the Crown. They contribute nothing directly to the strength of the Empire, and the outbreak of a war between England and a first-rate European Power with a navy would probably be followed by difficulties that would lead to the rupture of the slender link furnished by the latter. Now, why should that continue? It is manifest that unless efforts are made to counteract the danger it will increase. The source from which the danger springs is easily discernible. It lies in the foreign policy of the Empire. In that the Colonies have no voice. . . . That the Colonies would welcome with gladness an invitation to take upon themselves a share in the burdens of Empire there can be little doubt. . . . The obstacle will not come from the Colonies, it will come from the Mother Country, from the feeble and timorous, from those who shrink from change, who cherish out-of-date notions as to the comparative strength of organised and unorganised force, and from those who disapprove of Empire in the abstract. They will meet with powerful seconding from those who shrink from the task of endeavouring to reorganise Parliament, and who think they would rather do without the Colonials. The matter is one which the people ought to take up, for it concerns them very deeply, concerns their future comfort, ease and exemption from risks to which they are at present exposed. The work of the Federation League, at whose annual meeting Lord Rosebery presided yesterday, is one that the people ought to force upon their representatives and the Government.

NEWCASTLE DAILY CHRONICLE.

There is no movement of our time which is more deserving of the public interest and sympathy than that which is being promoted by the Imperial Federation League. The League has been holding its fifth anniversary meeting under the presidency of the Earl of Rosebery, and it is gratifying to learn from the speech of his lordship and from the annual report that the

movement is making "steady and unrelenting progress." The progress in question is not confined to the Mother Country. It is even greater in the Colonies. The Australian Federation, of which so much has been said lately, is really an outcome of the greater or Imperial movement; and though there are undoubtedly points where the two purposes may clash, there are the best of reasons for hoping that the undertakings will help each other, mutually pushing forward towards the realisation of the grand desideratum—the highest possible degree of unity for defensive purposes, and for the promotion and safe-keeping of their commercial interests between Great Britain and her Colonies. It seems, on the face of it, the most natural thing on earth that Great Britain and her Colonies should unite as much as possible, politically and commercially, for their mutual welfare—that we, as Lord Rosebery puts it, "should seek to base our Empire on a co-operative principle." We refer above to the dividing frontiers of Europe; and some will be ready to say that it is a far cry from here to Australia, the great ocean stretching between. But the ocean is the best of all road-systems—the easiest and the cheapest means of communication. It is not only that the proposed Imperial Federation is a reasonable thing. The highest interests of the English-speaking peoples who acknowledge the same central authority require that it be brought about, the sooner the safer. What is most satisfactory about the report under notice is that the Governments as well as the peoples are coming more to acknowledge how desirable and needful a thing it is to draw closer the ties which bind England and her Colonies together.

TWO REVIEW ARTICLES.

"PROBLEMS OF GREATER BRITAIN" continues to afford material for reviews and articles in the periodical press. There is abundance of material, and we hope it will be a long time yet before writers begin to consider the mine worked out. In *Murray's Magazine* for June, Admiral Colomb criticises Sir Charles Dilke's views on Imperial Defence from a naval point of view. He contends that Sir Charles Dilke has not grasped the problem of naval defence of the Empire, and that in consequence the Colonies are led to believe that the Imperial shield is worth less to them than it really is—a belief naturally making for separation. The future of the Empire, says the Admiral, hangs more just now on the aspects of Imperial Defence than on any other national element. "Problems of Greater Britain" shows the Colonial mind balancing itself between the risks and the advantages of the Imperial connection in case of war, which is regarded as more likely to spring out of the needs or entanglements of the United Kingdom than out of those of any Colony where the subject is discussed. "If the risk to the Colony in such a war is believed to be greater than the Imperial power to avert it, we have the growth of anti-Imperial feeling directly, and a swing of the balance towards separation. If, on the other hand, there is faith in the Imperial shield, the Colonists begin to consider that the direct relations into which separation would throw them with powerful and not very scrupulous States might lead to disputes followed by wars, in which the separated Colonies could not possibly be winners." And the drift of the article is to show that, whereas Sir Charles Dilke looks at the defence of Canada or of Australia alike as local or territorial matters, as though an attack by the United States on Canada and by any other Power on Australia would proceed on parallel lines, the conditions are widely different, inasmuch as the defence of Australia lies, strategically, in European waters and in the China Seas—where the enemy must assemble in preparation for any design upon that continent. With Canadian defence against attack from the neighbouring Republic, the writer does not deal, that being a military, not a naval question. But with regard to the defence of any part of the Empire against attack by sea, the aim of Admiral Colomb's article is to show that so long as the British navy retains in war even a doubtful or disputed command of the sea, no European enemy could venture to make a serious attack upon the Colonies; whereas, if the Colonies stood alone, and their possible enemies were not thus held in check by fear of a superior navy holding the sea, there would be nothing to prevent a foreign Power from despatching a large expeditionary force across open oceans and establishing a local base, as, for instance, in Tasmania, without fear of being cut off on the voyage or followed and attacked in their new base, and so having the Colonies at their mercy. These are truths which the best minds in the Colonies perhaps recognise; but their recognition is not as widely spread as it might be.

The opening paper in the June number of the *National Review* contains an able review of Sir Charles Dilke's book by Mr. W. J. Courthorpe. On the question of future relations the reviewer says:—"Many of those who, like myself, hold that Imperial Federation should at least be the aim of all those who seek for the maintenance of the British Empire, will agree with Sir Charles Dilke in thinking that the particular form under which Federation would be possible has not yet been defined." For himself, he expresses the belief that the first stage on the

road will be reached as soon as the Empire generally, and more particularly the Mother Country, recognises the advantages that may be secured from an Imperial Customs tariff. He considers it probable that if any well-organised body of Colonial opinion were to attempt to co-operate with opinion in the Mother Country, for promoting a scheme of commercial reciprocity, it would approach its task under favourable conditions; and he points to the Hofmeyr scheme and the Imperial Reciprocity movement in Canada as disclosing the elements of such an organisation as existing in the Colonies. Turning to Imperial Defence and his author's proposal of a General Staff, Mr. Courthorpe fastens upon Sir Charles Dilke's hint about an increase in the power of the Crown as pointing to the only possible solution of the problem. The article concludes with a piece of sound advice. Every man who values the integrity of the British Empire, says the writer, should proceed in the same spirit as Sir Charles Dilke, and in the first place make himself master of the Imperial elements in the problem. The real task before us, he considers, is "to get every British subject to rise to the height of the idea embodied in the favourite phrase of the Duke of Wellington, the *Society of the British Empire*. . . . Fortunately for the future of England there are indications that the nobler minds among the statesmen of both our great parties are ready to lead their followers along this more excellent way."

THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS ON FEDERATION.

THE *Sydney Morning Herald* in a leading article on Sir Henry Parkes' speech introducing the Federation Resolutions in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, writes:—"To the statement that the movement was premature he replied that there were only two modern examples that could be quoted—the United States and Canada—and that in both cases the communities when they federated were numerically weaker than the Australian Colonies are at the present time. In those countries the population at the time of federation was three millions odd, while no one could doubt that the population of Australia, when the census was taken next year, would be fully 4,000,000. So that in population, which may be regarded as the main element of public life, our status is superior to that of the United States and the Canadian Colonies when they federated. The argument that the Australian Colonies are not ripe for federation because they are not sufficiently populous is perhaps the weakest that could be used. It might be argued very strongly on the other side that the obstacles to federation are likely to increase with the growth of population. It would be difficult to lay down a rule as to the population that the Colonies should possess before they could be regarded as being in a position to federate. The subject is to be looked at from a practical common-sense point of view, and the Premier brought down the applause of the House when he said that if 4,000,000 English-speaking people are not ripe for federal life, it becomes the duty of those who hold that view to point to the time when they will be ripe. . . . The concluding portion of the Premier's address was a powerful argument in favour of federation. He showed that union was desirable, not only because it would cause the credit of the Australian Colonies to stand higher, but because it would enable us the better to resist a possible Asiatic invasion, and the better to assert our claim to be heard with regard to the disposition of the South Sea Islands. As to the control exercised by the Colonies over Australian territory, he called attention to the fact that while there was a coast line of over 8,000 miles, New South Wales had control of only 800 miles, while Victoria only had control of 600 miles, so that there were 7,400 miles completely outside her jurisdiction. Taking these and other points as his text, the Premier brought forward a powerful array of argument to show that it is in union that the Australian Colonies must look for strength, and that the sooner union is sought for the sooner it is likely to be obtained. This portion of the address was listened to with great attention, and the House showed by the applause that broke out when the Premier resumed his seat that the words had not missed their aim."

The *Melbourne Argus* treats chiefly of the exclusion of the leader of the Opposition. It says:—"Fortune favours Sir Henry Parkes throughout the Federal movement. Owing to the early meeting of the New South Wales Parliament, he has the opportunity of taking the lead in the appointment of delegates to the Convention which is to sit next January, and it may be said that no one grudges him this opportunity. All politicians are content that the Mother Colony should, as far as possible, be in the van, if only that her *amour propre* may not be wounded, and that her support may be secured. The regret is that Sir Henry Parkes has not turned his great chance to the best possible account. His speech on introducing the resolution for the appointment of delegates is described as worthy of the occasion, but that does not alter the fact that in action the Premier of New South Wales did not rise to the level of the momentous event. All his oratory is marred by the circumstance that he excludes from his list of delegates the recognised leader of the Opposition, and thus makes manifest

a personal and party bias, and does much to render impossible the unanimity in the New South Wales Legislature that was desired. . . . The excuse made in Sydney is that Mr. Dibbs has before now pronounced against federation. But if Mr. Dibbs is really hostile to the cause, we presume that he would decline a nomination, and then there would be no more to be said. If he means to fight the battle of the provincialist to the last ditch, he would refuse, as a matter of course, to have anything to do with the Convention, but so far it is not alleged by Sir Henry Parkes or his friends that this is his attitude.

. . . Sir Henry Parkes has put Protectionist members on his list, but Mr. Dibbs is the acknowledged leader of the Protectionists of New South Wales, and his presence on the Convention should be invited in order that the group in question may be officially a party to the proceedings. If he declined to act, well and good. The onus would lie with him."

After animadverting strongly upon the exclusion of Mr. Dibbs, the *Melbourne Age* says:—"Sir Henry Parkes, however, in bringing forward these resolutions, has made a still more serious blunder than the ignoring of a personal opponent. In a very significant way he speaks of four Colonies as being primarily concerned in the movement, namely, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and Tasmania. The omission of South Australia from the list has roused a feeling of indignation in that Colony, and very naturally so. Sir Henry Parkes, if not by direct assertion, at least by scarcely concealed innuendo, implies that South Australia is not in favour of federation, and is inclined to hold aloof altogether from the movement. In suggesting such a notion, he deliberately banishes from memory the fact that the delegates from Adelaide at the Melbourne Conference did actually pass their votes in favour of a declaration that "the best interests and the present and future prosperity of the Australian Colonies will be promoted by an early union under the Crown." In view of this, it is grossly unfair on the part of Sir Henry Parkes to suggest that South Australia is standing out from the federal movement, and refusing her co-operation; and it is not to be wondered at that the Adelaide press has promptly flung back the insulting and misleading statement in the face of its originator. Moreover, during the recent general election in South Australia, Mr. Playford, who now holds the chief position of political influence in the Colony, went straight for federation, another fact which Sir Henry Parkes has chosen to ignore."

Upon this point in the speech of the New South Wales Premier the *South Australian Register* writes:—"There is not the remotest probability of a union being formed without South Australia, and that for the simple reason that South Australia cannot afford to submit to such an arrangement. Not even the most ardent advocate of provincial protection could regard with complacency the prospect of isolation so complete and so disastrous. It may be all very well to stand out against Federation when the alternative is segregation as it now exists, but for one Colony—and that Colony South Australia, which is so situated as to be able naturally to command the trade of large portions of the neighbouring provinces—to sacrifice a great part of her trade in order that she may continue to play a lone hand is quite a different thing. Whenever a Federal Union on the basis of intercolonial free trade is established, South Australia must be in it, or, like the foolish dog in the fable, be content to give up the substance for the shadow."

REVIEWS.

History of the Dominion of Canada. By the Rev. William Parr Greswell, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.

THIS scholarly volume, published in the Clarendon Press series and issued under the auspices of the Royal Colonial Institute, is, we understand, one of the first productions brought out under the system recently inaugurated by the council of the institute to which we referred not long ago; and that body is to be congratulated on its share in introducing to the public so excellent a work. We trust future productions under the same auspices may maintain the high standard here set. Mr. Greswell, who has had the advantage of a residence in South Africa, which gives him an outside standpoint and a special measure of comparison in the study of Canadian politics, regards the Dominion as a great example and precedent of a fully developed type of Colonial life, and as affording a successful solution of the problem of Federalism under the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain. He takes too a thoroughly Imperial view, and insists upon the need of mutual knowledge and sympathy between all parts of the great Colonial Empire. Reciprocity of knowledge, he truly says, between England and her self-governing Colonies and between the groups themselves, must be a prelude to any other kind of closer union that may be contemplated. In his general views of British Colonial history the author follows Professor Seeley, and quoting the immortal peroration of Burke's historical speech on "Conciliation with America," skilfully applies the moral, and points to the Canadian Confederation as the great political act which carried into actual effect the burning

words of Burke. History has belied, and will still belie the prediction that England would be but a trustee of North America, commissioned to transfer it from France to a new nation. "The Victory of Wolfe carried with it the seeds of other and greater events."

It is not our province here, as we often have to remind readers—and authors too, who might feel that they were not receiving adequate recognition—to review books otherwise than in their bearing on our own special subject. If that were not so it would be a congenial task to refer to much that is deserving of high praise in the body of the volume before us. It must suffice to say that it is full of interest, pithy, and concise, and as a clear and readable history of the political growth of Canada, we cordially recommend it to our readers.

To return to the author's views on the Imperial question. He has a high opinion of the value of the Canadian Privy Council, the retention of which in the Constitution he characterises as a wise and far-reaching policy, possibly containing within itself the germ of a great Federal Council of the Empire. Without going further into particulars of the future bond which is to keep the Empire one, our author yet displays a grand and spacious conception of Imperial development. Berkeley's "Transatlantic Ideal," he says, or something like it, has been always before England, and upon such lines she has worked, in a blundering, awkward, but still on the whole, righteous fashion. Throughout all political changes there has lurked deep down in the British Colonists' hearts, the steadfast and ineradicable idea that they were carrying the British flag abroad as "worthy and equal co-partners of Britons at home." They have always striven to assert the equality and as a consequence the liberty of Colonial life. "And so we are led up to the true idea of Imperial Federation—an idea which is based upon the worthiness and capacity of all British Colonists to govern, not simply themselves in each case, but an Empire, spread everywhere over the globe in conjunction with the present British Parliament. As they must be co-heirs of the heritage, so, while they keep the link unbroken and bear their fair share of the common burden, they may be co-administrators." That is a worthy statement of the case; and again, in almost the closing lines of his recapitulation we find the following eloquent passage, with the quotation of which we may fitly conclude this notice:—"In those regions of the globe English Colonies are rapidly rising into prominence as great nations. Canada has led the way to political stability by Colonial Confederation, Australasia and South Africa will probably soon follow. Those who regard the greater destinies and grander mission of the British race, who claim for England an ampler sphere than she has hitherto held, must look forward to the day when by virtue of some political tie, through some representative and Amphictyonic Council Chamber at the central shrine at Westminster, the voice of the Empire will be heard by millions of free citizens in the four quarters of the world."

AUSTRALIAN NATIVES' ASSOCIATION.

FILES of Australian papers reaching us since our last issue bring reports of a further pronouncement by Mr. Purves, showing that we were not going too far in claiming him as a new ally. The opening address of the new president, Mr. Wheel, also comes to hand, and is equally satisfactory, as we shall see directly. Mr. Purves delivered a lecture at a literary association in Melbourne dealing with the aims and objects of the Australian Natives' Association. He said many people regarded it as a danger to the community, and had regarded him for the past two years, and his successor, Mr. Wheel, the present president of the Australian Natives' Association, as a sort of Guy Fawkes, who had been stirring up within the secret recesses of his own and his young friends' hearts some idea that the rule of Great Britain was not good enough for young Australia; that they had decided to separate themselves from the old country and start a Dominion or Republic, or some other high-sounding institution for the government of the Australian Colonies. Those who thought or believed so were very much mistaken. (Hear, hear.) Certain leaders of public thought in this and the other Colonies had declared that those were their ulterior intentions, but as a matter of fact nothing was further from the wishes of those who founded the Australian Natives' Association. (Applause.) So far as he knew, the Association was as loyal, and its leaders as honest patriots, as could be found amongst those who professed to be the only ones attached to the British throne. (Applause.) The members of the Association regarded themselves as an integral portion of the British Empire—(applause)—but they could not avoid looking forward to the time when it would be impossible for the present bond of union to be maintained. Although "the crimson thread of friendship" existed, it would be wiped out unless some change in the form of their connection with the Mother Country was instituted. He desired to draw an analogy between the Australian Colonies and the United States of America. The latter stood at the very front of civilisation, and was the most peaceful and wealthiest state on the face of the earth. (Applause.) It sprang from a collection of disunited Colonies, such as those that composed the

Australasian group. They were just as much attached to the Mother Country as were the Colonies of Australia, but were driven by oppression to the independence which they enjoyed at the present moment. (Applause.) Their homes they had founded just as the pioneers had founded homes in Australia, and those homes were just as dear to them as were the homes of those English statesmen and English soldiers who sought to crush out the spirit of independence which was within them, because those very ties which bound them to the Mother Country had been so diminished in size by the ignorant rulers of the Mother Country, by seeking to impose obligations on them which were not fair or just. Those ties had been so drivelled out and so perished by those ill-judged efforts of rulers at a great distance, that when the test came those ties were snapped. One of the objects of the Association was to so mould public opinion in these Colonies that when the test comes—as it must come in the history of nations—and that when the interest of the Mother Country becomes at variance with the interest of these Colonies and when English rulers and English statesmen put forward untenable claims upon these Colonies, they would be so able to grasp with toleration and patience the position which would be forced upon them, as to prevent themselves being driven into rebellion against the Mother Country, as was the case with the Colony of Virginia in the olden days. (Applause.) The Association was endeavouring to level up the public mind to such a height that mere passion and prejudice would not be allowed to destroy the relations of these Colonies with the Mother Country, from which they had sprung. . . . In conclusion he trusted in the fulness of time to see an Australian nation spring into existence that would proudly bear up all the memories from which they had sprung, and would in days of peace and prosperity claim its right to stand side by side with the noblest nation in the world—the highest, noblest, bravest, and the best—the British nation, to which they were all proud to bear allegiance. (Applause.)

Not long after the delivery of Mr. Purves' lecture, the incoming president, Mr. D. J. Wheal, delivered an address on the occasion of a "visitation" of the Daylesford Branch, in the course of which the following passages occur. One of the great objects of the Association, he said, was to build up a feeling of Australian Unity, which meant the Federation of the Australian States into one nation. They were all acquainted with the watchword of the Association—Federation—and the Federation flag, he must say, had been waved in season and out of season. The Association was a necessary organisation to bring about the Federation of the Colonies, and there could be no contravention of the argument that Australia as a nation would have more power, and would be able to do more good than as disintegrated states. Great credit was due to the Association for the way in which the question of Federation had been kept to the fore, and although there were possible difficulties in the way of Australian Federation, there was not one which could not be overcome. . . . The Association held a thorough loyalty to the land of their forefathers, despite the charges that had been made against it from the point of separation. He had heard stronger and more emphatic separatist views expressed by old Colonists than he had ever heard from members of the Association, and had always found unbounded loyalty to Great Britain. (Cheers.) The meetings of the Association were open to all who liked to come, and while this was the case, could it be reasonably said that they were an association formed for the purpose of sowing the seeds of dissension and treason. Surely, while they invited everybody and welcomed them, while their discussions were public and free to be reported, they should be above the suspicion of being guilty of some of the charges levelled against them. (Applause.) In a recent number of the *Spectator* he had read an article which was of far more a separatist character than anything that had been said by the most radical member of the Association, it being held that the separation would be more advantageous to Great Britain. With the liberty the Colonies possessed, the belief of the leaders of the Australian Natives' Association was that the connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country would be maintained as long as she would permit it, and as long as the Colonies were not hampered and treated unfairly in the determined stands that would be taken to keep adjoining lands free from being overrun by the scum of Europe.

Among subsequent speakers, Dr. Maloney, M.L.A. said that for his part he believed Federation would shortly be an accomplished fact, but while they were going in for Australian Federation, why not go in for a Federation of the whole of the English-speaking people of the world. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. J. Peacock, M.L.A., expressed the opinion that if left to the provincial or local Parliaments, they would never have Federation. Unless people rose up in their might, he believed that the local Parliaments would always raise up such difficulties as the extraordinary one over the waters of the Murray. The power was with the people, and they must exercise it for Federation. . . . He really believed that, with the imaginary obstacles that were being raised up, unless the people of the Colonies took the matter in hand themselves, Federation would still only be talked of as a possibility, even

unto the next generation. They all remembered the old song of Mr. Vincent Pyke's, written while he was in Victoria, and the sentiments of that song were the sentiments he (the speaker) wished to be the sentiments of every true Australian. Mr. Pyke, in his song, said:—

"Only a bit of bunting,
Only a tattered rag,
But we'll fight to the death as our fathers fought
For the grand old British flag."

CANADA AND ENGLAND.

QUEBEC CHRONICLE.

AMONG the most instructive papers presented at the last general meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, was the series by Dr. J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., on subjects which he is especially well able to discuss. In his *Studies of Comparative Politics* he made comparisons between the institutions of Canada and those of England, the United States, and Switzerland, which are worthy of the serious thought of the political student and the statesman. The first paper was particularly interesting, since it showed in terse language the remarkable influence of English government and English institutions on the development of all sections of the Dominion. His conclusions were based on historical data which were stated with an absence of all pedantry, though illustrating the thoroughness of the study he has been giving to questions so intimately affecting our national life. Professor Freeman, in a review of one of Dr. Bourinot's works, has said with much force that "Canada, very far from purely English in blood and speech, is pre-eminently English in the development of its political institutions." While recognising the fact that "there is a distinct and visible element which is not English—an element which is older than anything else in the land," the eminent English historian at the same time sees that "the political constitution of Canada is yet more English than that of the United States." It is assuredly the influence and operation of English political institutions, which have, in a large measure, made French as well as English Canada one of the most contented and prosperous communities in the world. It is "the political constitution which derives its strength from English principles, which has made this section of Canada a free and self-governing community, and given full scope to its civil and local rights." In its political development "French Canada has been and is as essentially English as the purely English sections of the Dominion." It is, as Dr. Bourinot has so clearly and eloquently pointed out in a paper which we hope to see printed ere long in full, "to English institutions that all the Provinces must continue to owe their prosperity and happiness as integral parts of the Dominion." The French-Canadian has worked in harmony with the English-Canadian to build up a nation on those principles of English constitutional government which, as applied in connection with a federal system, seem admirably adapted to give strength and vitality to a people. Under no other system of government, would it be possible to harmonise the antagonistic elements of race, religion, and language which exist in Canada. In conclusion, he quotes the suggestive words of an eminent constitutional writer who has laid down a doctrine which commends itself to every student of institutions as replete with practical wisdom and statesmanlike foresight and which can be well applied to a country like our own, composed of a number of Provinces, having diverse interests and nationalities to unify and harmonise. "We have been given English institutions," said the late Professor Hearn, "but the gift is worthless unless we care to use it in the spirit in which it has been bestowed. English institutions must be worked by Englishmen in the English way. That way implies 'mutual respect, mutual forbearance,' a readiness to concede what is not material, tenacity in holding fast that which is good; in one word, an honest and loyal desire to promote the public benefit, and to secure to every man his just rights, and neither less nor more than those rights. Such is the course that our own fathers have pursued, it is thus that England has grown to greatness; such, if we wish to obtain the like results, is the course that we too must follow."

Is it possible to weld all these scattered possessions into a single Empire, and if so, how is it to be done? Of its desirability there is no question. We are all agreed upon that. . . . The suggestion of holding periodical conferences is a good one, because if there is a genuine and general desire for Imperial Federation these conferences will give our Colonists and ourselves an opportunity of seeing how the object is to be brought about, how the difficulties are to be conquered.—*Yorkshire Daily Post*.

A Financial Journal.—Mr. David MacLaren Morrison has sent in an article (No. 3, reprinted from the *Indian Empire*) on the subject of Imperial Federation, in which he points out that the *The Bullionist* as a financial, and not a political journal, has recognised the importance of the subject, and has recommended its readers to study the articles on Imperial Federation with the care which they deserve from all those who are concerned in the solidification and development of the British Empire.—*The Bullionist*.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

UPON Sir Thomas Campbell's evidence on the Western Australia Bill being telegraphed in summary to Melbourne, the *Argus* wrote upon it in the following terms:—The evidence given by Sir Thomas Campbell before the select committee of the House of Commons on the Western Australian Constitution Bill is said to have surprised the members of that body, and it will create also some astonishment here. . . . The opening remark that the eastern Colonies attach more importance to the sentiments of the forty thousand people who live in Western Australia than to those of the forty millions of people who constitute Great Britain, may be correct in one sense, but it puts us in rather a false position. It is by no means a happy statement of the case. Our view rather is that the three millions of Colonists in Australia understand the case far better than the handful of gentlemen who have agitated and argued against the Western Australia Bill, displaying their lack of knowledge at almost every step. Our desire is to enlighten these gentlemen, or, if that is impossible, to put the truth before the English public, which we know, when once informed, will be willing to take the right course. Not the slightest desire exists here to needlessly flout British opinion, and we recognise that it is by no means unnatural that there should be some hesitation in transferring a territory a third of the size of Europe to a people who barely constitute a London parish or a Melbourne suburb. . . . That the eastern Colonies are altogether with Western Australia in her hopes and aspirations is perfectly true, but the desire here is to educate English opinion rather than to defy it. . . .

There is some mistake, we should hope, about the allegation attributed to Sir Thomas Campbell, that an English fortification of King George's Sound would be a standing menace to the Colonies. How would an English occupation of the Sound for defence purposes menace the Colonies? The fact is that the eastern Colonies long endeavoured to induce the Imperial Government to fortify the Sound, as England fortifies the Cape, and as she fortifies other important stations on the ocean routes of the world, and we have now somewhat reluctantly consented to a compromise by which the responsibility and burden is divided. The British Government declines to undertake the defence of Albany, but if England were willing we should no more regard her action as a "menace" than we regard the British fleet on our coast as a veiled danger to our ports. There we know lies our safety. While that navy floats, Australia as a whole is secure.

The other statement attributed to Sir Thomas Campbell is bombastic. We are sure that not a military or a naval expert of any weight in the Colonies would endorse his view that a united Australia could protect Western Australia from invasion by one of the great Powers of Europe. Possibly the eastern Colonies could protect themselves. It is certain that they would make a gallant stand, and that a great force would be required to overwhelm them. An invasion of the eastern Colonies is most unlikely, but given an independent Australia, and few things are more possible than that the Italians, the French, or the Germans, would desire to effect settlements on the unoccupied portion of northern Western Australia—those parts which they would say we had left not only unoccupied but unexplored. And how could we hope, for years to come, to eject such a settlement? We should have to conduct, not a defensive war, where we should be strong, but we should have to wage what, so far as military operations are concerned, would be an offensive war, two thousand miles away from our basis, and in such a struggle we should be weak. . . . To-day there is a widespread desire on the part of European nations to acquire unoccupied territory, and consequently Australia, if she stood alone, would possibly be the scene of some foreign settlement in those of her districts which European jurists might at once declare to be open to all. This is a possibility which must be patent to all who speculate honestly on the course which events might take under separatist conditions. The desire of the nations is well known. The doctrine of their jurists has been published for the benefit of the world. Hence it is clear that our much prized, our invaluable Australian unity is preserved to-day, and will be for many a day to come, by the existence of the Imperial Navy, which happily could now far more readily shatter any unfriendly expedition in outside waters than Nelson could destroy the French fleet in the Bay of Aboukir. This overpowering consideration is a reason in itself for pronouncing any idea of the Colonies standing apart from England as a crime against Australia."

Another step in the direction of Imperial Federation has been taken in the introduction of postal cards between the home country and this.—*Diamond Fields Advertiser* (Kimberley, South Africa).

The question of Separation is not even seriously discussed here at all, and would probably have remained unmentioned but for the Imperial Federationists, who are not content to leave the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country as they are. These Colonies have prospered under the protection of the British flag, which has at least secured to them freedom from foreign interference.—*Melbourne Age*.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request. The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

CANTERBURY (NEW ZEALAND) BRANCH.—A meeting of the Committee was held on the 21st April, when there was a good attendance. The Secretary read a letter which he had received from the Secretary of the League in London, and the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That the establishment of periodical conferences of representatives of the self-governing communities of the Empire should be one of the first steps towards promoting the objects of the Imperial Federation League." Correspondence was also read from the Secretary of the League in Canada, and it was decided to deal with it at the Annual Meeting in June. The Secretary was requested to arrange to have short papers read on "Trade with Canada" and "Australian Federation." The Annual Reports of the League in Canada and of the Toronto Branch of said League were laid on the table. The Hon. Treasurer presented the balance sheet, which was adopted. The meeting then adjourned.

HAMILTON, ONTARIO.—The Rev. D. V. Lucas delivered an address in this town on "The British Empire." After dealing with his subject at large, the speaker continued, "It has often been said, when the subject of Imperial Federation has been broached, that it is a glorious dream which can never be realised. But glorious dreams have been realised before in Britain's history, and they can be realised again. Things which looked to be impossibilities to our forefathers have been realised. At one time all the maritime provinces refused to enter confederation, but now all but one have cast in their lot. It was once considered to be an impracticability to build a railway across the Canadian portion of the continent, from ocean to ocean, but now it stands an accomplished fact." The speaker concluded his address by pointing out a number of ways in which Imperial Federation would be of advantage to Canada.

LONDON—KENSINGTON.—At the annual meeting of the Primrose League in this district held in May, Mr. Faithfull Begg delivered an interesting speech on the subject of Imperial Federation.

LEEDS.—Major Henry C. Dane, an eloquent American lecturer, who has lately travelled through Australasia, delivered a lecture in Leeds on June 5th, on "Australia the Land of Promise." Sir George Morrison (town clerk) presided, and in introducing Major Dane said that the subject upon which the lecturer was about to address them was one which must be of vast interest to all who took a pride in the British Empire. There could be no doubt that Australia, the largest island on the face of the globe, had enormous possibilities before it. He sometimes thought that we were a little too insular in our feelings in this country, and that we did not take sufficient interest in those great dependencies which, like ourselves, owned the sway of our gracious Sovereign. Lately a great deal had been said about Imperial Federation, and both parties recognised the fact that Federation would soon come within the scope of practical politics. He believed that the more we learnt about the Colonies the more should we desire that Imperial Federation should be brought about and that the time should come when there would be welded together all the Anglo-Saxon races who are subjects of the Queen. There was a vast amount of ignorance on the subject of the distant dependencies of Great Britain, and that ignorance ought to be removed.—Major Dane drew a bright picture of the future of Australia, still joined in affection to the Mother Country, and developing her immense resources. He said that he believed in the future of Australia; but before great results were obtained Australia needed Federation. (Applause.) If Australia remained as she was now he did not believe it was possible for her to reach the degree and greatness which belonged to her by right in the future. If she remained split up as at present there might come conditions, when she had a population of 20,000,000 or 25,000,000, which would reduce her to a state not unlike that of the countries in South America. Australia must be great or nothing. There was no middle ground for Australia, owing largely to her isolated position. There was no reason for separation from the Mother Country. There was nothing to be gained by separation, and much to be lost, and he was no friend of Australia who attempted to create a feeling between her and the Mother Land. (Cheers.)

MORLEY.—At a meeting held on May 16th of the Morley Chamber of Commerce some conversation took place on the formation of a branch of the Imperial Federation League, after which it was resolved that the president and secretary issue circulars to all members of the Chamber asking them to join the Imperial Federation League in London, as it was not advisable to form a branch in Morley.

OXFORD UNION SOCIETY.—Towards the end of May there was a debate at the Oxford Union Society upon a strong motion favouring the creation of a federal tie between Great Britain and her Colonies. Mr. G. R. Parkin was present by special invitation, and spoke. The motion was carried by a large majority.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THURSDAY, JUNE 19TH, 1890, at NOON.—SIR RAWSON RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The monthly report of the Secretary was received, and it was ordered thereon that the address of Principal Grant at Winnipeg should be printed for the use of the League.

A letter having been read from the Secretary of the League in Canada advocating the adoption by the League of a badge to be worn by its members, it was proposed by Sir John Colomb, and seconded by Sir Frederick Young that the recommendation of the League in Canada be adopted subject to approval by the Council.

The Secretary was instructed to procure designs and estimates and to submit them to a sub-committee for report.

A letter from Mr. W. T. Stead regarding his memorial to the Queen, in favour of "A Penny Post for the English Speaking World" was read.

The Secretary reported the action of the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom with reference to the resolutions of the Committee upon British Empire Postage.

Correspondence from the Leagues in Canada, Victoria and New Zealand was read.

The following appointments were made :—

To be a member of the Council of the League :—Lord Hamilton of Dalziel—proposed by the Earl of Rosebery, seconded by Sir Frederick Young.

To be members of the Executive Committee :—Lieut-General Laurie, M.P. (Nova Scotia), appointed by the League in Canada—Mr. Talbot Baines (Leeds), proposed by Sir John Colomb, seconded by Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

MAY 8—JUNE 19.

MAY 8.

In the House of Commons—

DOCKS AT GIBRALTAR AND BOMBAY.

In answer to ADMIRAL MAYNE,

LORD G. HAMILTON said : A small committee are now considering various questions in connection with the construction of a dock at Gibraltar, and I hope that before the close of the financial year the work may be in hand. The question of the construction of a dock at Bombay out of Imperial funds has been postponed for the present, owing to the extraordinary demands upon the Exchequer in respect of other works of urgent importance. I am, however, glad to add that a dock is in course of construction by the Port Trust, which will be 500 feet in length, and capable of accommodating any but the largest ironclads.

THE COLONIAL POSTAGE RATE.

MR. SUMMERS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what would be the estimated loss to the revenue if the reduction of the postage rates to India and the British Colonies was from 5d. and 6d. to 1d., instead of 2½d. as proposed by him.

MR. RAIKES, who replied on behalf of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said : The loss to the Imperial revenue by reducing the postage on letters to India and the Colonies to 1d. instead of 2½d. as proposed, is estimated at £180,000 a year; and that loss, I may add, would be in addition to the loss which is at present sustained by the expenditure on ocean mail services, being already very largely in excess of the postage rates charged to the public.

THE PROFIT ON THE POSTAL SERVICE.

MR. SUMMERS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he could inform the House what was the net profit to the country of the postal services, and what proportion of this profit was due to the home postal service, and what to the foreign and Colonial.

MR. RAIKES, who replied, said : The net profit to the country upon the Post Office for the year 1888-89 was £3,039,874, as given in the appendix Q, page 61, of the Postmaster-General's Report, 1889. It cannot be stated precisely what proportion of this profit is due to the home postal service, and what to the foreign and Colonial services, but from a return which I have before me I find that the estimated present Imperial loss on the Colonial sea services amounts to about £254,000 a year, and this loss is independent and apart from the loss on foreign mail services, on which I have no precise information.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

In answer to SIR G. CAMPBELL,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said : The representatives of the Newfoundland Government have not yet started for this country, and will probably not do so until after the close of the Colonial Legislature, some time in the course of this month. No delay is occurring in consequence of other delegates having gone to Ottawa.

THE WEST AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION BILL.

In answer to MR. J. MORLEY and MR. WATT,

MR. W. H. SMITH said : In answer to the question of the right hon. member for Newcastle, and of the hon. member for Glasgow, I have to say that we are anxious to proceed rapidly with the Western Australia Constitution Bill, but looking to the other business of a pressing character before the House, I am not able to name a day. In reply to the question whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared to accept the report of the Select Committee, I have to state that we will not seek to re-introduce Clause 4, by which the northern territory was reserved. We undertook that the question should be thoroughly threshed out by a Select Committee. A strong Committee was therefore appointed, and after hearing evidence it was agreed, without a division, that the clause should be omitted. As to Clause 8, which provides that any Bill imposing restrictions on emigration of British subjects must be reserved for signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, Her Majesty's Government, looking to the fact that the omission of the clause was only carried in the Committee by a majority of two, think it would be well, in deference to a feeling which has been strongly expressed here, that this clause should be re-introduced. At the same time they do not believe that the Colonial Legislature will seek to impose any restriction upon emigration from this country. (Hear, hear.)

MAY 12.

In the House of Commons—

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POSTAL SERVICE.

In answer to SIR J. SWINBURNE, MR. RAIKES said : The loss of £254,000 per annum referred to in my recent answer to the hon. member for Huddersfield is upon the Colonial packet service only, not upon the foreign and Colonial postal services combined. Of that loss £167,000 relates to the East and West Indian packet services. Prior to the year 1860-61, the whole cost of the packet service was charged to the Admiralty, and consequently any loss that was then incurred for sea conveyance fell upon the Admiralty.

THE POSTAL SERVICE TO AUSTRALIA AND INDIA.

In answer to MR. SUMMERS,

MR. RAIKES said there was at present an estimated loss of £78,000 a year upon the postal service from this country to Australia.

In reply to a further question from MR. SUMMERS,

MR. RAIKES said : The additional loss over and above that now incurred, which will result from reducing the postage on letters sent from this country to India and Australia to 2½d., is estimated at £88,400 a year. A further loss of £42,000 a year would be the result of making the rate 1d. instead of 2½d. And a still further loss of £50,000 would follow a reduction of postage rates to all the Colonies and India to 1d. The hon. member will see that the total of these reductions, by bringing the rate down to 1d. generally, would come to £180,400.

MAY 15.

In the House of Commons—

UNIVERSAL PENNY POSTAGE.

MR. SUMMERS asked the Postmaster-General what was the estimated loss of revenue to this country that would result from the establishment of a universal penny postage.

MR. RAIKES : Over and above the present loss on the foreign and Colonial mail services maintained by this country, which is estimated at about £293,000 a year, the further loss which would accrue to the Imperial revenue from the establishment of a universal penny postage rate for letters would probably be upwards of £400,000 a year.

MAY 22.

In the House of Commons—

AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE.

MR. BARTLEY asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether, under Article 9 of the Australasian agreement as to the completion for sea of certain men-of-war, it was provided that "this agreement shall be considered to become actually binding between the Imperial and the several Colonial Governments so soon as the Colonial Legislatures shall have passed Acts appropriating the necessary funds;" and whether all, or which, of the Colonial Governments concerned had passed such Acts.

BARON H. DE WORMS : My hon. friend has correctly interpreted the terms of the article in question. All the Colonial Governments concerned—Queensland excepted—have passed the necessary Acts.

MAY 23.

In the House of Commons—

THE BEHRING SEA FISHERIES.

MR. A. S. HILL asked whether, in view of the telegraphic news to the effect that the American Government had sent a cruiser to the Behring Sea, any orders had been given for one of Her Majesty's cruisers to go to the Behring Sea to protect British vessels carrying on a legal trade.

SIR J. FERGUSSON could only say that communications on this subject were still proceeding, and he could not make any further statement upon it.

MR. A. S. HILL said he should bring the matter forward on the motion for the adjournment. (Hear, hear.)

JUNE 2.

In the House of Commons—

On the vote for the Colonial services,

HELGOLAND.

SIR G. CAMPBELL moved to reduce the vote by the sum of £1,275 for the salary and the establishment of the Governor of Heligoland, contending that we had no interest in retaining the island, which could only be regarded as a summer bathing-place for a few Germans, and was in winter so desolate a place that it furnished an unusual proportion of suicides.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that the hon. baronet did not say to whom Heligoland was to be given up. If the fact that the island was very near the German coast were sufficient argument for its relinquishment, the Channel Islands would have to be surrendered to France, and Gibraltar to Spain.

COLONEL NOLAN said that no doubt some day Heligoland ought to be given up, but he did not think it ought to be given up now. We ought to get something for it from Germany in South Africa or elsewhere. It certainly was a place of some strategical importance.

The Committee divided, and the numbers were—

For the reduction	...	...	...	...	...	...	27
Against...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150
Majority...	...	...	...	...	...	...	123

THE BAHAMAS.

MR. HANBURY, who had a notice on the paper to move the reduction of the salary of the Governor of the Bahamas from £1,000 to £500, said he should not move the reduction if he obtained satisfactory answers to two questions which he wished to put to the Government—first, on what principle the payment of the vote was divided between the Colony and the Imperial Government; and, secondly, why it was necessary that there should be any governor of the Bahamas at all. (Hear, hear.) Looking through the list of the various West India Islands he found there were no fewer than ten governors drawing upwards of £30,000 a year, and that the population of the islands was only about a million and a half. The time had come when the Colonial Office should consider whether the number of governors might not be considerably reduced by consolidation, at any rate to two or three. (Hear, hear.)

BARON H. DE WORMS said the revenue of the Colony was not sufficient to pay the whole of the salary of the governor, and the amount was supplemented by the Imperial Government. As to whether it was possible to limit the number of governors for all those possessions to two or three, that was such a large and important question that he could not be expected to answer it off-hand.

MR. LABOUCHERE said the first thing for a Colony to do was to pay its way; if it did not, let the Government get rid of it. They wanted Colonies

that were a benefit to the country, and not wretched little places that were only a cost to it. (Hear, hear.)

SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. CONYDEARE asked for information with regard to the Delagoa Bay question.

SIR G. CAMPRELL moved to reduce the vote by the sum of £100—a part of the salary of the High Commissioner of South Africa. He would much prefer that the High Commissioner was entirely in the pay of the British Government, as he held in his hands the key of our whole policy in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) Sir Hercules Robinson ought to have resigned his position rather than have expressed his views on this subject to the people at the Cape. It was a dangerous thing to grant charters to companies, giving them the control of an enormous trade in South Africa. Her Majesty's Government had promoted this South Africa Company, and had given it all the official assistance in their power. The roving commission given to those companies, would, in all probability, involve us in war, and he was afraid that the ultimate burden would have to be borne by the British taxpayer.

MR. BAUMANN said this vote raised important questions with regard to Swaziland and Bechuanaland, and other important matters. He would ask whether Her Majesty's Government would not assent to reporting progress.

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that with regard to Swaziland negotiations were still pending with the Transvaal Republic. They were of a delicate and important character, and were being conducted with very good feeling on both sides, but the Government could scarcely approach the discussion with a free hand in the circumstances, although they had no desire to unduly cut short any expression of opinions which hon. members might wish to give utterance to.

Progress was reported.

JUNE 5.

In the House of Commons—

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

MR. LEIGHTON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government had received any communication from the Australian Governments in reference to the reinstatement of Clause 8, expunged by the Select Committee, into the Western Australian Constitution Bill, and whether he could state to the House the purport of such communications.

BARON H. DE WORMS: No communications as to its reinstatement have been received, but a representation has been made by the Government of South Australia urging the omission of Clause 8, on the ground that all the Australian Colonies should be placed on the same footing as regards immigration.

BRITISH SUBJECTS AND THE COLONIES.

MR. LEIGHTON asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, with reference to the instructions issued to Australian Governors, which contained a clause to the effect that any Act passed by the Colonial Legislatures, "whereby the rights of British subjects not residing in the Colony may be prejudiced," shall be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure thereon, whether that instruction had been held to include Acts authorising the imposition of restrictions on the immigration of British subjects; and whether he could say in what respects the provisions of Clause 8 in the Western Australian Constitution Bill afforded any further protection to the rights of British subjects than was already provided in the instructions.

BARON H. DE WORMS: I may point out to my hon. friend that the words in the Royal instructions are, "Any Bill of an extraordinary nature and importance, whereby our prerogative or the rights and property of our subjects not residing in the Colony, or the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom and its dependencies, may be prejudiced." It is certainly at least open to question whether the words "rights and property," which are conjunctive, would cover a restriction upon immigration to which my hon. friend refers. The introduction of Clause 8 precludes any doubt upon the subject. (Hear, hear.)

MR. LEIGHTON asked whether these Acts had in any case been reserved.

BARON H. DE WORMS: Yes.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether there were any further papers or correspondence relating to any arrangements between Great Britain and France regarding the Newfoundland fishery question, which could now be presented in continuation of those last presented.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Papers down to the latest date are being brought forward for publication with the utmost possible dispatch. I hope they will be in the hands of hon. members next week. They will contain the articles of the treaties bearing on the questions at issue, and will fully inform the House in regard to them. Information has now been received from Newfoundland that no French armed force landed at St. George's Bay or elsewhere. The commander of a French man-of-war landed at the wharf alone and in uniform, and requested that some of the nets might be removed, and they were lifted accordingly by their owners. The Governor says that no threat was used, and that the request was fully justified. The French have not in any manner interfered with fishing. No case has occurred of non-payment of taxes, though a resolution to that effect was passed by a public meeting. (Hear, hear.)

JUNE 6.

In the House of Commons—

On the report of Supply (the Diplomatic and Consular Vote),

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

MR. BRYCE asked for information with regard to the Newfoundland fishery question, which he suggested should be submitted to arbitration.

SIR J. FERGUSSON, in reply, expressed the belief that the dispute in regard to the Newfoundland fisheries was susceptible of an amicable settlement, and the Government, he said, had no complaint to make against the action of the French authorities.

JUNE 12.

In the House of Commons—

CABLE RATES TO AUSTRALIA.

In reply to SIR G. BADEN-POWELL,

MR. JACKSON said: It is a fact that the principal Australian Governments have made a proposal that the Imperial Government should join them in

the payment of the subsidy now and for some time past paid by them to the company owning the Australian cables, and should also join in guaranteeing the company against half the loss which might accrue from the reduction of the cable rates from 9s. 6d. to 4s. for public messages. But after very careful consideration the Government has not been able to accede to the proposal.

AUSTRALIAN POSTAGE.

In reply to SIR G. BADEN-POWELL,

MR. RAIKES said: I have much pleasure in informing my hon. friend and the House that, according to a telegram received on the 29th of May, the majority of the Australian Colonies, as represented in a Postal Conference at Adelaide, have announced their intention to adopt the reduced postage of 2½d. for letters to this country. They have at the same time made certain other proposals; but the telegram does not make it clear that their acceptance of the 2½d. rate is conditional on the adoption of these proposals, which are at present under discussion.

JUNE 13.

In the House of Commons—

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH AUSTRALIA.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether any definite proposal had been recently brought to the notice of the Colonial Office for duplicating telegraphic communication with Australia by means of a cable connecting with the African system, and calling at Mauritius; and whether Her Majesty's Government would view with favour such alternative communication, as being of great commercial and strategic value.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The answer to the first portion of my hon. friend's question is in the negative. In reply to the latter portion I may say that Her Majesty's Government would be glad to see such a line of telegraphic communication established. (Hear.)

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH MAURITIUS.

In reply to ADMIRAL FIELD,

BARON H. DE WORMS said: Parliament having just voted a contribution to the cost of a British mail service to Mauritius, which Her Majesty's Government considered more important than the establishment of telegraphic communication, it is not proposed to ask for a subsidy for the latter purpose. (Hear, hear.)

JUNE 16.

In the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

In answer to MR. FLYNN,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The objections of the Newfoundland Legislature seem to be mainly founded on a mistaken notion that the *modus vivendi* tends to impair their rights, or to admit claims on the part of France hitherto not acknowledged. This is not the case, as all rights on both sides are expressly reserved. I may add that from recent telegraphic correspondence it would seem that the Joint Committee of both Houses of the Colonial Legislature, while protesting against the French claim to erect any lobster factory, were prepared to admit in practice the main provisions of the *modus vivendi* in deference to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

TREATIES OF COMMERCE.

MR. VINCENT asked the President of the Board of Trade whether the Treaties of Commerce concluded in 1862 and 1865 with Belgium and the German Zollverein precluded the conclusion of any preferential commercial arrangement for mutual advantage between the United Kingdom and Her Majesty's Colonial or Indian possessions, and if these foreign restrictions upon domestic commerce were extended by the most favoured nation agreement to every other foreign State; and in such case if, having regard to the well-known report of the Privy Council of Canada "that trade should be as free as practicable between the various portions of the Empire, having regard solely to their own interests, and unfettered by any obligation to treat others with equal favour," as also to repeated expressions of opinion to like effect in the Dominion Parliament and in Australasia, an undertaking could be given that advantage should be taken of the opportunity afforded by the forthcoming expiration upon due notice of several foreign treaties of commerce to denounce and determine such inter-British commercial disability.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH: I am not prepared to admit that the treaties to which the hon. member refers would have in all cases the effect suggested in the first part of his question, but he will find the clauses referred to in the paper presented to the House of Commons dated April 27, 1888 (C5,369). This paper also includes a memorandum by Sir E. Hertslet on the subject. No doubt this important matter will be considered when new commercial treaties are about to be concluded with foreign States.

JUNE 19.

In the House of Lords—

HELGOLAND.

In reply to the EARL of ROSEBERY,

THE MARQUIS of SALISBURY said: In answer to the question of the noble earl I have to say that before the decision was arrived at which we have communicated to your lordships, we took the opinion and advice of those who were in a position to give advice on the subject. The matter is more naval than military, I should say. With respect to the question whether any steps have been taken or are in contemplation to ascertain the wishes of the Heligolanders themselves the answer is in the negative. At the same time we have good ground for believing that if there has been any dissatisfaction expressed by the inhabitants to this transfer, it has been mainly connected with the question of the conscription, and if the noble earl will read the despatch he will observe that precaution has been taken to provide that no person now living shall be subject to military or naval service. With regard to the third question of the noble earl, I see no objection to introducing the Bill in this House.

In the House of Commons—

HELGOLAND.

MR. CHANNING asked if it was the case that confidential evidence laid before the Royal Commission on Colonial Defences showed Heligoland to be of strategic value to this country; and whether, before deciding to surrender Heligoland to Germany, Her Majesty's Government had had information and evidence to a contrary effect, and, if so, what information and evidence.

MR. W. H. SMITH, in replying, said that no proposal has been made by any military authority, or by the Royal Commission, in favour of fortifying Heligoland in any way.

COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

President—THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBURY.

Vice-President—RIGHT HON. E. STANHOPE, M.P.

(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

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W. M. Acworth.
 George Addie (Edinburgh).
 The Right Rev. the Bishop of Adelaide.
 Lord Addington.
 Hon. Mr. Speaker Allan, **Canada**.
 W. Shepherd Allen.
 Sir James Anderson.
 John Henry Anderson. (College, Oxford).
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 Sir Adams Archibald, K.C.M.G., **Canada**.
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Talbot Baines.
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 J. C. Barnard.
 Hamar Bass, M.P.
 T. H. Baylis, Q.C. (Liverpool).
R. J. Bradon (Tasmania).
E. W. Beckett, M.P.
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 H. C. Beeton (Agent-General, British Columbia).
 H. R. Beeton.
F. Faithfull Begg (City of London Branch).
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 Charles Bill. (South Australia).
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 Col. Henry Blundell, C.B., M.P.
Sir Algernon Borthwick, Bart., M.P.
S. B. Boulton. (Ottawa), **Canada**.
 J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G. (Clerk of House of Commons).
 The Right Hon. Sir G. F. Bowen, G.C.M.G.
 Commander Graham Bower, R.N., C.M.G. (Cape
 Lord Brassey, K.C.B. (Town).
The Hon. T. Alinutt Brassey.
 Sir J. C. Bray, K.C.M.G. (Speaker of the Legislative
 Assembly, South Australia).
 The Marquess of Breadalbane. (College, Oxford).
 The Rev. J. F. Bright, D.D. (Master of University
 T. Lynn Bristowe, M.P.
 Henry Broadhurst, M.P.
 Rev. G. F. Browne (Cambridge).
W. J. Browne (late South Australia).
 Oscar Browning (Cambridge).
 Professor James Bryce, M.P. (Oxford).
 Professor Montague Burrows (Oxford).
 Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.
 Sydney C. Buxton, M.P.
 The Master of Caius College, Cambridge.
 The Right Hon. The Earl of Carnarvon.
 G. Downes Carter, M.L.A. (President of the Imperial
 Federation League in Victoria).
 Hon. J. S. Carvell (Lieut.-Governor Prince Edward I.).
Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory.
 Walter Chamberlain.
 A. F. Charrington.
 H. B. Christian (Cape).
 E. F. Clarke, M.P.P. (Mayor of Toronto), **Canada**.
 Professor E. C. Clarke (Cambridge).
 Sir Charles Clifford (late New Zealand).
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 Admiral Sir John Commerell, G.C.B.
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 W. B. Collyns.
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., G.C.M.G. (late N.S.W.).
 John Corbett, M.P.
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 Right Hon. G. Cubitt, M.P.
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 Captain the Hon. A. G. Curzon Howe, R.N.
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The Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G.
 Professor G. H. Darwin, F.R.S. (Cambridge).
 N. Darnell Davis (British Guiana).
Charles Percy Davis (Victoria).
 Lieut.-Col. the Hon. L. P. Dawnay, M.P.
 F. Debenham.
 Lieut.-Col. F. C. Denison, C.M.G., M.P., **Canada**.
Lieut.-Col. G. T. Denison, Canada.
 R. Casimir Dickson, **Canada**.
 Baron Dimsdale, M.P.
R. R. Dobell, Canada.
 Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P.
 T. Douglas.
Sir Henry Doulton.
The Earl of Dunsraven, K.P. (Victoria).
 Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G. (late Premier of
 The Right Rev. The Bishop of Durham.
 Rear-Admiral James E. Erskine.
 Richard Eve (Aldershot).
C. Washington Eves, C.M.G. (West Indies).
Sir William Farrer.
 James J. Fellows (Agent-General for New Brunswick).
R. Munro Ferguson, M.P.
Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., Canada.
 Samuel Figgis.
The Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton (Queensland).
 C. Campbell Finlay. (Ireland Legislative Council).
 Sir William Fitzherbert, K.C.M.G. (Speaker of New Zea-
 Hon. George E. Forster (Minister of Finance).
 Sir William Foster, Bart. [Canada].
H. O. Arnold-Forsier.
 Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart., M.P.

Moreton Frewen.
 T. D. Galpin. [missioner], **Canada**.
Sir Alexander Gall, G.C.M.G. (late High Com-
 J. A. Game.
 J. T. Agg Gardner, M.P.
Herbert Gardner, M.P.
 P. Lyttelton Gell (Oxford).
 Sydney Gedge, M.P.
Robert Gillespie.
 William Gisborne (late Minister in New Zealand).
 The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
The Right Hon. Sir John Gorst, Q.C., M.P.
 Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., M.P.
 George W. Gordon.
 The Right Rev. the Bishop of Grahamstown.
 G. Graham (late New Zealand).
 Principal Geo. M. Grant, D.D., **Canada**.
 W. Greswell.
 Daniel Gurteen, J.P.
 Col. Sir C. S. Gzowski, K.C.M.G., A.D.C., **Canada**.
 Lord C. J. Hamilton.
 Right Hon. Lord G. Hamilton, M.P.
 Lord Hamilton of Dalzell.
 The Right Hon. Viscount Hampden, G.C.B.
 F. A. Hankey, M.P.
 F. Hardcastle, M.P. (Liverpool).
 Sir George D. Harris.
 Major-General Sir Richard Harrison, K.C.B., C.M.G.
 Admiral the Right Hon. Sir J. C. D. Hay, Bart.
 A. Raymond Heath, M.P.
 The Right Hon. E. Heneage, M.P.
 J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.
 Mitchell Henry.
 The Right Hon. Lord Herschell.
 A. Hickman.
 The Right Hon. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Bart., M.P.
 Sidney Hill.
A. J. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P.
 R. T. Hermon-Hodge, M.P.
 E. Brodie Hoare, M.P.
 Samuel Hoare, M.P.
 R. Hodgkinson (Newark).
 Hon. H. Holbrook (late Minister, British Columbia).
 George Howell, M.P.
 E. W. Howson (Harrow).
 J. Castell Hopkins, **Canada**.
 J. H. C. Hozer, M.P.
 Professor T. McK. Hughes (Cambridge).
 Professor G. M. Humphry (Cambridge).
Colonel P. R. Innes.
 James Jackson. (Oxford).
 The Rev. W. Jackson, M.A. (Rector of Exeter College,
 The Right Hon. W. L. Jackson, M.P.
 W. Culver James, M.D.
 Captain Charles Johnstone, R.N.
 Hon. S. A. Joseph (M.L.C., N.S.W.).
 J. Scott Keltie.
 H. Kimber, M.P. [(Governor of South Australia).
 The Right Hon. The Earl of Kintore, G.C.M.G.
 Lord Lamington.
 Col. Ronald B. Lane (Rifle Brigade).
 Donald Larnach.
General Laurie, M.P., Canada.
 Commander F. C. Law, R.N. (Secretary Toronto
 H. L. W. Lawson, M.P. (Branch), **Canada**.
 Sir John Trevor Lawrence, Bart., M.P.
 William F. Lawrence, M.P.
 Elliott Lees, M.P.
 Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart.
 Stanley Leighton, M.P.
 Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., M.P.
 N. E. Lewis (Tasmania).
The Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham, M.P.
 Rev. J. J. Lias (Cambridge).
 The Right Rev. the Bishop of Lichfield.
J. Stanley Little.
Sampson S. Lloyd.
 G. B. Longstaff.
 A. H. Loring.
 Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G.
 General Lowry, C.B.
 The Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.
 J. M. Ludlow, C.B.
 Professor J. R. Lumby (Cambridge).
 Henry Lyman, **Canada**.
 Henry H. Lyman, **Canada**.
 R. A. Macfie (Edinburgh).
 Alexander McArthur, M.P. (late New South Wales).
 D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P. (President of the Im-
 perial Federation League in Canada), **Canada**.
Archibald McGoun, Jun., Canada.
 The Rev. C. J. Machin, **Canada**.
 R. Douglas McLean (New Zealand). [Canada].
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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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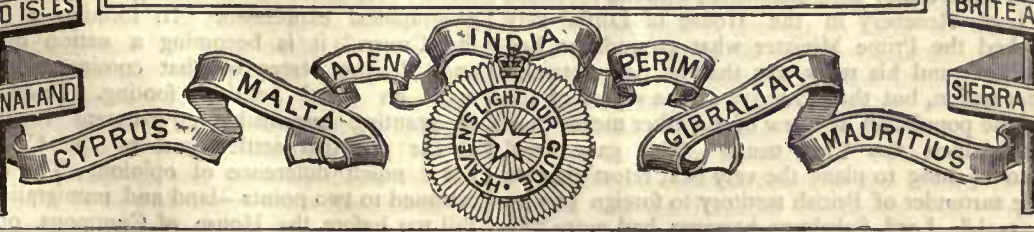
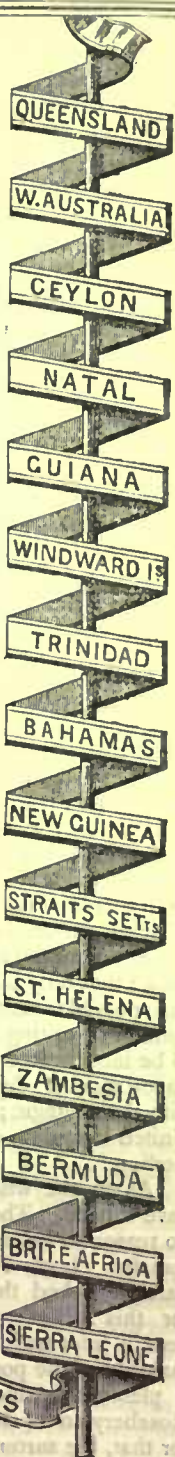
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Imperial Federation.

AUGUST 1, 1890.

HELIGOLAND.

THE cession of Heligoland, under the terms of the Anglo-German Agreement otherwise dealing exclusively with the continent of Africa, is an affair the principal interest of which lies rather in certain general questions of principle involved in it than in any great practical importance attaching to the transaction itself. We all know where and what Heligoland is—perhaps some of us know rather better than we should have a month or so ago—and the “picturesque” historical account of the island and of the way in which it came to be a British possession given by the Prime Minister in the House of Lords has put us in full possession of all the circumstances surrounding the question of its retention or cession, which are simple enough. Virtually, the objections that have been raised to the act of the Government are three in number. There is the sentimental objection that revolts at the surrender of a single inch of British territory, wherever and whatever it is, and under whatever circumstances. Next there is the practical objection against surrendering a place that may be of strategical or commercial importance. And lastly, there is the objection that the inhabitants may object. Besides these, there is, of course, the objection raised in the particular case that we are not getting sufficient consideration for the cession; but with that part of the matter we have nothing to do here. The sentimental objection is easily disposed of. The idea that lies at the root of it is good and sound enough—we want to keep what we have got. But to push this to the extent to which it has been carried by some is unreasonable. If we have outlying bits of territory anywhere in the world that are of no use to us, but have a value for others, by all means let us get rid of them whenever occasion offers in exchange for something else that is of value to us. The expression of this sentimental affection is only useful to point the moral given to it by Lord Rosebery at the Canada Club dinner—that if people felt a pang at parting with Heligoland, because it is British ground, how terrible, how shattering to all our Imperial instincts would be the wrench of parting from great Dominions like Canada or Australia!

The question of the strategical importance of Heligoland has been settled, and settled very conclusively, by those best able to judge of it. It has never been deemed worth fortifying, and has no harbour. Its position makes it a source of embarrassment to us as neutrals in war between other countries; and in case of our being at war ourselves with a naval power, it would, so far from being of any service to us, prove a heavy incubus, to be either seized forthwith by the enemy, or defended at the cost of locking up there for no earthly good a large portion of our fleet that could certainly be ill spared. Lord Knutsford, who had given a somewhat different impression as to the opinion of experts on this subject, admitted afterwards that he was speaking without book; that only one authority had attached to the island any possible strategic value, and he had expressed his opinion in writing and not come up before the Commission to be interrogated as to the grounds of it. The commercial importance of this dependency of the Empire is on a par with the strategic; being represented by imports from the United Kingdom of the gross annual value of fifty pounds sterling.

As to the wishes of the inhabitants, more doubt may have existed. The Government said throughout they had no reason to believe they were dissatisfied with the proposed transfer. Lord Rosebery in the House of Lords very naturally asked the Prime Minister what grounds he had for this belief; and his reply was that he had obtained certain information, but that to arrive at the wishes of the majority of the population he knew of no other means than a plébiscite, which was “not usual.” This gave Lord Rosebery an opening to plant the very neat retort that, as for that, the surrender of British territory to foreign powers was “not usual.” Lord Salisbury, however, had more sub-

stantial answers to give upon the question of the wishes of the islanders. In the first place he pointed out that they are not of British extraction, and have no long tradition of British rule, having been handed over to Great Britain without their consent being asked, within the memory very possibly of men now living. But the gist of this part of the question lies in the important distinction drawn by Lord Salisbury between territory taken or held for strategical or belligerent purposes, and land settled for occupation. A sharp line is to be drawn between positions ruled for the benefit of the population that is in them, and those held for general Imperial purposes. As to these latter, Imperial considerations must be absolutely paramount. As to the Heligolanders, there is really very little reason to believe they have any objection to once more changing their flag—indeed, if a recent telegram is to be believed, they are preparing a document in which they take a “grateful farewell” of the Queen “upon being re-united to those of their own kindred.” There may be some who will not care to live under German rule, and these may avail themselves of the scheme which has been set on foot for emigrating them to Canada—an idea which Lord Rosebery told the members of the Canada Club he had suggested to Her Majesty's Government.

HALF AUSTRALIA.

WHATEVER may be thought about it, it was inevitable. People who would fain have prevented the passing of the Western Australia Bill in the form in which it has passed must even be content with the reflection that in politics the hands of the clock cannot be put back. There are few, probably, of those who in a general way think with us on the whole subject of the Colonial relation, who do not regret that the hands were ever put just where they now are. But for the “little England” policy of a past generation that in its haste to get rid of the responsibilities of Empire dowered every handful of settlers on British territory with domains as big as half Europe, and told them the sooner they made away with them the better, there would have been no necessity for all the effort that now has to be made to keep together that which we were before so bent on putting asunder. When we speak of this measure as having become inevitable we do not mean that because thousands of square miles of territory belonging to the Empire have been “chucked away” in the past, we are bound to continue the process—far from it. But, in the case of Western Australia, the process of endowment has already gone too far to make it possible to take back the gift; not, perhaps, in respect of the few inhabitants themselves, but having regard to the position of the Colony as one of the homogeneous Australian group. If the territory called Western Australia were situated elsewhere—in Africa, for instance, in the neighbourhood of Bechuanaland—it would be not only possible, but easy and politic to retain it for the Empire, and not hand it over to the settlers who happened to have first got to it. But Australia is on the eve, as we hope, of forming itself into a united Dominion, and the interposition in its midst of a slice of territory under the direct control of the Home Government would be as anomalous and inconvenient as a corresponding arrangement in the Dominion of Canada. Whether the vast unreclaimed lands of Western Australia might not have been held in reserve for the future Federation is another matter, but it was apparently not desired. The older Colonies did not ask for it, but on the contrary united to back the claims of the Western Australians. In default of that there was no other course but to create the whole into, for the present, one Colony with responsible Government. Australia is becoming something more than a geographical expression. In forming a “Union under the Crown” it is becoming a nation of the Empire; and all the states of that coming union must stand upon an equal political footing. Upon the question of granting responsible government to the inhabitants of the principal settled part of the Colony there was never much difference of opinion. The opposition was confined to two points—land and immigration. When the Bill was before the House of Commons, opportunity was

taken to refer to other minor matters—such as the Pearl Fishery legislation and the extra-territorial jurisdiction exercised in connection with it, to the detriment of British shipping, by the Colonial legislature, under powers conferred upon it by the Federal Council, after they had been refused by the Imperial Government—a sufficiently “high-handed proceeding,” as Mr. Chamberlain put it—but that is a Federal Council more than a Western Australian matter.

The provision in the Bill as introduced into the House of Commons reserving for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure any local Act restricting the immigration of British subjects was struck out by the Select Committee, upon a narrow majority, and its omission confirmed by the House. The arguments chiefly relied on for its retention, that the Colony always encouraged immigration, had not much bottom in it. It is when a Colony becomes more populous, and especially when there is a large urban population engaged in manufacturing industries, that the electorate begins to discourage immigration. Similarly beside the mark were the efforts made, so far as they had reference to this end, to popularise the electorate; seeing that it is invariably the democratic element in every Colony that forbids the Governments to do anything to foster immigration as tending (so they think) to reduce their own earnings. The real objection to any such provision seems to us to be that it would be either superfluous or inoperative. So long as the Colonies desire immigration, such clauses are not needed. If at any time they were determined to resist any particular form of immigration, the reservation would be worth exactly the paper it is written on. The Mother Country might or might not give way on the point; but the paper right of veto would go for very little. Even Sir George Campbell saw that it would not do to impose terms on Western Australia different from those imposed on the other Colonies of the group. He thought, to be sure, that such a regulation should be imposed on all Colonies; and he went on to use language, from which it is impossible altogether to dissent, to the effect that “the Government ought not to be tyrannised over by the Colonies. If Great Britain extended her protection to them they should not deny her reasonable demands. The terms of the present connection between the Colonies and Great Britain were unfair and humiliating to this country.” That is just one of the reasons why these relations ought to be re-adjusted. And there is no denying that in dealing with the Colonies the Home Government is almost always lamentably weak-kneed.

Upon the land question there is not much to add to what we have said above and at the time the Bill was passing through the House of Commons. We confess to a feeling of regret that the inhabitants of the settled districts round Perth were not given a fair share of land in the south-western portion of the Colony, an arrangement which there is every reason to believe would have perfectly satisfied them. The present amount of land must prove quite unmanageable and beyond the means of reclamation and civilisation possessed by so limited a population. The balance, both to the east and to the north, could have remained for the present under Imperial control, to be ultimately made over to the Federal Government of Australia, since, if the opinion we have expressed is well-founded, to deal with it in any still wider interests would be impracticable and unwise at the stage of political development that Australia has now reached. The other question connected with the disposition of the land, the reservation of certain places for purposes of defence, to which Sir John Colomb was careful to draw the attention of Parliament, was satisfactorily disposed of. The matter is not touched by the Bill, but, by arrangement between the Executives of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, a reservation of certain lands in the region of King George's Sound has been made for purposes of defence. This will not take the character of a reservation of land garrisoned by English troops, but a reserve for Colonial defence, fortified by the Colony itself, the armament being supplied by Her Majesty's Government. This is in accordance with precedent, and probably meets the case. It only remains for us to wish the Western Australians well in their new privileges and responsibilities.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

BY JEHU MATHEWS.

NO. II.

HAVING reached in my last letter the conclusion that the British Empire has lost the unequal federal union which it once enjoyed under the hegemony of the Fatherland, I now go on to inquire by what means a Pan-Britannic Federation, all of it enjoying equal prerogatives and privileges, and bearing equal federal burdens, can be substituted for it. I do not here propose to treat the *expediency* of such a Federation, as that would require more time than I could spare, and more space probably than you could give; and I am writing to Federationists who profess to have their minds made up on that point. What I want to do is to strive to clear away some of the thick mist which seems to me to envelope the term Imperial Federation. In my last letter I endeavoured to show, from the language of some of our political philosophers, and from a glance outside, that Federation is a form of government, and that, if this be so, all Federations must have certain features in common, in which a Pan-Britannic Federation must necessarily participate. What light does this fact throw on its inevitable shape?

On one point it seems to me to throw a clear light. The form of government now usually known as Federalism can only be said to have emerged into existence on the formation of the United States Republic. Prior to that time a federal government usually acted only on the local authorities of the federated States, so that, should the latter choose to disobey, it had scarcely any means of enforcing its demands. But by the United States Constitution there was assigned to that Federal Government power to act for itself on the inhabitants of the several States, just as the British Government acts on the inhabitants of a municipality. And there are few, if any, who now doubt that it is to this modification into Composite State Government that Federalism owes its subsequent success both in the States and elsewhere. De Tocqueville has well styled the change “a great invention in modern political science.” And Mill has told us that it “is the only principle which has been found, or is ever likely to produce, an effective Federal Government.” That whatever may be the shape of the Federal Government in our Pan-Britannic Empire, its authority must be of this sort—exercised over individuals and not over Governments—I think almost all Federationists will regard as a foregone conclusion.

But on coming to inquire what prerogatives the Federal Government should exercise, I am far from feeling a like confidence of unanimity; and it must be admitted that the light cast on the question by the distinctive features of Federalism is by no means bright. I would here recall the words of Mill contained in my previous letter:—“It is only in transactions with foreign Powers that the authority of the Federal Government is necessarily complete. On every other subject the question depends on how closely the people in general wish to draw the federal tie: what portion of their own freedom of action they are willing to surrender in order to enjoy more fully the benefit of being one nation.” Still, here we have one important conclusion. We are told that the authority of any Federal Government must be complete in all transactions with foreign Powers. I would, then, proceed to inquire what prerogatives are essential to make it so, with the view of discovering the very loosest—not the very best—form of Federalism which would be effective in a Pan-Britannic Empire.

Since all communication with foreign powers occurs through diplomacy, the authority which is to regulate all relations with them must control it. Can one government do this for all the British Empire effectively? The answer is that as experience shows one government to have done so in time past it can do so again if one Pan-Britannic people will support its action unanimously. Its unanimity is becoming less pronounced than formerly as the development of new Colonial interests has been accompanied by disinclination at home to discharge the duties in consideration of the honours, and by Colonial reluctance to grant even the previous obedience to a part. No government could manage Imperial diplomacy with England in the spirit prevalent during the American war when she was

feelingly lamenting her liabilities to Canada; or with Canada attempting to turn away in lofty contempt from "the strife of old-world dynasties;" or with England again coolly informing Australia that the fate of New Guinea or Fiji is to her a matter of indifference. Any union, to be lasting or effective, must be one "for better for worse; for richer for poorer; in sickness and in health; till death us do part." And with this spirit the Federal Government of the future would have an easier task in its diplomacy than had the Imperial Government of the past, because it would be backed by a more united Empire, and one whose power would be growing by leaps and bounds. Diplomacy, however, can only form, or dissolve, alliances and conclude treaties; its acts are "sound and fury, signifying nothing" unless supported by armaments. If the Federal Government's authority would require to be complete in all transactions with foreign Powers, it must be granted exclusive control over all armaments; be allowed to equip such as it should desire, and to dispose of them as it should choose. Nay, so needful is unity of action on these matters, and so extensive are local prerogatives under Federalism, that it would probably appear needful, as in the United States, to enact that "No State shall without the consent of Congress keep troops or ships of war in time of peace." Are the parts of the Pan-Britannic people willing to do this? Until they are there can be no hope of Imperial Federation. To the Colonies its value would be mainly in the fact that it would enable them to bring the numbers, wealth, and influence of the Fatherland to the support of their interests and independence; and to the Fatherland its great, though by no means its sole, advantage would be the conversion of child-like dependents into active, youthful allies. And to all, its foremost gain would be that, in a time of consolidation all the world over, they would be strengthened by union instead of being made helpless by disruption. They need not doubt the ability of a single government to manage the armaments of the Empire, for it has managed them in the past, and, to some extent, does so still. But no Federation can have armaments without cost; and to meet the cost its government must raise a revenue by the imposition of federal taxation. In a Pan-Britannic Federation would the Colonies consent to bear their fair share of it, and could each part be assured against being called upon to bear any more than such share? These are the vital questions. In this case, as in every one analogous, purse-policy will rule every other policy, and the influence of "the almighty dollar" will crush every opposing influence. As England has now definitely refused to bear all the Imperial expenditure on armaments, there can be little doubt that each part must shortly choose between taking share in a Pan-Britannic expenditure, or bearing all of its local expenditure on them. Which would be the cheapest? This opens the question of expediency, with which I do not propose here to deal. But, in order to show to Colonists the strength of our case, I would remark that, under Federation, more than half of the present English expenditure, consisting of sums for interest on the debt and maintenance of civil government, would constitute the local expenditure of the British Islands, and leave the federal expenditure, in which all would be liable to share, probably within £35,000,000 annually, or little over one half that of the Federal Government of the United States. With this primary fact in view, no Federationist need fear to advocate his own policy as the cheapest possible, if it be only practicable. I cannot allege, as in the cases of diplomacy and armaments, that one government has already administered the financial affairs of the Empire; and must admit that an attempt on its part to tax unwilling Colonists led to the disruption of an older British Empire than the present. But it will be admitted, I presume, that had taxpayers been willing to pay, the Government of King George III. could have collected, and spent, its desired revenue; and, if so, how much more readily the Government of Queen Victoria, when receipts in New Zealand could be entered the same day in London? But this is not all. Supposing the same rate of taxation for Federal expenditure harmoniously accepted all over a Pan-Britannic Federation, there is another point which would require adjustment in it. No government can raise a revenue without "ways and means." In nearly all civilised

countries customs are a most fruitful source of revenue, and in our Federation would unquestionably stand first. Its Federal Government would, therefore, require to possess the prerogative of levying customs duties. But the nature of customs duties goes far to determine the course of trade. It is, indeed, true that, prior to the adoption of Free Trade in England, we had one commercial system for the Empire; and, therefore, could have it again were it desired. But how far either Fatherland or Colonies would like even to lessen their present local independence in taxation and commerce, I am by no means sure; and, therefore, shall, with your permission, devote a future letter to a consideration of the most conciliatory terms on which anything of financial and commercial co-operation could be established.

But before passing on to these matters, I would ask such of my readers as will endorse Mill's theory—that in transactions with foreign Powers a Federal Government's authority is necessarily complete—if the conclusions which I have thence drawn in reference to a Pan-Britannic Federal Government do not inevitably follow? Must it not regulate diplomacy if it is to control foreign relations at all? Must it not command armaments, if it is to make diplomacy effective? Must it not be able to pay for armaments if it is to possess them? Must it not be allowed to impose taxation in order to obtain the means of payment? And must it not, if raising revenue by customs duties, necessarily influence trade? I fancy that I can almost hear the reader ejaculating that these are precisely the most difficult questions in the whole problem. I know them to be so, and it is for that reason that I approach them. The Federation League owes its existence to fear that if left unsolved they would destroy Imperial Unity. It is not desirable for any party to approach crucial questions at the outset of its career; organisation and discipline are the first points to be attended to. But these once attained, crucial questions can be shirked only at the cost of a confession of inefficiency. One item in our "platform" affirms that:—"Any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." If anybody will show how any equitable combination of resources can be effected with less co-operation than I have suggested, I will be deeply grateful to him, and I presume that other people will be still more so. I don't want to insist that my own theories on these points alone can be correct and must prevail. I do urge, however, that to effect anything we must know what we want to do and proclaim it; that stating our aim, as above, to be the establishment of internal harmony, and external security in this British Empire, we must be perfectly well aware that *some* amount of co-operation between the parts is essential to these things; and that unless we would find outsiders declaring themselves unable to consider Imperial Federation, inasmuch as they can find nothing offered them for consideration, we must be prepared to define some—say the least—amount of co-operation likely to prove effective for these purposes.

It may, perhaps, be replied that if there should be needed even so much co-operation as I have indicated, we may conclude that it cannot be attained. I say that experience should lead us to no such conclusion. From the "Trent" affair to the Washington treaty "Colonial Emancipation" was the popular doctrine in England, but it seems now to "sleep the sleep that knows no waking." It is true that the Colonies then seemed to be more Imperialist than at present; but that was because they then felt the helplessness of childhood, and now feel the impudence of youth. Both sides are now at that trying period when parent is realising that his absolute authority cannot be permanent, and offspring is realising that "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, and art lucky to get the chance." England has learned some of the present and prospective evils of disruption, and has therefore toned down; let the Colonies in like manner learn them, and they will tone down also. Let all be taught, without paying the price which "the great Republic" had to pay for the lesson, that in no corporation can a part be allowed to oppose its will to that of the whole; that there is no escape for us from the alternative of parts of one great whole or several small parts; that, as Mr. Seeley has well told them,

a small State amongst small States is one thing, and a small State amongst large States quite another; that the non-intervention which was possible for America at the opening of the nineteenth century bids fair to be impossible for her at the end of it; that before the Colonies can even try the risk they must bear much heavier taxation than Federation seems likely to entail without any risk, and that under it they would—like United States territories exalted into States—acquire new, without forfeiting old, prerogatives. Let the League, both by its own efforts and by pressure on the Imperial Government, strive to publish the consequences of the alternative policies open to each part of the Empire, and I think that the chances of a popular verdict would be largely in our favour. We might be beaten by sectional narrow-mindedness and popular ignorance, but in such a defeat there would be no shame. There would be shame, however, in refusing to face difficulties which a few hours' study must convince anybody are the very first to be met if we are to do anything; or in talking sentiment and flattering ourselves that we were dealing with facts. Such policy would be unworthy of any people calling themselves men, and still less of men calling themselves Britons.

Here, then, may it not be well to inquire as to the need of some interchange of notes even between Federationists themselves? Granting all to be agreed in considering Federation a desideratum, how far are all agreed as to the price which they are prepared to pay for it? How far do Englishmen think that the Fatherland should be called upon to go in exchanging its old position of supremacy for that of "First among equals"? How far do Colonists think that the offspring should be required to go in assuming the burdens and responsibilities of maturity? And what does each side think of the other's views? Then, supposing the most complete concordance to have been reached, should we not remember that almost all people in a situation similar to our own are continually forced by pressure from unorthodox and heretical countrymen to reduce their ideal from the highest good desirable to the highest good practicable? That this necessity might force us to call on each other for concessions which our generous hearts would fain leave unasked? And that this need, again, might force further communication even before our scheme was launched? Here I may, perhaps, be again met by the reproach that it is not the business of the League to launch any scheme. Granting that it is not, can it have any lesser business than to satisfy statesmen and electors that, should a Bill be drafted, there would be some chance of carrying it; that should the measure be carried, there would be some hope that it would work; and that should it work, some gain would accrue from working it? I would like to hear of any measure which it was proposed to forward by means of popular discussion which reached victory without having achieved this much success at the outset; or what hope we can have of any Ministry adopting Federation until satisfied on these points.

Before proceeding to satisfy anybody, we must be able to explain that of which we wish to satisfy him.

Toronto, 1890.

THE LATE LORD CARNARVON.

IN Lord Carnarvon the League has lost one of its most earnest and influential supporters. Connected with Colonial affairs throughout his public career—he was three times Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had served his apprenticeship as Under-Secretary in the same department—he was conversant, no man more so, with all the questions, all the difficulties, all the dangers that beset the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country. With all the problems of Colonial Federation, too, he was intimately acquainted, having been personally concerned with two great schemes, successfully in the case of Canada, less so in South Africa; while more recently he had by personal travel made himself familiar with the same questions as they presented themselves in Australasia. He had in truth wintered it and summered it with federal problems. With another aspect of the Imperial problem he was also most intimately acquainted, having been Chairman of the Defence Commission in 1882; and that he kept up his knowledge of

the subject is shown, if by nothing else, by the paper which he read before the London Chamber of Commerce last December (recorded in the January number of this Journal). That a statesman of such almost unparalleled Colonial experience and opportunities for forming a judgment should have been one of the foremost advocates of Imperial Federation, accentuates the truth that it is those who best understand the situation and are most fully acquainted with all the conditions of the problem, who see most clearly the need for vigilance, and, when occasion arises, for action in dealing with the inter-relations of the varied and scattered communities constituting the British Empire. His speech at the Mansion House meeting in November was Lord Carnarvon's last public utterance from a League platform. There, publicly, as a few days earlier in the Council, he expressed his full concurrence in the policy laid down by the President and Council of the League, making the establishment of authoritative and periodical conferences the first aim of the League. Lord Carnarvon will be much missed by the Council and the League generally, while personally his death will be deplored by all.

This is not the place in which to enter upon any general review of the deceased statesman's career. But, as his political and official career were so intimately connected with Colonial affairs, and especially with questions of Colonial Confederation, a brief note of his more public connection with these matters will be in place. Lord Carnarvon's official life began in 1858, when he was appointed by the then Lord Derby to the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was three times in office as a Cabinet Minister; and it is curious to observe that on all three occasions, as on that of his appointment to a subordinate position, it was always in the Colonial Office that he served. He first held the seals as Colonial Secretary in 1867, and it was in that year that he was occupied with what was undoubtedly the most important business of his official life. It fell to him as Secretary of State for the Colonies to propose the measure which, next to the Reform Bill was the most important of the Session of 1867—the Bill for the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. The time was ripe for such a change. Fore-shadowed in Lord Durham's famous Report thirty years before, it had frequently occupied the minds both of Canadian and of English statesmen, and the principal lines of the Bill had in point of fact been laid down by Mr. Cardwell, the out-going Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Carnarvon found much of the work done to his hand. And he took it up with enthusiasm. He moved the second reading on February 19th in a speech of considerable eloquence, and had the satisfaction of seeing his Bill passed through the Lords with scarcely a dissentient voice. The reception which it met with in the House of Commons was not so unanimously favourable, several members of the House objecting, in their usual fashion, to the companion Bill which proposed a guarantee for the Intercolonial Railway. Mr. Lowe's political economy, for instance, was outraged by the proposal, and another member declared that the railway "would never pay for its own grease." In those days the notion of a Canadian Pacific, successfully competing with three or four other great transcontinental lines, would have seemed the wildest dream. In spite of opposition, however, both Bills became law, and the "Dominion of Canada" began what we may confidently hope will be a long career of public prosperity in close union with the Mother Country.

When, in 1874, Mr. Disraeli returned to power, finding himself for the first time at the head of a majority in the House of Commons, he again offered Lord Carnarvon his old post at the Colonial Office, and Lord Carnarvon accepted the Colonial Office with the understanding that he should attempt in another important part of our Colonial Empire to carry out a similar policy to that which had succeeded so well in Canada. The problem of South African Confederation, however, proved to be far more difficult than the similar problem in North America, and the manner in which the Secretary of State and Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Cape Colony, endeavoured to push it forward produced considerable irritation. Probably the time was not yet ripe. It was not till June, 1885, when Lord Salisbury formed his first and short-lived Administration, that Lord Carnarvon took office again.

The *Times*, in its obituary notice, says of him:—"Lord Carnarvon's loss will be sincerely mourned by a very wide circle and will be felt in many different sections of society. We do not speak so much of the political world, where, though he spoke well and always with sincerity, his over-sensitiveness made him often rather an element of weakness than of strength to his allies. But in many other relations of life he was altogether admirable; not only to his family and intimate friends, who loved him devotedly, but to his tenants, to his colleagues in many public bodies, and to all those who were on terms of ordinary social intercourse with him. He was high-minded,

accomplished, sincere, kindly; a devout member of the Church of England, and an eminently good man. He was not born to lead in troublous times, but he was born to fill a prominent place in our complex society, and to keep in touch with many and diverse interests; and now that he has gone the worst that can be said of him is that he was too conscientious for partisanship and too scrupulous for political success."

•• In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMERCE—BRITISH AND FOREIGN. LETTER NO. 3.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—In accordance with the intention expressed in my last letter I send you herewith separate statements of the Import and Export Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and the Colonies in the twenty-one years from 1869 to 1889, prepared on the same lines as those of the aggregate trade contained in my letter of last month. They will well repay a careful examination. I can only call attention to a few of the most striking results.

It must be borne in mind that the Returns showing the value of the Trade afford no means of separating the two factors of quantity and price, which, by increase or decrease, rise or fall, produce the changes in the proportions assigned to each category of countries. There has indisputably been a great increase in the volume of both Imports and Exports during the past twenty years, with a large, but probably smaller, decrease in price. Measured by the method adopted in my "Synopsis of British Trade," the changes between the first and last quinquennial periods appear sufficiently interesting to be inserted here:—

Average of each Quinquennium	IMPORTS.*		EXPORTS.	
	Quantity. Millions tons.	Price per ton. £	Quantity. Millions tons.	Price per ton. £
1869-73	16.5	20.1	18	16.0
1874-78	25.6	14.5	30	9.5
Percentage increase	55.0	—	66	—
„ decrease	—	28.0	—	40

The increase in quantity has been greater in the Exports by 20 per cent., and the fall in price greater by 43 per cent.

The first two of the following tables show the IMPORT trade in annual and quinquennial periods. The most notable features seem to be:—

1. The very slight changes in the proportions between the total foreign and total Colonial trades throughout the whole period.
2. The increase of the trade with European countries in the last five years, and especially in the last two years.
3. The considerable increase in the trade with the United States (32 per cent.), comparing the last with the first quinquennium, and the still greater decrease in the trade with other foreign countries (40 per cent.).
4. As regards the trade with India, the quinquennial division does not correctly show the fluctuations. A division into periods of four years will do this more adequately. Thus:—

1869 to 1872	...	10.4	1881 to 1884	...	10.0
1873 to 1876	...	8.9	1885 to 1888	...	9.8
1877 to 1880	...	8.1			

5. The increase in the trade with the Colonies during the second period, beginning in 1873, and the decrease in the last, continued in 1889.

6. Comparing the total foreign and Colonial trades, the upward changes have been the fewest, but heaviest, in the former, and the opposite in the latter. Eight years in the former shows an average increase of 1.1 per cent., and twelve years showing an average decrease of only 0.6 per cent.

7. The following are the greatest changes, upward and downward, in any one year in each category, with the year in which it occurred. It will be seen how violent have been the changes in the trade with the United States, and how moderate those in the trade with the Colonies:—

Import Trade with	Greatest Upward.	Greatest Downward.
Europe ...	3.6 per cent. in 1882	2.3 per cent. in 1871
United States ...	4.5 " " 1878	5.8 " " 1882
Other foreign countries	1.2 " " 1882	2.2 " " 1874
Total Foreign	2.5 per cent. in 1870	1.6 per cent. in 1884
India and Straits	1.7 per cent. in 1882	3.0 per cent. in 1870
Colonies ...	1.8 " " 1884	1.7 " " 1885
Total British	1.6 per cent. in 1884	2.5 per cent. in 1870

TABLE No. 1.
STATEMENT OF THE PERCENTAGE PROPORTIONS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS SEPARATELY IN THE TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES, INDIA, AND THE COLONIES, RESPECTIVELY, IN EACH YEAR FROM 1869 TO 1889.

Years.	IMPORTS.						
	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.				BRITISH POSSESSIONS.		
	In Europe.	United States.	All other.	Total.	British India and Straits Settlements.	All other.	Total.
1869	42.3	14.4	19.4	76.1	12.1	11.8	23.9
1870	44.1 ^r	16.4 ^r	18.1	78.6 ^r	9.1 ^f	12.3	21.4 ^f
1871	41.8 ^f	18.5 ^r	17.7	78.0	10.1	11.9	22.0
1872	43.8 ^r	15.4 ^f	18.4	77.6	10.5	11.9	22.4
1873	41.5 ^f	19.2 ^r	17.5	78.2	9.0 ^f	12.8	21.8
1874	42.5	20.0	15.3 ^f	77.8	8.9	13.3	22.2
1875	42.8	18.6	16.0	77.4	8.9	13.7	22.6
1876	41.9	20.2	15.4	77.5	8.7	13.8	22.5
1877	43.9 ^r	19.7	13.7	77.3	8.6	14.1	22.7
1878	42.1	24.2 ^r	12.6	78.9 ^r	8.1	13.0 ^f	21.1 ^f
1879	39.9 ^f	25.3	13.0	78.2	7.5	14.3 ^r	21.8
1880	39.3	26.1	12.1	77.5	8.2	14.3	22.5
1881	38.9	27.2	10.9 ^f	77.0	9.1	13.9	23.0
1882	42.5 ^r	21.4 ^f	12.1	76.0	10.8 ^r	13.2	24.0
1883	41.8	23.4 ^r	11.8	77.0	10.2	12.8	23.0
1884	41.8	22.1	11.5	75.4 ^f	10.0	14.6	24.6 ^r
1885	42.8	23.5	11.0	77.3 ^r	9.8	12.9 ^f	22.7 ^f
1886	43.1	22.0	11.5	76.6	10.4	13.0	23.4
1887	44.0	23.2	9.7 ^f	76.9	9.7	13.4	23.1
1888	46.7 ^r	20.6 ^f	10.3	77.6	9.3	13.1	22.4
1889	45.8	22.3	9.2	77.3	9.7	13.0	22.7
Average of 20 years 1869-1888.	42.3	21.2	13.9	77.4	9.4	13.2	22.6

The exceptional years in each column are marked with an ^r for a rise and an ^f for a fall.

TABLE No. 2.
QUINQUENNIAL ABSTRACT OF TABLE No. 1.

Periods.	QUINQUENNIAL ABSTRACT: IMPORTS.						
	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.				BRITISH POSSESSIONS.		
	In Europe.	United States.	All other.	Total.	British India and Straits Settlements.	All other.	Total.
1869 to 1873	42.7	16.8	18.2	77.7	10.2	12.1	22.3
1874 to 1878	42.7	20.5	14.6	77.8	8.6	13.6	22.2
1879 to 1883	40.4	24.7	12.0	77.1	9.2	13.7	22.9
1884 to 1888	43.7	22.3	10.8	76.8	9.8	13.4	23.2
Average—1869-88	42.3	21.2	13.9	77.4	9.4	13.2	22.6
Year 1889	45.8	22.3	9.2	77.3	9.7	13.1	22.7

The next two tables show the EXPORT trade in a similar manner, and display much greater changes.

TABLE No. 3. CONTINUATION OF TABLE No. 1: EXPORTS.

Years.	EXPORTS.						
	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.				BRITISH POSSESSIONS.		
	In Europe.	United States.	All other.	Total.	British India and Straits Settlements.	All other.	Total.
1869	50.0	11.3	16.8	78.1	8.6	13.3	21.9
1870	47.0 ^f	12.9	17.4	77.3	9.2	13.5	22.7
1871	51.3 ^r	13.7	15.4 ^f	80.4 ^r	7.4 ^f	12.2	19.6 ^f
1872	48.4 ^f	14.6	16.1	79.1	7.0	13.9	20.9
1873	50.1 ^r	11.8 ^f	15.2	77.1 ^f	7.9	15.0	22.9 ^r
1874	49.6	10.8	13.4 ^f	73.8 ^f	9.5 ^r	16.7 ^r	26.2 ^r
1875	50.1	8.9 ^f	13.8	72.8	9.8	17.4	27.2
1876	51.7	7.9	13.1	72.7	10.0	17.3	27.3
1877	47.7 ^f	7.9	14.4	70.0 ^f	11.5 ^r	18.5	30.0 ^r
1878	49.6	7.1	13.9	70.6	10.8	18.6	29.4
1879	49.5	10.3 ^r	13.5	73.3 ^r	10.0	16.7 ^f	26.7 ^f
1880	44.5 ^f	13.2 ^r	13.8	71.5 ^f	12.1 ^r	16.4	28.5 ^r
1881	43.9	12.4	14.5	70.8	11.4	17.8	29.2
1882	43.4	12.6	14.0	70.0	10.7	19.3	30.0
1883	44.1	12.0	14.3	70.4	12.2 ^r	17.4 ^f	29.6
1884	44.5	11.1	14.6	70.2	11.8	18.0	29.8
1885	42.9	11.5	14.1	68.5 ^f	12.3	19.2	31.5 ^r
1886	40.9 ^f	14.0 ^r	14.6	69.5	13.0	17.5 ^f	30.5 ^f
1887	40.8	14.3	15.7	70.8	12.3	16.9	29.2
1888	39.4	13.8	16.1	69.3	12.3	18.4	30.7
1889	40.5	14.0	16.8	71.3	11.1	17.6	28.7 ^f
Average of 20 years 1869-1888.	46.5	11.6	14.7	72.8	10.5	16.7	27.2

The exceptional years in each column are marked, as in the Table of Imports, with letters to denote a rise or fall.

TABLE NO. 4. QUINQUENNIAL ABSTRACT OF TABLE NO. 3.

Periods.	QUINQUENNIAL ABSTRACT: EXPORTS.							
	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.				BRITISH POSSESSIONS.			Total.
	In Europe.	United States.	All other.	Total.	British India and Straits Settlements.	All other.	Total.	
1869 to 1873	49'4	12'8	16'2	78'4	8'0	13'6	21'6	100
1874 to 1878	49'8	8'5	13'7	72'0	10'3	17'7	28'0	100
1879 to 1883	45'1	12'1	14'0	71'2	11'3	17'5	28'8	100
1884 to 1888	41'7	13'0	15'0	69'7	12'3	18'0	30'3	100
Average 1869-88	46'5	11'6	14'7	72'8	10'5	16'7	27'2	100
Year 1889	40'5	14'0	16'8	71'3	11'1	17'6	28'7	100

1. The total trade with foreign countries exhibits a nearly continuous decrease, with a corresponding increase in that with India and the Colonies, up to the year 1885, when the current changed. But the great change occurred in the second quinquennium, commencing in the year 1874, and was caused mainly by the great falling off in the trade with the United States and with extra-European countries, together with some advance in the increase of the trade with India and the Colonies, the latter of which began in 1872. The proportions of the total trade of the Colonies in 1889 were nearly the same as in the two quinquenniums 1874 to 1883.

2. The periods of fluctuation—of inflation and depression—in each trade may be further shown by a statement of the actual amount of the annual changes in the total of exports, foreign and Colonial, and of all the important changes in each of the principal groups, expressed in millions of pounds sterling. This is represented in the following table, which, indeed, supplies a picture of the export trade of the United Kingdom during the last twenty years, and shows how the trade with Europe was affected by the Franco-Prussian war. The years of decrease are marked with an asterisk.

Years.	INCREASE OR DECREASE (*) IN MILLIONS OF £ STERLING.							
	Total.		Europe.	United States.	All other Foreign.	British India.	British North America.	Australasia.
	Foreign.	Colonial.						
1870	3	4	—	—	—	—	1'6	3'7*
1871	40	nil.	—	8	—	—	1'6	—
1872	21	10	7	7*	7	—	2'2	4'4
1873	9*	5	—	9*	—	—	2'0*	3'7
1874	20*	7	8*	—	7*	3'7	—	—
1875	15*	1*	—	7*	—	—	1'6*	—
1876	18*	6*	8*	—	5*	—	—	—
1877	10*	6	13*	—	—	3'3	—	—
1878	3*	4*	—	—	—	—	—	—
1879	9	6	—	8	6	—	—	—
1880	22	15	—	13	—	9'6	—	—
1881	6	5	—	—	—	—	—	5'3
1882	4	6	—	—	—	—	1'4	4'4
1883	1	2*	—	—	—	4'1	—	—
1884	8*	2*	—	—	5*	—	—	—
1885	22*	2*	15*	—	—	—	1'2*	—
1886	1	3*	7*	6	—	—	—	3'1*
1887	12	nil.	—	—	5	—	—	2'7*
1888	8	9	—	—	—	—	—	6'3
1889	18	1*	10	—	5	—	—	3'1*

3. The trade with Europe was fully maintained in the second period, but has since continued to decrease up to 1889, when it was nearly 20 per cent. (19'0) below the average of 1874—78.

4. The trade with the United States, which fell exactly a third in the second period, nearly recovered itself in the third, and has continued to advance. In 1889 it was 15'7 per cent., above the average of 1879—83.

5. The trade with other foreign countries, which decreased in the second period, has continued to increase ever since, and reached its maximum in 1889.

6. India exhibits a continuous increase, amounting to more than 50 per cent. in the last quinquennium over the first. But in 1889 there was a decrease of nearly 10 per cent.

7. In the trade with the Colonies, there has been scarcely any change since the second period, and a decrease in 1889 compared either with that period or with 1884—88.

8. Examining the total foreign and Colonial export trades, the upward and downward changes have been heavier in both than in the imports, but they have shown the same inclination. The rises in the foreign have been fewest and heaviest, viz., 7 averaging 1'6 per cent., while the falls have been 13, averaging 1'4 per cent. The Colonial trade showed the reverse. Here the falls have been fewest and heaviest.

9. A comparison of the extreme changes in any one year with those in the imports exhibits some notable differences:—

Export Trade with	Greatest Upward.		Greatest Downward.	
	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
Europe ...	1871	4'3	1880	5'0
United States ...	1879	3'2	1873	2'8
Other foreign countries	1877	1'3	1871	2'0
Total foreign ...	1871	3'1	1874	3'3
India ...	1880	2'1	1871	1'8
Colonies ...	1872	1'7	1879	1'9
Total British ...	1874	3'3	1871	3'1

10. There is one other comparison of interest, which shows that, on the average of the whole period of twenty years, Europe has taken a larger proportion of our exports than we have received of imports from her, while our imports from the United States have greatly exceeded our exports to that country. India takes more than we receive from her, and the Colonies considerably more. Thus:—

	Imports from.		Exports to.	
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Europe ...	42'3	...	46'5	...
United States ...	21'2	...	11'6	...
Other foreign countries	13'9	...	14'7	...
Total ...	77'4	...	72'8	...
India ...	9'4	...	10'5	...
Colonies ...	13'2	...	16'7	...
Total ...	22'6	...	27'2	...
Total ...	100'0	...	100'0	...

To sum up, it appears from the above figures that our import trade with Europe varied slightly between 1869 and 1885, but has increased in the last four years: our export trade, however, has fallen off 20 per cent. in the last twenty years, reaching its minimum in 1888, and showing a slight rise in 1889. Our import trade with the United States has increased greatly, and our export trade slightly; our import trade with other foreign countries has decreased nearly one-half, and our export trade, which fell off up to 1886, has since recovered itself. Our import trade with India fell off considerably up to 1879, but has since nearly recovered itself; our export trade to that country has advanced continuously since 1872 up to 1889; last year it fell off somewhat. The import trade with the Colonies has varied very little, and increased but slowly, during the twenty years; the export trade took a start, and increased largely, in 1874—78, but has varied slightly since, and was less in 1889 than in the second period, 1874—78, or in the last, 1884—88. The above comparisons are not affected by the fall of prices during the period which, it may be assumed, operated pretty equally in the exports to all countries.

I fear that I have trespassed almost unreasonably upon your space, but the information appears to be instructive and valuable. I propose to conclude the inquiry in a much briefer letter, which will show the comparative progress of the trade in each group of the British Possessions. Your readers will then be in a position to judge accurately of the degree in which foreign countries and British Possessions, and each group of the latter, have contributed, and contribute, directly to the maritime commerce of the United Kingdom.

5th July, 1890.

RAWSON W. RAWSON.

P.S.—My attention has been called to an error in my last letter. I have given the figures for the average total trade of 1884-88 instead of those for the year 1888. I will correct this in my next. The percentage proportions and the conclusions drawn from them are correct.

R. W. R.

[NOTE.—We have received a letter from Mr. James Edgcome, of the National Fair Trade League, calling attention to the error alluded to. Mr. Edgcome proposes to write a more general criticism, which we shall be happy to publish.—ED. IMP. FED.]

THE NAVY OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I observe in your issue of June a statement, under the heading "Affairs in South Africa," to the effect that Captain Graham Bower, of the Royal Navy, speaking in the capital of the Orange Free State, made the following extraordinary statement—that "the service to which he belonged was the navy not only of England, South Africa, and Australia, but also of the Free State."

It may be outside the duty of a naval officer to know from whose pockets he receives his pay and to whom the ship under his command belongs, but in that case he should stick to his ship, and not go hundreds of miles up the country for the purpose of making misleading, and therefore mischievous, statements.

Surely in no sense can the navy which costs the people of the United Kingdom exclusively some fourteen million pounds a year be held to be the navy of South Africa, Australia, or of the Free State (a foreign country, be it noted), who contribute not a penny towards its maintenance.

Such statements are mischievous because they lead the people who are thus endowed with a magnificent navy to which they have never paid a farthing, to neglect the provisions which are necessary to the existence of every country, while relying upon a navy which belongs to the United Kingdom. When occasion arises for the services of a navy, they refer to the vicariously generous words of a Captain Bower only to find them devoid of either authority or foundation. Awakenings of this kind at critical moments can only lead to disgust and ill-feeling.

We have at this moment an excellent case in point: the Newfoundlanders having a difference with France clamour for the navy of the United Kingdom to come and settle it in their favour. To their intense disgust, not only is that navy not employed for the purpose which they desire, but is even used to enforce against them the terms of the treaty which they denounce. The reason of this would be perfectly clear to them

if they only realised that which they will have to understand eventually, that the navy and the other services, diplomatic and military, as at present constituted, are those of the people of the United Kingdom who pay for them, and that these institutions will in the long run, and especially in times of emergency, be used exclusively for the benefit of the people who have paid to maintain them in time of peace.

Persons such as Captain Bower are doing no good service to their hearers by prophesying these smooth things; the people of the United Kingdom are of the same flesh and blood as those of the Colonies; let the latter ask themselves if their democratic institutions will allow of a single pound of public money being spent for anybody's benefit but their own; let them remember that a democracy now rules in Great Britain; and then let them reflect upon the force with which this reply would come from the United Kingdom in response to their demand for "more navy" in the hour of danger: "You have as much as you pay for: there are thirty-seven million people in these islands whose homes and whose food supply have to be made absolutely safe before your turn comes."

The only way in which the navy of the United Kingdom can be made the navy of South Africa and Australia as well, is for the people of those countries to insist upon contributing to its maintenance, and upon having a voice in its administration. If they do not care to do this now, in time of peace, or if they think the matter can be deferred to a more convenient season, do not let them be surprised if when the trouble comes the correspondence upon the subject takes the shape which I have indicated.

How the navy may become the navy of the Orange Free State, or of what value it may be to a country without a yard of coast-line, I leave Captain Bower to determine.

I trouble you with this extended letter on the assumption that the object of the Imperial Federation League is not to endow the self-governing Colonies, "free-gratis-for-nothing," with that which has for years cost the United Kingdom many millions annually, and will certainly not cost less in future, and at the same time to leave them free to go adrift whenever it may suit them; but, in the words of its Constitution, "to combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights."—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Do St DES.

COLONEL BOULTON'S MOTION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me space in your columns to explain the *raison d'être* of my resolution in the Canadian Senate, which has been severely criticised? Your Journal is performing a most valuable service in collecting statistics and educating your readers in the geographical and political features of the Empire; and, as the exponent of the Imperial Federation League, it is deserving of all respect in any views it may enunciate to forward the cause of Imperial Federation. But, as all views have to be thought out before a just conclusion can be arrived at by the general public, in whose hands the destinies of the Empire lie, I ask the courtesy of your columns, although advocating a policy you are evidently opposed to. The gist of my motion was "that the time has arrived when a measure of representation might be accorded to Canada in the Imperial Parliament." My contention is that Imperial Federation exists already, that we have it in form and in reality, and that what is necessary to an advance on the same line is an extension of the Imperial franchise, in accordance with the legitimate growth of the British Constitution. Outside the prerogatives of the Crown, the seat of power in the Empire lies in the Imperial Parliament. It created all the Constitutions which govern the various dominions and dependencies of the Crown; to the Imperial Parliament they all owe their allegiance, and as yet there have never been signs of wavering in that allegiance; on the contrary, in Canada the hope is generally expressed by public men, irrespective of party leanings, that the bonds of union may be drawn closer rather than the reverse; at the same time a feeling exists that British subjects should have some voice in making the laws which govern them in their Imperial relations, their interests having grown to such large proportions. What does Imperial Federation mean as hitherto advocated in your columns? It means the ultimate creation of a governing body for Imperial affairs only, in which all parts of the Empire shall be represented. It also means that, in order to attain that result, the representatives of the Imperial Parliament shall be asked to delegate its powers, which are drawn from sources dating back for centuries, to a body created by the subordinate Governments of the Empire. When it comes to a practical test of the question, the representatives of the Imperial Parliament will hardly delegate powers which have been entrusted to them. They may say, "Come and assist us with your council, and advice, and means to govern the Empire," but they are not likely to consent that the present Imperial Parliament shall become a subordinate Parliament in the Empire. The Canadian Federation was formed by a number

of independent Provinces, who only owed their allegiance to the Crown, agreeing among themselves to found a nation, and delegating their national powers to a central body, which up to that time had no existence. Australian Federation is being brought about by the same means, but these are not analogous in our Imperial relations. The central body already exists, its powers are absolute, and are constitutionally defined; and the Colonies have no powers to delegate in an Imperial sense; but although they have no powers, they have a large interest and a large stake in the British Empire, and powers may be conferred upon them by gradually admitting them to a share in the responsibility of governing it. Canada has perfected her constitutional autonomy within herself. Distance is no bar. Her representatives are capable of giving practicable counsel where her interests in Imperial relations are concerned, and the first step in the ideal Imperial Federation you advocate might be taken by admitting a representative from each Province in the Dominion, and one representing the Dominion Government, to seats in the Imperial Parliament, leaving the Canadian Government to arrange the details and mode of representation. It is a crude beginning, but would lead to most important results in the future; it in no way disturbs the relations that exist between the Imperial and Dominion Governments; it would not arouse the hostility of other Powers, but it would mark a step in the growth of the Empire which is a natural one to take. Australia would follow suit when she had established her Dominion; and the way would thus be paved for the development of the most perfect system of governing a large Empire for mutual support. The Empire can only be held together by sentiment and self-interest, two of the strongest forces that govern the individuals of a nation. Sentiment is a growth, not a creation; and the more gradual the growth is, the stronger the sentiment is. The day may come when an Imperial policy will be developed by British statesmen, which will entail a uniform system of representation and taxation for Imperial purposes, and a harmonising of the commercial relations of the Empire; but such a policy is not likely to be inaugurated until questions of purely local interest become dissociated from Imperial interest in the Imperial Parliament—a process that has been commenced, but which may take some years to accomplish. In the meantime, the self-governing dominions might be gradually educated in the responsibilities of governing the Empire by the admission of a small number of representatives to the Imperial Parliament. There would, no doubt, be difficulties in ultimately establishing the whole representation; but if the policy is sound, difficulties disappear, and experience will dictate. The object of my resolution was to bring these views before the Canadian public, not expecting that either the leader of the Senate or the members of the Senate were prepared to decide upon such an important issue, or even to give a political colouring to it; but I do not think the friends of the Imperial Federation League have any reason to feel that the cause they advocate suffered a defeat by the withdrawal of my resolution. Questions involving changes in political relations must be discussed, and are likely to meet with opposition; but a check in the details does not mean the defeat of a principle. Imperial Federation is as yet only on the outskirts of public opinion in Canada, but the question of the fisheries, the French treaty rights in Newfoundland, and other Imperial questions affecting Canada, may lead the Canadian people to view the question of Imperial representation as an advantage to be sought for in self-interest; and could any more noble sentiment inspire a people than to contemplate the assemblage of seven or eight hundred representatives, some of whom are called from the most distant countries to meet in England's capital, the bullseye of the world, to legislate upon the affairs of the greatest Empire upon which the sun has ever set? If such a result is practicable, it is worth some sacrifices on the part of all to accomplish it.

C. A. BOULTON.

Manitoba, May 31st, 1890.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL TRADE.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In your July number appears a letter, signed "Rawson Rawson," which shows that, whereas the total foreign trade of the country has a slight increase during the past five years, the Colonial trade has, on the other hand, a slight decrease. The letter also appears to deprecate any preferential treatment of our Colonies on the ground that it might cause disturbance in the trade with foreign countries.

I have no doubt the figures in Sir Rawson Rawson's letter are quite correct, but figures by themselves not only often prove nothing, but are practically misleading. The main question is, not what is the total amount of the trade, but what is the character of it? It can be easily proved that the trade between the Mother Country and her Colonies is of a much more valuable nature than that with foreign nations. Our Colonial customers not only buy of us almost to the same amount we buy of them, but they send us hardly any manu-

factured articles that compete with home industries, as is the case to a considerable extent with foreigners, who, moreover, in many cases, buy of us only to about half the amount we take from them.

Further, a mere increase of trade between two countries (exports and imports lumped together) may be positively harmful to one of them, where such increase takes the form of imports, with no corresponding augmentation of exports, and is, in addition, due to the crushing of a home industry by the free importation of foreign commodities. For instance, land put out of cultivation increases the imports of agricultural produce, free silk that of silk goods, with the result that the workers have in many instances to drag on a precarious existence or emigrate to an alien land, when they become our rivals, and our possible enemies in the next generation if not in the present. The "do-something-else" theory of the doctrinaire free-traders has long since been exploded.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

RICHARD R. DASHWOOD, Major-General.

Member of Fair Trade League and of Imperial Federation
94, Piccadilly, June 5th. League.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND QUESTION.

THE following statement was published in the *Times* of July 8, and may be taken as the official "case" of the Newfoundland Government as presented to the Imperial Government by Sir William Whiteway and Mr. Harvey, who arrived in England early in the month "to assist with their advice in the settlement of the Fisheries question."

With regard to the three principal headings of the French claims—the right, namely, to exclusive cod fishing on the so-called French shore, the right to can lobsters, and the right to fish salmon in the rivers—they bring with them an absolute mandate from the Colony to deny them all. Besides the already well-known arguments as to the true interpretation of the treaties on which the French base their claim of exclusive cod fishing, there is this further piece of evidence. In 1818 a treaty was entered into between Great Britain and America, by which the Americans acquired a right to fish along the coast of Newfoundland, from the Island of Rameo on the south coast, round Cape Ray to the Island of Quirpon on the extreme north-east; that is to say over nearly the whole extent of the coast known as the French shore. Clearly Great Britain could not dispose of that which was not her own, and if it was within her right to grant fishing privileges to a foreign Power such as America, those privileges were hers. The date of this treaty is, it will be observed, subsequent to all those hitherto quoted in support of the French view. Therefore, after the treaties of Utrecht, Versailles, and Paris, and after the declaration of King George III., an Act was entered into which puts beyond dispute the fact that Great Britain retained sovereign rights over the waters and the coasts in which she had granted certain fishing privileges to France, so far as regards the main right of fishery. As regards the minor divisions of it into rights of lobster and salmon fishing, the lobster question has been already thoroughly argued out in public, and it is needless to enter into it further than to say that in the opinion of the Colony the claim of the French to establish permanent buildings on the shore for the prosecution of this industry so far exceeds any privileges of fishing in the waters of Newfoundland to which they have a treaty right, as to constitute nothing short of a claim to establish Colonies in her Majesty's dominions. The lobster industry is not a sea fishery; it is an industry carried on mainly upon land, and implying territorial rights. The Colony is unanimous in rejecting as a matter of principle, apart from any question of intrinsic value, the claims of a foreign Power to exercise such rights on British territory. On this point there can be no possible compromise, nor can the Colony admit for a moment that such a point could be submitted to arbitration. The same objection applies to the French claim to fish for salmon, rights upon rivers implying territorial rights. Further, although it is quite true that the word used in the treaties is not "cod" but "fish," and that the French base upon this their claim to catch all marine species, the intention of the framers of the treaties is perfectly evident, and the right conceded is even technically applicable only to cod, for the phrase is always to catch fish and to erect stages for the drying of the fish upon the shore. The only kinds of fish which can be so dried are fishes of which the fat is not intermixed with the flesh, but is, as in the case of cod and haddock, all concentrated in the liver. Such a fish as salmon cannot be dried in the air without becoming too rancid for human consumption. It is, therefore, evident that no provision made with a view to the open-air drying of fish can have been intended to apply to it. The position of the Colony, as represented by its official delegates, is, therefore, that it admits a concurrent right of cod fishing by the French along the portion of it known as the French shore, but it absolutely rejects the claim of any foreign Power to exercise exclusive rights in its waters or to fish for lobster or salmon, which latter industries would necessarily imply the exercise of sovereign rights upon its territory.

The official delegates are, we understand, especially desirous to press upon the Imperial Government the importance which the Colony attaches to the question of the lobster and salmon fishery, not as a matter of detail, but as a territorial principle of the highest significance. The very small number of French lobster factories which exist in Newfoundland do not materially affect the Colonial trade. The present owners might, under a different order of things, continue their industry with Colonial sanction, and without any pecuniary loss or gain on either side. The objection is to the principle which permits a foreign Power to establish its subjects upon British territory, and to maintain them there

under conditions which render them independent of British law and free from the charges of British administration. To tolerate this is, in the opinion of the Colony, to tolerate the establishment of an *Imperium in Imperio*, which is subversive of the constitutional doctrine of her Majesty's sovereignty over British Colonies, and which can only lead to civil war. On this ground the delegates defend their Government warmly against the charge which has been brought against it of blowing hot and cold on the subject of the *modus vivendi*. Their contention, very briefly stated, is that in the first instance the Colony protested absolutely as a principle against any right on the part of the French to erect lobster factories. The draft of the *modus vivendi*, which was submitted to them, embodied the proposal that the whole question should be adjourned in what may be called a state of crystallisation until it could be fully examined. The state of crystallisation was to commence from July 1, 1889. The Colony would have preferred what it considered it had a right to ask—rejection of the French lobster claim; but, in a spirit of concession to the Home Government, the Legislature decided that, so long as nothing was admitted, they would agree to wait for the convenience of the Home Government to enter thoroughly into the matter. It happened, however, that between the dates of July 1, 1889, and January 1, 1890, a considerable number of Colonial lobster factories had been started, and no new French factories had been started. There was advantage for the Colony in choosing the date of January 1, 1890, rather than the earlier date for the commencement of the proposed state of crystallisation of the question, and the Legislature suggested this modification. The *modus vivendi* as actually concluded between France and England without further reference to the Colony was modified, but, far from being modified in the sense in which the Colony had requested, the original date was maintained, and a clause was added by which a right was conceded to France to continue during the operation of the *modus vivendi* to erect any number of lobster factories for which suitable sites could be agreed upon by the naval officers of both Powers. This clause, which was evidently added only through a misapprehension of the real point at issue, was received by the Colony as an admission of the principle that France might have a right to prosecute Colonial enterprise upon their shores. It was held that to accept it without protest would be to acquiesce in the admission. Hence the whole of the late excitement turns upon it, and the Legislature of Newfoundland consider that, far from blowing hot and cold, the Government of the Colony has, in pointing out the radical difference between the bearing of the second and the first draft of the *modus vivendi*, rendered nothing short of a signal service to the Empire. It has prevented the even temporary establishment of a highly dangerous precedent.

The delegates appreciate the binding force of the treaty obligations by which British fishermen are bound not to "interrupt" the enjoyment by the French of their fishing privileges, but they will maintain that the interpretation which has been given to this clause is forced, and the injury done by it to the Colony excessive. The view which they will lay before the Imperial Government is that, as in common law, no two British subjects are allowed to "interrupt" each other's fishing, and as the French, in the exercise of their fishing privileges in British waters, were outside the protective influence of the British common law, it was necessary to insert in the fishing treaty some phrase which should extend to French fishermen the same immunity from interruption as would in any case be enjoyed by British subjects. The Colonial interpretation of the treaty is that, far from being designed to give the French pre-emptive rights—which, though exercised as they now are in the interests of seven vessels only, are of so potentially disastrous an effect that they literally cut off the larger half of the Island of Newfoundland from civilisation—the clause was in reality intended merely to enable the foreign fishermen to compete on fair terms with the native. By this interpretation the Colony is willing to be honourably bound, but declares that the time has come when it neither can nor will submit any longer to desolate its northern and western coasts, to abstain from constructing railways, from using its own harbours, from working its own mines, and from developing its own industries for the sake of giving to the French masters of seven little fishing craft their choice of the whole extent of that territory on which to land and erect a drying stage. Proper places should be appointed for this purpose at convenient intervals, and over the remainder of the shore Great Britain should exercise all the rights of sovereignty which belong to her. With regard to the accusation brought against the Colony of having in some instances already broken the treaty engagements, the delegates are prepared to admit the fact, but there is not one instance of infraction of the regulations or spirit of the treaties by the Colony for which they are not prepared to show counterweight in a much greater infraction by the French.

The proposed solution of the question becomes at this stage of the matter the vital point, and to find it the whole, otherwise foreign, question of the Great Bank Fishery has to be opened. In the old treaty days the great cod fishery was on the Newfoundland coast. The fish have now migrated to the Great Banks, which lie about 150 miles south of Newfoundland and are open to the fishing of all the world. All the real and intrinsic value of the fishing industry is, therefore, concentrated upon these banks, and the treaty rights on the shore of Newfoundland are used merely as a lever to obtain conditions which are judged to be either necessary or advantageous to French fishing there. The fact that the shore fishing, of which so much has been heard, employs seven vessels and about 400 or 500 men, while the Great Bank Fishery employs about 400 or 500 vessels and about 25,000 men, is enough to indicate the relative importance of these two fisheries, both in commercial value and as a training-ground for French seamen. What is really important to France is the Great Bank Fishery. Her treaty rights on the Newfoundland coast have no value except in relation to Great Bank. The solution of the Newfoundland question must, therefore, be sought on the Great Banks. The bounties paid by the French Government upon fish exported to the markets of Southern Europe cover nearly the whole prime cost of the fishery. It is impossible for

the Newfoundland fishermen, to whom no bounties are paid, to compete under the circumstances, and, as the only means of saving their own industry appeared to be to cripple the French, they passed a Bait Act, the object of which was avowedly to prevent the French from obtaining bait. In order to force the Colony to give them bait, the French are making use of their rights on the treaty shore in the manner which has brought about the present troubles. Here, then, we have the whole situation focussed. Two friendly Powers, whose subjects are engaged in an industry important and valuable to both alike, have allowed themselves to fall into a rivalry in which, instead of developing the industry for the common benefit of the producers and the consumers, they have endeavoured each in turn to cripple the resources of the other. France pays no bounty upon fish exported into France, but, in order to cripple the Newfoundland Fishery, the olive-grower and wine-grower of Bordeaux pays something like 10s. a quintal upon all the French fish which is sent to his rival, the olive-grower and wine-grower of Spain and Italy, and thus enables his rival to obtain for 17l. a quantity of food for which he is himself obliged to pay 25s. The position, from the point of view of the French taxpayer, is absurd, and as a counterpoise to this absurdity Newfoundland passes a Bait Act, which gives an immense stimulus to smuggling, and at the same time deprives a large portion of the poor and respectable population of their means of living. The remedy which Sir William Whiteway and Mr. Harvey propose to urge upon the Imperial Government is that France should abolish or materially reduce her bounties, and that the Colony should, in return, give all facilities to France for the purchase of bait. Treaty rights upon the Newfoundland coast will then be found to die a natural death, and can be made the subject of a subsidiary agreement.

THE WESTERN AUSTRALIA BILL IN THE LORDS.

THE following is a fuller report of the speeches on the second reading of the Western Australia Constitution Bill in the House of Lords briefly recorded in our Parliamentary columns under date 14th July:—

Lord Knutsford, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said: The Bill is, with the exception of two clauses which have been omitted, the same as that your lordships passed last year. After having been read a second time in the House of Commons, the Bill was referred to a very strong Select Committee, who had the advantage of hearing a considerable body of evidence, including that of Sir F. N. Broome and Sir W. Robinson, and two members of the Legislative Council of the Colony. I would call the attention of your lordships to the two clauses which were, under the advice of the Committee, omitted from the Bill. They were Clauses 4 and 8. By Clause 4 the control and management of land to the north of the 26th parallel of latitude was reserved to the Crown. In a despatch dated December 12, 1887, I pressed upon the Colony this reservation, in spite of their wishes to the contrary. It seemed to me that the principle of granting responsible government to this Colony was so important that I was ready to adopt any measure which would disarm opposition, though I did not personally believe that any danger existed of the land being mismanaged. It may be admitted that what Sir Charles Dilke calls "the noble dowry" which we gave to the Colonies in the control of their land has been somewhat wasted and mismanaged. But the best mode of dealing with it can only be gained by experience. Those who find fault with Her Majesty's Government for handing over so much land to the Colonies urge that we ought to profit by the experience of the past. I would answer that if you look back on the history of the matter you will find that the waste and mismanagement all took place under the government of the Crown, and before responsible government was conceded. Since that event the Colonies have more or less improved the land system which previously prevailed. At all events, Western Australia has profited by the experience of the other Colonies, and the rules and regulations which they have passed for the management of the land are eminently calculated to favour emigration and cultivation by small settlers. Then it was found that there would have been some difficulties in the management of the northern land by the Crown, and evidence before the Committee was so clear that they agreed to the omission of the clause. This omission was, I may say, in accordance with the view of one whose loss we all most deeply deplore—the late Lord Carnarvon. (Hear, hear.) Lord Carnarvon said last year that if you gave responsible government to the Colonies you must be prepared to give the Crown lands, and he rather doubted the desirability of the restrictions which I thought it well to insert in the Bill of last year. There was one argument advanced by the Earl of Derby in favour of the reservation, to the effect that it would facilitate the creation of a separate Colony in the northern portion of the area, which he thought must take place in a few years. But the evidence given before the Committee distinctly pointed to the fact that it must be many years before that separation could take place, and the great movement towards Australian Federation has also militated against the chance of the northern portion being separated from the southern. I therefore trust that your lordships will not think fit to dissent from the omission of this clause. Clause 8 provided that any Bill restricting emigration should be reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure. The omission of this clause was only decided by a majority of two in the Committee; but the Government decided that they would take the sense of the House of Commons on the matter, and the House of Commons affirmed the omission of the clause without a division. Your lordships must remember that emigration to the Colony has increased for many years; that the Colony has been one of those most ready and most desirous to promote immigration; and that the feeling in favour of immigration will be certainly increased and not diminished, because every immigrant will be regarded as an addition to the wealth and resources of the Colony.

Therefore it was unnecessary to keep the clause, and undesirable, because in no other case where responsible government has been granted has such a clause been inserted. (Hear, hear.) This Bill is of vital interest to Western Australia, and it is strongly supported by the other Australian Colonies. Therefore I ask your lordships to read it a second time.

The Earl of Kimberley: I am extremely glad that this Bill has come to us in this shape, because I think it is a decided improvement on the Bill of last year. With regard to the concession of the Crown lands, my opinion is quite clear that it is entirely unnecessary and very impolitic to introduce the restrictions which the Bill of last year contained. The evidence given before the Select Committee showed very clearly what the feeling in Australia is on the subject; and even if it were known that there was some advantage to be gained from those restrictions I should still strongly object to impose them in the face of the feeling of the Colonies generally. With regard to emigration, I say the same thing, with the addition that it was entirely an illusion to suppose that the Colony of Western Australia would not favour emigration. (Hear, hear.) For a long time they must look to emigration for their progress. When the Colony has a large population and a system of manufacturing industries like Victoria, it may so happen that a feeling will grow up against the introduction of labour to compete with the labouring population of the Colony. But if that time should come I feel perfectly certain that it would be impossible for Parliament or Government to override the feeling of the Colony, and such a clause as that in the Bill of last year would not in the least strengthen the position of the Government of the day. (Hear, hear.) I am glad of the alterations which have been made, and I believe that this Bill meets not only with the approval of the Government, but also with the approval of all parties. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Norton said that when he saw, both in debates of the other House and even the Select Committee, that many thought Western Australia a Crown Colony, and were not aware that this Bill only developed a representative Government into a responsible one, he was not surprised to hear the waste lands talked of as the patrimony of our people at home. Those lands were as much in the control of a responsible Government as common lands in England under this Parliament, and both were under the common Sovereign. The fears that the Colony would pass Acts restricting English immigration and that they might maltreat the aborigines smacked of the old Mother Country Colonial policy, which for some time superseded the freer and more successful colonisation of England. Besides, if we reserved either control or territory, who was to pay? Western Australia could not go on with its present Constitution, nor participate in Federation, unless put on a par with the rest. (Hear, hear.)

THE CANADA CLUB DINNER.

SPEECHES BY LORD ROSEBURY AND SIR DONALD SMITH.

THE members of the Canada Club and their guests dined on Wednesday, July 2nd, at the Albion Tavern, Aldersgate Street, under the presidency of Sir Donald A. Smith. The members present were:—Mr. Peter Redpath, Vice-President; Mr. Malcolm O. Sim, Secretary; the Hon. C. N. Lawrence, Capt. L. S. King, and Messrs. J. H. Durham, F. Fearon, R. Gillespie, H. Stanley Smith, C. B. Walker, W. Armit, E. Wotton, E. L. Heatley, Walter Tomlinson, T. Stevenson, H. Mott, R. Moir, Thomas Skinner, R. R. Dobell, H. E. Montgomerie, T. W. Bischoff, E. J. Halsey, J. H. Brodie, E. A. Hoare, J. B. Renton, E. G. Price. The guests present were:—Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, P.C., Right Hon. Sir Arthur Otway, Bart., P.C., Sir Robert Collins, K.C.B., Sir Francis Johnston, Sir H. Edwards, Mr. Edward Boulnois, M.P., Mr. W. E. M. Tomlinson, M.P., General Thomas Addison, C.B., Major A. Addison, R.A., Captain Neville Rolfe, R.N., C.B., Captain William Savile, late 9th Lancers, Lieut. W. G. Stairs, R.E., Col. C. W. Robinson, C.B., Assistant Military Secretary at headquarters, Rev. A. J. McCaul, M.A., Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., the Hon. Harold Finch Hatton, and Messrs. Arthur Slee, Walter Lucy, Elliott Bushby, Harry W. Edge, W. J. Tanner, A. D. Brownfield, George Goschen, Frank Percival, Harry Moody, Joseph Price, Robert Clarke, H. Nathan, W. Whymper, Percy Hurd, W. Beauclerk, T. S. Flack, T. Wotton, William Halsey, Charles Monckton, J. R. Mosse, A. H. Loring, H. T. Bovey, F. R. Redpath, and A. Stanley Smith.

At the conclusion of the dinner the PRESIDENT gave the usual loyal toasts, that of Her Majesty being received with marked enthusiasm.

LIEUTENANT STAIRS, in responding, with others, to the toast of "The Army and Navy and Colonial Forces," was greeted with enthusiasm on rising. He said: I can only thank you very cordially for the kind way in which you have alluded to me. There is nothing of which I can be more proud than that I serve Her Majesty as a Canadian officer. I know of some fifty Canadian officers in Her Majesty's service, and no one can say a bad word of them. (Cheers.) On the contrary, I know of none that is not a credit to the Queen and to Canada, and should trouble ever come to Canada, I am sure every one of them would flock back to the flag of our country, subject of course to the flag of the Mother Land. (Renewed cheers.)

In proposing the toast of the evening, "The Dominion of Canada," the PRESIDENT said in the course of his speech: The interests of Canada and England are indeed identical in

this as in other respects. We hear something at times of annexation and independence. Especially in the newspapers do we find such topics mooted, and, of course, we believe all we see in the newspapers, especially if the statement is reputed to have come from a long distance. (Laughter.) But I think I can say for my fellow citizens in Canada that 99 out of every 100—yes and 999 out of every 1,000—are loyal to the core, and desire that the connection with this country should continue for many years to come. (Cheers.) When we find gentlemen such as Lieut. Stairs ready to serve their Queen as he has done, we have great hopefulness of the future. (Hear, hear.) It is true we are at present a small people in numbers, but we can boast of works of no mean importance. In the Grand Trunk and the railways connected with it we have a system which has done a great deal for Canada, and to which Canada is much indebted for efforts put forward by the aid of English capital, and to some extent of Canadian capital, at a time when Canada was poor—not that she is very rich now, though she has all the means of becoming so. (Cheers.) We have, too, the Canadian Pacific system now extending from St. John on the Atlantic to Vancouver and Victoria on the Pacific, by means of which the Englishman may cross the whole continent in ease and even luxury. Then, again, we have among other excellent financial institutions one, which is the fourth largest bank in the Empire, both as regards capital and, I believe, the support it gives to commercial enterprises. (Cheers.) That is something for a country with five million inhabitants and is a promise of what we shall do when our population numbers fifteen and twenty millions, as it will do within a very few years, for we are getting people not only from England but from Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere in Europe, and good English citizens they become. (Hear, hear.) Yes, gentlemen, we are proud of our country, and we have no desire to change our condition. We have the most friendly feeling for our neighbours to the south, and we wish to do the largest possible trade with them, but there our ambition in that direction ends. (Cheers.) What we ask of this country is that you will send us as many good citizens as you possibly can. To encourage that end has, in a large measure, been the work of the Canada Club during the hundred years of its existence.

The toast was coupled with the name of Lord Stanley of Preston, the Governor-General of the Dominion, whose name was received with loud cheers.

The PRESIDENT gave "The guests who have honoured us with their presence this evening," and assured those present, and especially the Earl of Rosebery, whose name was, he said, a household word in Canada, of the hearty welcome that awaited them if they would visit Canada.

LORD ROSEBERY, who was warmly greeted on rising, said in the course of his speech in responding to the toast: I do not altogether share the quality of despondency of the Chairman as regards the future of Canada with respect to population. He considers that in proportion to the United States Canada is thinly populated. I can only say that that is not the fault of Canadians themselves. (Laughter and cheers.) When I was in Canada I was informed that the Prime Minister of Quebec was the twentieth son of his parents, and that a family of twelve was considered an inadequate contribution to the national stability of the Dominion. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) Under these circumstances, I cannot but feel that there must be some other reason than we have yet heard to explain the deficiency in population of the Canadian people. And I may here remark that I have suggested to Her Majesty's Government a scheme of Scandinavian emigration which may add some thousand Heligolanders to the inhabitants of the Dominion. (Hear, hear.) Still I do not believe that Scandinavian Colonists are the best. I have a firm belief which, I am sure, our Chairman shares, that Scotch Colonists are the best, and that we should endeavour to send the Scotch population which leaves our barren hills to colonise the Canadian soil under the British Crown. (Cheers.) But I cannot help feeling that I am here to-night in a measure because of my presidency of the Imperial Federation League, and I approach this part of my speech with some apprehension, for it is here I meet the vigilant gaze of my friend Mr. Loring. (Laughter.) Imperial Federation is a subject on which anyone can speak by the hour according to the point of view from which he looks at it. My view is a very simple view. It is that there are two paths open to this Empire. One is to proceed steadily outward from each other towards the parting of the ways with the utmost rapidity. The other is to proceed inward and take advantage of every opportunity that may occur to strengthen the bonds that now unite us, and that to my mind is Imperial Federation. (Hear, hear.) The idea of Imperial Federation in my sense has been promoted by the gallantry of men like our really distinguished guest this evening, Lieutenant Stairs, who has shown that Canadians are emulous of the people of this land in showing their devotion to Queen and country. (Cheers.) So also the action of men like Mr. Dalley in sending the New South Wales contingent in aid of the Imperial forces in the Soudan—though the aid was not appreciable as an Imperial force—was a token of goodwill

and real anxiety to share the common burdens of the Empire. (Renewed cheers.) We know that Canada shares that view. It was only the other day that the Dominion Houses of Parliament passed unanimously an address to the Queen to assure her of their continued devotion. That, I believe, is in itself an assurance of the progress of what is called Imperial Federation, but what is more truly National Unity. And when I mention the Dominion Houses of Parliament it would not be fitting on this occasion to pass over in absolute silence the death of one of its fathers—I allude to Lord Carnarvon. (Cheers.) He was an earnest and sincere—perhaps not always judicious, but that was because of his extreme earnestness and sincerity—friend of the Colonies, and the distinguishing feature of his life will be that he was the father of that Act which gave the Dominion of Canada its existence, and I should be wanting in my duty if on this occasion I passed over a death which we all deplore. (Renewed cheers.) If Imperial Federation means the taking of every opportunity of drawing closer together the bonds which unite Great Britain and her Colonies, what prospect have we of that enterprise being successful? In my belief there are the highest hopes, and they rest not on imaginary constitutions, not on the placing of Colonists and others in the House of Commons or the House of Lords, not on the unlimited extension of the Order of St. Michael and St. George—a laugh—but more truly and more deeply in the aspirations now existing among the great populations which comprise the Empire. (Hear, hear.) The British Empire is like that sheet held up at the four corners, of which we read in the New Testament, which contained every manner of fowl, animal, and insect, for it can accommodate every race and every description of man, and it extends to the greatest distances that can separate any parts of this world. (Cheers.) There is nothing in the present constitution of the British Empire to prevent all its inhabitants remaining a part of the Empire, and that of itself is an overwhelming proof of the capacity and comprehension of its constitution. (Hear, hear.) It is under this constitution we have flourished. It is under its ægis we shall flourish in the future, and it is upon the attachment of the people of the Empire to that constitution that we base our hopes of what is called Imperial Federation. (Cheers.) But there is another hope, and it is, the singular indisposition of the British nation to part with any part of British territory. I am not speaking in a party sense when I allude to the recent Anglo-German agreement of which I do not know much except that it comprises the cession of Heligoland. The cession of Heligoland is of course no great matter to the British Empire in so far as it relates to the territory represented, but why I allude to it is to emphasise my belief that in the minds of a great many who have not, it may be, weighed the advantages or disadvantages of that agreement, as to which I now say nothing, there is an unreasoning dislike to part with anything that has once been British territory. (Cheers and a voice: "No.") I am not speaking now of the political part of the agreement, but I think in many minds there is an unreasoning dislike to parting with anything that has once been British territory. (Renewed cheers and a voice: "No.") That is a feature of British character which we may not be able to explain, but it is one which my perhaps longer experience than that of the hon. gentleman who contradicts convinces me does exist. (Renewed cheers.) That it is an unreasoning dislike I have said, and it points it may be to the fact that we wish to hold the whole globe, and believe we are quite entitled to do so (laughter); but if there is any such feeling in regard to Heligoland, what must it be when applied to territories like those of the Dominion of Canada? (Cheers.) I cannot conceive the frame of mind in which a Minister would approach the British nation with a proposal that under certain circumstances Canada should be separated from the Empire or Australia be separated from us. (Cheers.) He might be right or he might be wrong, but he would be damned by the nation. (Loud cheers and a voice "No.") We never could part with Canada or Australia, except under a strain of anguish and agony which would break up the Empire. (Renewed cheers.) We never could part with them except with a feeling of regret, and with a feeling almost of degradation which would shake the Empire to its very foundations. (Loud cheers.) That is our feeling with regard to the Colonial Empire which has been built up with so much blood and treasure, and therefore I venture to say that the Canada Club which has already, I believe, seen its centenary, will see its bicentenary in the City of London, and always find itself drinking the toast of the British Empire, and the connection of Canada to that Empire, with the same enthusiasm as it has been greeted by you to-night. (Prolonged cheers.)

An Anglo-Saxon Ideal.—Speaking of the names "Imperial Federation" and "National Unity," the *Pall Mall Gazette* said:—"It is curious how unable we are to find good round Anglo-Saxon words for what is becoming more and more the great political ideal of the Anglo-Saxon peoples." But if the name of Imperial Federation so exercised Professor Freeman's mind, what would the consequences be if the same ideas were expressed in "Anglo-Saxon"? That would be adding insult to injury.

NOTICES.

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All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

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Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

AUGUST 1, 1890.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Mlands about her, stay us in this felicitie." JOHN MILTON.

We publish this month a special Postal and Telegraphic Supplement, the body of which is from the pen of MR. HENNIKER HEATON, who may at least claim to have at his disposal more statistics and general information, upon the subject to which he has devoted so much time and energy, than any other public man or private individual outside the Post Office Department. We need not say anything here as to the matter of this contribution, or our own views and attitude towards the movement generally, and MR. HENNIKER HEATON's share in it in particular, as we have prefixed to the supplement itself a short article on the subject. The days of dear postal rates to the Colonies are numbered, and the time is not long before we shall reach the only final halting-place—the universal penny. The ancillary service is also being brought within the reach of others than bankers and millionaires. The triple breakdown near Java, only just repaired as we write, following on the accident that happened while the Telegraph Conference was sitting in Paris, ought to have a good effect on the future of cable communication in at least one most important direction.

We publish a correspondence that has taken place since we wrote last month on the subject of telegraphic communication with Australia. MR. SANDFORD FLEMING, whose recent arrival in England we then noted, has, as we anticipated, taken the matter up warmly, and done, as the correspondence shows, all that in him lies to influence both the Imperial and the Australasian Governments to abandon the scheme of further subsidising the existing cables, and so shutting out for a long period the possibility of a Pacific line. Up to the present time the attitude of the Imperial Government is ostensibly satisfactory. But it is just possible that it may be induced to give way; and if not, that the Australian Governments might think of providing the guarantee required by the Eastern Companies themselves; and in that view MR. FLEMING's appeal to them, as well

as to the Imperial Government, is not uncalled for. There are pecuniary considerations that weigh with the Australian Governments, which would help to induce them to maintain the monopoly of the existing routes. In particular the claims of South Australia, which spent so much in establishing the overland line, cannot be ignored. This was publicly recognised when the subject was discussed at the last session held of the Federal Council of Australasia. But it was recognised also that these claims could be adjusted, and need not stand in the way of an alternative route being established.

OUR attention has been drawn to a passage in the article in last month's Journal, referred to in the foregoing note, which is open to misconstruction. We spoke of MR. SANDFORD FLEMING as being "deeply interested in the proposed Pacific Cable." The expression is not exactly what one would use for a pecuniary interest; but it has been so understood in at least one quarter, and therefore stands in need of explanation. MR. FLEMING never had any but a merely nominal interest in the Company formed to carry out this project; and even that connection, we believe we are right in stating, he long ago severed. His interest in the project is precisely the same as our own—one resting on purely public grounds. It may be added here that MR. FLEMING's visit to England was entirely unconnected with this matter, the first news of which only reached him on landing.

THE official correspondence relating to the Behring Sea question was presented to Congress on July 23, and the *Times* correspondent has furnished us on this side with a telegraphic summary. We do not publish this, as next month we shall no doubt be able to place a full account on record in our columns. The situation of affairs, if not critical at the moment, is sufficiently unpleasant and of a kind that may easily lead to very grave consequences. The points brought out by the publication of the correspondence having the most direct bearing on the questions with which we in this Journal are more immediately concerned are two—one is the dominating influence allowed to be exercised by Canada upon the diplomatic action of the Imperial Government; the other, that LORD SALISBURY has not played the craven part hastily attributed to him by Canadian critics without waiting to know what he really had or had not done. We commend a perusal of this correspondence, and of the letter of our United Kingdom correspondent, DO SI DES, in this issue, to MR. LYMAN, whose indignant protest from Montreal we published in May, and those who share his views.

SIR RAWSON RAWSON gives us the third of his admirable series of letters on the Foreign and Colonial trade of the Empire, and promises a fourth and concluding letter for our next month's issue. The July letter elicits a communication from MAJOR-GENERAL DASHWOOD; and we hope others of our readers will follow his example. We welcome also a thoughtful letter from COLONEL BOULTON, in which he justifies the resolution moved by him a few months ago in the Dominion Senate. There is much in what he says deserving of careful consideration, as bearing on the difficulties in the way of erecting any Imperial authority superseding the existing British Legislature. But, for our own part, we are quite unable to see how the Colonies are to be represented in the existing Parliament. While COLONEL BOULTON speaks of a few representatives, too few to have any voting power, others are showing that even numerically proportionate representation would not give the Colonies an adequate measure of authority in the Imperial Councils. It may well be doubted, too, whether the people of the Mother Country would be any more ready to admit the Colonies to representation without taxation (as we understand our correspondent to propose as a beginning) than the Colonies would be to submit to taxation without representation.

AN analogous point to this last is raised by our correspondent "DO SI DES" in his letter under the amusing heading of "The Navy of the Orange Free State." The

Imperial navy, our correspondent points out, is certainly not in any sense the navy of the Orange Free State; it is not even the navy of the South African Colonies of the Empire, to say nothing of States which, whatever their inevitable future, are at present under other flags. Our correspondent is well known to readers of this Journal for his sturdy maintenance of the rights of the Mother Country, which he thinks are often lost sight of or sacrificed in the interests of the Colonies. But he is a Federationist *pur sang*; he grasps, in fact, what some fail to recognise—that the essence of a Federal tie is that it has two sides to it. And it does no harm to have it bluntly stated sometimes—and our correspondent is always outspoken—that the Colonies must rise to the conception of their own obligations as parts of the Empire, and not expect the Mother Country to dry-nurse them for ever.

SIR J. POPE HENNESSY, in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, says the only value of African possessions is to exchange them for something better worth having, and suggests this way out of the Newfoundland difficulty. He also sees in the same asset a means of liquidating a debt this country owes to Australia, and repairing one of the manifold blunders of our Colonial policy, by buying France out of the Pacific Islands in the vicinity of Australasia, and Germany out of New Guinea. He says: "What has been the result of our allowing two first-class European Powers into the islands of Australia? The inconvenience arising from the French convict settlement was one result; but a far more serious one is involved in the deplorable necessity forced on Australia of organising military and naval defences on a costly scale, on a scale—looking to the population of Australia—commensurate with the bloated armaments of Europe. . . . As long as the land hunger of Germany and France can be gratified by devouring Africa, Her Majesty's Government have, perhaps, an opportunity of setting themselves right with Newfoundland, and paying a debt they owe to Australia."

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE contributed to the June number of the *North American Review* an appreciative article on "Problems of Greater Britain." Speaking, by the way, of the phrase "Greater Britain" as applied to the Empire outside Great Britain, he not ineptly says that in this sense "larger" would be the more appropriate term to use. LORD LORNE, who is entitled to speak with some authority on all matters connected with Imperial Federation, and especially so where Canada is concerned, says:—"There is no doubt that the partial espousal (by Canadian politicians, we are to understand) of the cry of 'Imperial Federation' would not have had half the success it has had were it not that it is considered as a protest against any scheme that would lead, however remotely, to a diminution of the independent position now occupied by Canada. Some men speak as if the Empire would 'burst up' if some great scheme of general and close Federation be not soon adopted; but there is a middle way, and one that will probably be adopted—namely, the securing the defence of each portion of the Empire, the adoption of means of more intimate intercourse between the leading men, the taking in hand by common consent of the expressed wishes of each member of the Empire, and the furtherance of arrangements in regard to commercial intercourse between the various large sections whose leaders have common ideas regarding the good of a certain amount of Protection for the encouragement of industries, where these have been planted under conditions of freedom from an overawing competition by older and richer companies."

THE lesson that was first taught to Britain by her American subjects, LORD LORNE goes on to say—namely, that nothing should be done without their concurrence and consent—is a lesson that has been gratefully learnt and taken to heart by statesmen of the Old Country. And, commenting on a passage in which SIR CHARLES DILKE refers to the cold reception of Imperial Federation among large sections of the populace in Australia, and a change in the eastern Colonies in an opposite direction, his reviewer

says it is probable—nay, certain—that in this sentence too much stress is laid on a passing phase of feeling, which may have shown a reaction following on the energetic initiative which sent a regiment to fight in the Soudan. The Soudan, he points out, was not popular in Britain itself. And though Australia, owing to the amount of trade that passes through the Suez Canal, was interested in British power in the Red Sea, such changes of popular sentiment in regard to wars will always take place, and their influence is not permanent. The soldiers who fought at Waterloo were coldly received in England, because people were tired of the war. This view of the state of feeling in some of the Australian Colonies, and notably in New South Wales itself, from which the Soudan contingent was despatched, is entirely at one with the opinion to which our own observation of the same phenomenon has led us.

Now that official representatives of the Colony have come to London, the Newfoundland difficulty, we may be permitted to hope, is in a fair way to a lasting settlement. It has been a thorn in the side of the Empire, and we must not grumble if we have to submit to a surgical operation for its removal. The Newfoundlanders have had much to put up with, but of course the claims put forward on their behalf by some of their spokesmen in the Press are quite preposterous. How little the real state of the case is understood is well shown by an article in the *Melbourne Age*, which regards the position as analogous to the landing of a French force in Port Philip to emphasise the attitude of France in the New Hebrides. The writer forgets—but it is no wonder, since among the Newfoundlanders themselves the fact is ignored—that the Empire and the inhabitants have for a century held the island subject to certain French rights analogous to what in municipal law would be termed easements and *profits à prendre*. The islanders and their Colonial supporters are very wroth that they are not allowed to sweep all these away, and have everything just as they like it; and call loudly upon the Mother Country to go to war with France, or do anything else she likes—at her own, but not by one farthing at their expense—to make things smooth for them. The Newfoundlanders, to be sure, have a precedent in the attitude of Australia on the New Hebrides question.

THE resignation of SIR GORDON SPRIGG's Ministry at the Cape, and the assumption of office by MR. RHODES, will probably be fraught with consequences more far-reaching and of wider importance than usually attaches to changes of Ministry in Colonial Parliaments. The *Times* published an interesting communication upon the first of these two events. The second is the more important. The danger of MR. RHODES's accession to the Premiership lies in the difficulty of combining in one man that office and the direction of the affairs of the South Africa Company. The vast territories to the north must not be treated as appendages of the Colony. Other interests, Colonial and Imperial, outweigh those of the Cape, and they must predominate. The opening up of these distant regions cannot fail to benefit the Cape; but the people of Cape Colony must be content with the position which their geographical situation and the limited nature of their own resources has marked out for them. The immediate course of affairs in the Colony will be watched with quite a novel interest.

LORD ROSEBERY made two speeches in the past month on Imperial Federation, and both in that extremely felicitous style which seems never to fail him. At the Canada Club Dinner he succeeded in giving a happy turn to the question of parting with Heligoland, the cession of which *per se* he has never seriously called in question either there or elsewhere. His comparison of the British Empire on the same occasion to the "certain vessel as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners" spoken of in Scripture, may, by some perhaps, be regarded as only a doubtful compliment, since it contained mostly "beasts." However, Peter, we know, was rebuked for calling them unclean, so we suppose we may take heart of grace and adopt the simile.

THE second speech must not be called by that name, since it was prefaced by the remark that in the place where it was spoken no speeches were permitted. We refer, of course, to the words of LORD ROSEBERY in unveiling the DALLEY Memorial in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. Of that memorial and the ceremony of its unveiling we give a full account in another column. The words spoken by the PRESIDENT of the League were so few that they may be repeated here. He said:—"This is the first memorial which has been erected to a Colonist in this our Metropolitan Cathedral of St. Paul, and we, whose faith lies in the promotion of all that draws more closely together the various parts of the Empire, believe that this tablet marks a new milestone on the path we are travelling, and we consecrate it, with sympathy and reverence, to the memory of one who was not only a Colonial Minister, but also an Imperial Statesman." A much longer speech could hardly have done better justice to the occasion. Not a word that could be spared, and every word the best that could be chosen.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THURSDAY, JULY 17TH, AT NOON.—SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. D'ALTON MCCARTHY, Q.C., M.P., President of the League in Canada, was present by invitation.

The monthly report of the Secretary was received.

On the motion of Mr. G. W. Rusden, seconded by Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., G.C.M.G., was appointed a Joint Honorary Treasurer of the League.

A correspondence between Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., and the Secretary of State for the Colonies upon the subject of telegraphic communication with Australia, *via* Canada, was read, and a sub-committee appointed to deal with the question.

The report of the Committee appointed to consider the financial administration of the Journal was received.

The report of the Committee appointed to prepare designs for a badge to be worn by members of the League, as suggested by the League in Canada, was adopted, and the patterns and estimates were ordered to be transmitted to the League in Canada.

The report of the Finance Committee upon the proposals of the establishment of a separate organisation for the United Kingdom was adopted, and a vote of thanks to the subscribers was unanimously passed.

A resolution, of which notice had been given by Sir Frederick Young, was by leave withdrawn.

Mr. D'Alton McCarthy addressed the Committee upon the position and prospects of the League in Canada, and a general discussion, followed by a vote of thanks to Mr. McCarthy, ensued.

At its rising the Committee adjourned until the third week in October.

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee for June was held at Toronto on Friday, June 20th, 1890, at 4 P.M.

Lieut.-Col. Geo. T. Denison occupied the chair.

The formation of a new Branch of the League at Qu'Appelle Station, N.W.T., was announced, and the Branch ordered to be affiliated.

The Committee discussed the contents of an article on page 133 of the JOURNAL under the heading of "The President and the League," and the following resolution was, on motion of Mr. J. Herbert Mason, seconded by Commander Low, R.N., carried unanimously:—

"That, in view of the recent action of the Earl of Rosebery in placing himself as our President in the hands of the League, on the ground that his political views might be prejudicial to the best interests of the cause, this Committee, on behalf of the League in Canada, desires to express its warm appreciation of his lordship's magnanimous conduct in making the welfare of the League paramount to all personal or other considerations, thus giving a signal proof of his pre-eminent qualifications for the high and responsible position which he occupies; and this Committee most heartily concurs in the representations made to his lordship by the influential deputation which waited upon him."

Colonel Denison then submitted his report as the special representative of the League in Canada during his recent visit to England, detailing the various occasions on which he had appeared on our behalf, and the various interviews he had had with prominent statesmen and others.

Mr. T. E. Moberly moved, seconded by Mr. Casimir Dickson:—"That, having heard the report of Lieut.-Col. Geo. T. Denison on the subject of his recent visit to England, during which he was especially requested to represent the League in Canada, our best thanks are hereby tendered to him for his able services on our behalf."

This was carried unanimously, and tendered to Colonel Denison by Mr. J. Herbert Mason on behalf of the meeting.

The meeting then adjourned.

More Gems.—One of the papers recently discovered a "Governor of Australia," and the *Daily News* has translated Sir Charles Tupper from his present sphere of usefulness and appointed him "High Commissioner for Australia."

CAPE COLONY.

THE *Times* of 14th July prints a letter from "A Correspondent" that, in a short compass, throws light, for readers not closely acquainted with South African affairs, upon the political situation in Cape Colony as affected by the rejection of Sir Gordon Sprigg's Railway Bill. The question has bearings outside the Colony itself. The writer in the *Times* says:—It was constitutionally necessary for Sir Henry Loch, upon accepting the resignation of Sir Gordon Sprigg, to call upon Mr. Sauer to form a Government. It is not unlikely that Mr. Sauer may succeed. The names of Mr. Merriman, Sir Thomas Scanlen, Mr. Innes, possibly Mr. C. Jones, of Port Elizabeth, suggest themselves at once. The Cape Cabinet is composed of only five members. It can no doubt be got together. But can it last? It is always an ungracious task to predict the downfall of a new association. It is nevertheless useless to ignore the fact that the influence of the so-called English party represented by Mr. Sauer and his following is waning in colonial politics. The Dutch party holds the balance in the Cape House of Assembly. It has given its general support to the Government of Sir Gordon Sprigg. It is in the highest degree improbable that it will transfer that support to a Government embodying the views of Mr. Sauer. The limits of the policy of the Afrikaner Bund are at the least uncertain. All that can be positively stated with regard to them is that they favour all which tells for self-reliance in the Colony and for its emancipation from Imperial leading strings. Mr. Hoffmeyr, who is the Parliamentary head of this party, was spoken of as a possible Premier in the event of Sir Gordon Sprigg's resignation. It was, however, believed by those who know him best that he would in any case refuse office at present. He works indefatigably at the task of increasing his Parliamentary majority, and neglects no opportunity of adding to the list of votes which he can command, but he is believed to cherish views of far wider range than any which enter into the field of actual politics, and to have no intention of entering the lists of office until he is in a position to bring his views forward. He does not at present consider that he can command a working majority, and it is improbable that he would endeavour to upset either Mr. Sauer's or any other Ministry for the purpose of forming a Cabinet himself. But the same reasoning would not apply to a coalition between his party and that of the late Government. A Gordon Sprigg Cabinet, with Mr. Sivewright in the place of Colonel Scherbrucher, and a Minister of Mr. Hoffmeyr's choice to replace Mr. Pearson, might carry through Mr. Sivewright's Railway Bill and a good many other measures which are at present simmering in the brains of leading Cape politicians. Mr. Rhodes himself might, it is thought, take office in some such mixed cabinet. Much more than a question of railway development is involved in the shifting and re-settling of Cape parties which may be looked for in the course of a few weeks. The questions which were brought home to the English mind by Sir Hercules Robinson's farewell speech last year may very possibly be in open discussion again before long, and the very short extract which has been received of Sir Gordon Sprigg's speech to the House is significant of the light in which Cape politicians regard the impending crisis. He spoke of the action about to be taken by the House as far-reaching in its consequences and "supremely grave." "Upon the steps to be taken in the next few days," he said, "will depend the future welfare, and particularly the independence, of the Colony." The last words may easily be taken to have different meanings, and cannot fairly be judged without their context. Whatever their meaning, they indicate a state of feeling which will not be allayed in the "few days" allotted to it by the formation of a Ministry against which two strong parties may at any moment agree to join their forces in opposition.

TO

H.R.H. THE DUKE of CLARENCE and AVONDALE,
K.G., K.P.

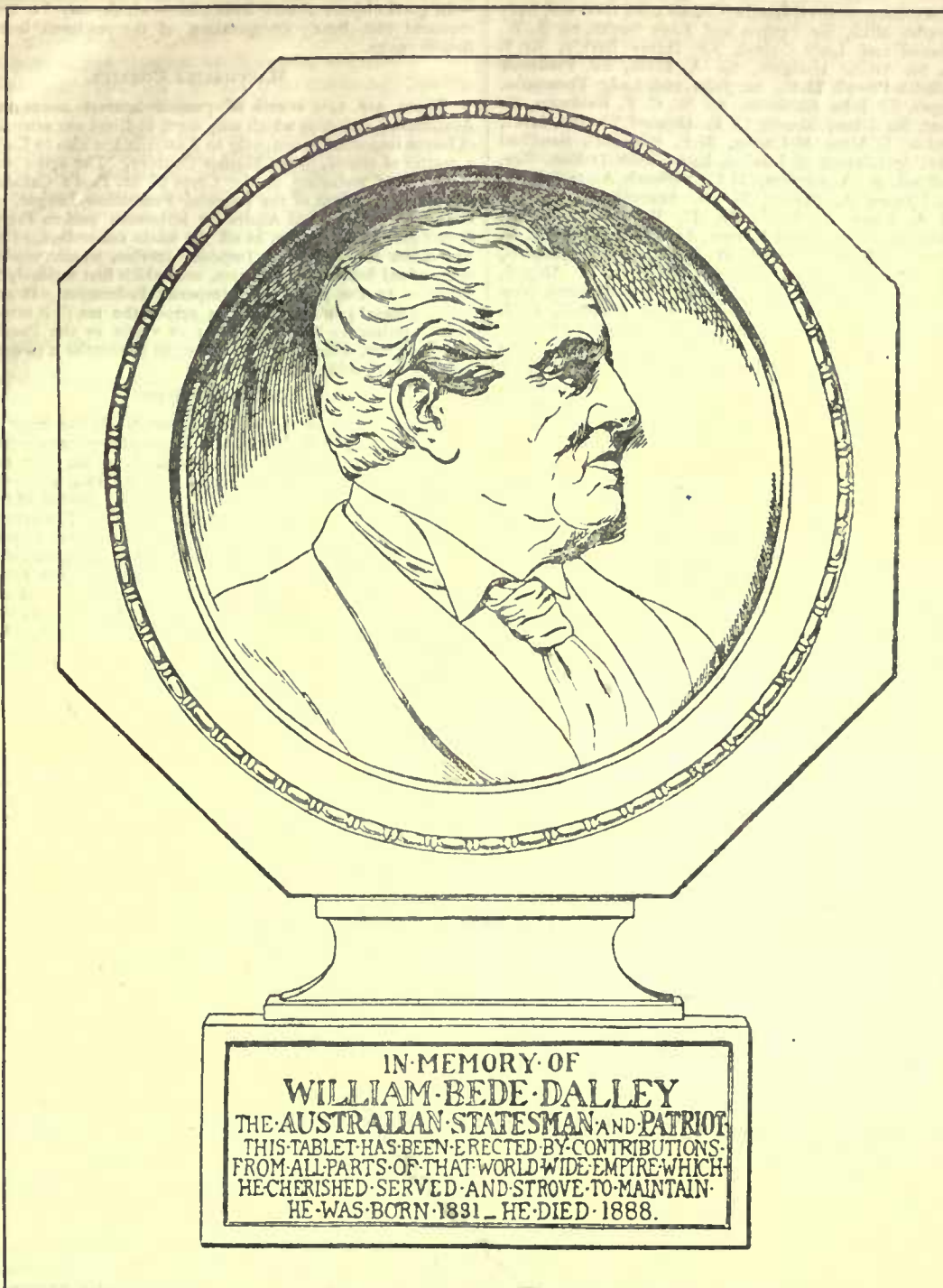
ON TAKING HIS SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, ON JUNE 23, 1890.

(Published by permission of H.R.H.)

PRINCE I by the suns of Hindostan embrown'd,
Whose eyes but now her dusky hordes survey'd,
Her ancient shrines, her marts that teem with trade,
The snows that tower above her northern bound;
Who, e'en a boy, didst sail the world around,
And mark how Celt and Saxon undismay'd
The restless instinct of the race obey'd,
Till half the globe is known as English ground:

East, West, and South, the Empire grows apace;
The age is big with change, and half descried
Amid the dust of party strife appears
The New Assembly, as thou tak'st thy place
With England's senators—in wanderings wide
Ulysses of our time, if not in years!

H. F. WILSON.



THE DALLEY MEMORIAL IN THE CRYPT OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

THE DALLEY MEMORIAL.

LORD ROSEBERRY on July 17 unveiled in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral a memorial tablet bearing a medallion portrait of the late Right Hon. William Bede Dalley.

The memorial has been erected by means of subscriptions received by the Imperial Federation League for this purpose from all parts of the Empire, the treasurers of the fund being the Earl of Rosebery, Lord Brassey, and Sir Daniel Cooper, Mr. A. H. Loring acting as hon. secretary. Mr. Dalley, it will be remembered, held the office of Chief Secretary in the Ministry of New South Wales in 1884, and it was through his personal exertions that a force of Australian troops was at that time equipped and despatched by voluntary contributions to the assistance of the regular forces then engaged in the Eastern Soudan. On the return of the contingent to Australia, Mr. Dalley was made a Privy Councillor, being the first Australian statesman summoned to this duty. The monument consists of an octagonal slab of grey marble, with a circular recess surrounded by suitable mouldings, in which is shown in strong relief in white Carrara marble the head and shoulders of the Australian statesman. The whole rests upon a rectangular tablet of the same grey marble, bearing in gold letters the following inscription:—

"In memory of William Bede Dalley, the Australian statesman and patriot. This tablet has been erected by contributions from

all parts of that world-wide Empire which he cherished, served, and strove to maintain. He was born 1831. He died 1888."

The monument, which is next to that of Sir Bartle Frere, and in close proximity to the tombs of Nelson, Collingwood, and other heroes, was designed by Mr. Penrose, the architect of the Cathedral, and the execution of the design and the portrait of Mr. Dalley are the work of Sir Edgar Boehm, R.A.

In unveiling the monument, LORD ROSEBERRY, speaking very impressively, said:—"No speeches are allowed on occasions of this kind; so I would ask indulgence for one single sentence. This is the first memorial which has been erected to a Colonist in our Metropolitan Cathedral of St. Paul, and we, whose faith lies in the promotion of all that draws more closely together the various parts of the Empire, believe that this tablet marks a new milestone on the path we are travelling, and we consecrate it, with sympathy and reverence, to the memory of one who was not only a Colonial Minister, but also an Imperial statesman."

The monument was then unveiled by his lordship, and was inspected with great interest by those present, among whom were:—

The Right Hon. Lord Knutsford, the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P., the Earl of Meath, Vice-Admiral Sir G. Tryon, Rear-Admiral Henry Fairfax, General Sir Montagu M'Murdo, Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham, General Milford, Colonel Roberts (Sydney, New

South Wales), Lieutenant-General Laurie (Canada), Sir Saul and Lady Samuel, Sir Charles Mills, Sir Francis and Lady Smith, Sir R. W. Rawson, Sir Daniel and Lady Cooper, Sir Henry Barkly, Sir J. Colomb, M.P., Sir Arthur Hodgson, Sir A. Blyth, Sir Frederick Young, Sir G. Baden-Powell, M.P., Sir John and Lady Thompson, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Robinson, Sir W. C. F. Robinson, Sir F. Napier Broome, Sir Henry Martin, C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P., E. N. C. Braddon, D'Alton McCarthy, M.P. (Canada), Sandford Fleming, the Ven. Archdeacon of London, Rev. Canon Dalton, Rev. Canon Scott-Holland, S. A. Stephen, M.L.C. (South Australia), G. Milner Stephen, Edward A. Arnold, W. M. Acworth, S. Vaughan Morgan, Harold A. Perry, G. R. Parkin, H. F. Wilson, G. W. Rusden, R. J. Beadon, C. Freeman Murray, Arnold H. White, J. G. Rhodes, S. B. Boulton, Henry Daly, W. W. Cargill, Colonel Roberts, J. S. O'Halloran (Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute), F. Abigail, M.P. (Sydney, New South Wales), Alderman Farr, J.P. (Sydney, New South Wales), Randolph C. Want, F. Banks (New Zealand), F. J. Beckett (New South Wales), E. Lytton Hitching, Samuel Deering, J.P., John Dyke (Canada), Isaac Mayne (Brisbane), H. F. Mackenzie Bell, J. E. O. Daly (Sydney, New South Wales), Mrs. R. A. Stock (South Australia), Mr. and Mrs. Cheeke, Miss Marsh Caldwell, B. M. Daly, Mrs. Cotton, Miss Gavan Duffy, S. Edkins (Kimberley, South Africa), G. Osborne, C. E. Pilcher (New South Wales), F. Want, and A. H. Loring, Secretary of the Imperial Federation League.

The ceremony was also attended by the youngest son of the statesman whose memory the company had assembled to honour (Master Charles Bede Dalley), whose elder brothers were absent through illness.

Letters regretting their inability to attend were received from Major-General Sir John McNeill (who commanded in the Eastern Soudan), the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Sir Francis Dillon Bell, Sir George Paget, Sir John Coope, and others.

We append a few passages from notes or articles in the press referring to the ceremony:—

PALL MALL BUDGET.

LORD ROSEBERY, having resigned the chairmanship of the County Council on Tuesday, is taking part to-day in a ceremony of great Imperial significance—the unveiling of a tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral in memory of the late Mr. Dalley. He could not have contrived to handse his resumed freedom in a happier way. The policy of the New South Wales contingent has been much criticised since the first flush of generous and general enthusiasm has worn off. Mr. Dalley himself has passed away, and the development of the Colonies has in some ways already produced somewhat altered conditions. The Soudan contingent, it is said, will be the last, as well as the first; and the thing, we are told, is now generally recognised as having been a mistake. This was not Dalley's own view. Speaking to a New South Wales reporter at the time of the Centennial Celebrations, when he had had full time to weigh the results of his action of three years before, Mr. Dalley used these words:—"I have no hesitation in telling you that if the opportunity for a repetition of such action were presented to me again under the like circumstances, if I were in power, I should avail myself of it with a loyal eagerness to serve the best interests of this country. Apart from what was its effect throughout Europe, and upon the opinion of the world concerning the theretofore unmanifested powers of the Empire, there is not a reasonable man in all the Australian Colonies who will not confess his inability to estimate the enormous benefits which it conferred upon these Colonies themselves in the eyes of Englishmen. There is not a single person who has visited England since that event who will not give you his assurance that the relations of persons, from the highest to the humblest, towards Australian Colonists were changed to your advantage by that national action. You have been received with enthusiasm, all kinds of distinctions have been lavished upon you, a greater and profounder interest has been taken in your prosperity, and the greatest attention has been bestowed upon representations which have been made by even the least influential amongst you." There is great force in what Mr. Dalley said. Even those who have least sympathy with the Imperial Federation movement—even those who dream rather of an entirely independent Australian Nation—must admit that Mr. Dalley's action did much for Australia. It raised her status at once in the Mother Country, and in the eyes of the world at large.

LEEDS MERCURY.

It is, indeed, a happy precedent which was set by yesterday's ceremony, and the distinguished man whose memory has thus been honoured was eminently fitted by his service to the Empire as a whole to be the first Colonial recipient of the posthumous tribute which has been rendered to him. No intelligent Englishman can fail to acknowledge that the fitting out and despatch of the New South Wales contingent for the Soudan war in 1884, for which achievement the late Mr. Dalley was chiefly responsible, demonstrated the living unity of the British Empire as it had never been demonstrated before, and brought home alike to the citizens of the Empire and to the Governments and peoples of foreign countries with unmistakable emphasis the effective possibilities of that unity. The effect of this upon both British and foreign thought and feeling was eminently wholesome. Abroad it discouraged those who might otherwise have placed exaggerated interpretations upon administrative blunders and the disasters which ensued. And, on the other hand, among Englishmen at home and throughout the Colonies it revived national self-respect, by revealing the strength

—for good objects almost irresistible—which may be evolved by the reasoned and hearty co-operation of the scattered branches of the British realm.

MANCHESTER COURIER.

There are two events of present interest connected with our Australasian Colonies which may serve to direct our attention to a third of future importance, not only to Australia but also to Canada, and, as a matter of course, to the Mother Country. The first event referred to is the recent unveiling in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral by Lord Rosebery, president of the Imperial Federation League, of a tablet to the memory of the first Australian statesman made a Privy Councillor. It was Mr. Dalley's offer, as all the world remembers, of organising an Australian contingent for Imperial service, which produced similar offers of aid from other Colonies, and which first seriously turned men's attention to the problem of Imperial Federation. It occasioned, in fact, a general joining of "hands across the sea;" it made the Anglo-Saxon sentiment—hitherto almost as vague as the Pan-Slavic—a real political force, which straightway began to exercise a powerful influence even on European opinion.

DAILY NEWS.

The unveiling of the Dalley Memorial in the crypt of St. Paul's yesterday, by Lord Rosebery, is an event of greater interest and significance than may appear on the surface. It is the first memorial ever erected to a Colonist, in the younger of the two national Pantheons. Yesterday's ceremony may very likely prove a precedent for a new way of celebrating the worthies of Greater Britain. The selection of Lord Rosebery for the unveiling of the tablet was the most appropriate that could be made. For if Lord Rosebery be an enthusiast on anything, it is on the Imperial idea. The ex-Chairman of the London County Council has the profoundest faith in the possibilities of a union of the English peoples, as a means of promoting the peace, happiness, and prosperity, not only of the English race, but of the world. That faith was also shared by the Australian statesman to whose memory the tablet has been raised by contributions from Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies. It is interesting to note that the Right Hon. William Bede Dalley was not an English emigrant, but a native Australian, born in Sydney.

GLOBE.

The quiet little ceremony which took place yesterday in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral was of considerably greater interest and importance than may appear at first sight. . . . Mr. Dalley died two years ago, and the tablet now raised to his memory has been subscribed for by persons in all parts of the Empire. It is therefore in a double sense a significant indication of the solidarity existing between English-speaking peoples under the rule of the Queen. It shows once more that blood is thicker than water, and that there are bases on which all subjects of Her Majesty can unite. The despatch of the contingent was a notable testimony to the interest taken by our Colonists in the welfare of the State, and the erection of the memorial to Mr. Dalley is a similar testimony to the gratitude with which Englishmen as a body regarded, and regard, that interest. It is in such ways as these that the various branches of the English race, in all parts of the world, will be kept in touch with each other.

DAILY GRAPHIC.

An exceptional interest attended the simple ceremony performed by Lord Rosebery in the crypt of St. Paul's. It would be hardly possible to exaggerate the significance of the equipment and despatch of a volunteer force to the Soudan some six years since, in assertion of Australia's claim to share with the Mother Country some of the burdens and responsibilities that attach to empire. It was a fitting sequel to that signal demonstration of the solidarity of our race that a memorial of the Australian statesman and patriot, to whose initiative and exertion it was mainly due, should have an honourable place in the Metropolitan Church of the chief city of the Empire. The tablet that records the splendid service of the New South Wales Minister, whose premature death was an Imperial loss, is the first memorial to a Colonist erected in St. Paul's. In the eloquent words of the President of the Imperial Federation League, it marks a new milestone on the path we are travelling.

YORKSHIRE DAILY POST.

The tablet to the memory of the Right Hon. William Bede Dalley, which was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral yesterday by Lord Rosebery, is the first memorial of the kind which has been put in an English Cathedral, but it will not, we hope, be the last. Mr. Dalley deserves the honour done to his memory in a double sense; for if he was a distinguished Colonial statesman, he was an equally distinguished English patriot.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

Mr. Dalley's offer sent an electric thrill of sympathy through the Empire, and similar offers of aid came from other Colonies. There was among the English-speaking race a general joining of "hands across the sea," and this demonstration of racial sentiment had a powerful influence on European opinion. Mr. Dalley had called into existence an unsuspected political force. . . . It was suggested, by no means dimly, that in any attack on the Mother of the free English-speaking commonwealths the defence would not be confined to the people of these islands. . . . On the other hand, Mr. Dalley's action gave the British Colonies a new status of importance in the Empire. It forced men to turn their attention seriously to the problem of binding the English-speaking races all over the world in a Federal League. . . . The man who gave such an impetus to the ideas which Englishmen and their kith and kin, in spite of much discouragement, still entertain as to the mission of their race, deserved a lasting memorial in the Valhalla of England.

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE Board of Trade returns for June exhibit very satisfactory results. As regards imports, the quantity (tonnage) has increased largely; the total value, which showed a falling off in each of the last four months, has increased largely; the average price still shows a falling off, but less than half of the amount in February, March, or May. As regards exports, there has been a large increase in quantity, value, and price, especially in value.

JUNE, 1890, COMPARED WITH JUNE, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
2,295,000 ... to ... 2,655,000 = 15·6 per cent.
2. Value of imports has increased from—
£29,327,000 ... to ... £32,926,000 = 12·3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£12 16s. ... to ... £12 8s. = 3·1 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,730,000 ... to ... 2,944,000 = 7·8 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£23,204,000 ... to ... £26,639,000 = 14·8 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£8 10s. ... to ... £9 2s. = 7·0 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,460,000 ... to ... 2,587,000 tons = 5·1 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. ... to ... 12s. 8d. = 26·6 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 5·5 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,090,000 ... to ... 1,220,000 = 11·9 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£21,971,000 ... to ... £25,002,000 = 14·0 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£20 2s. ... to ... £20 10s. = 2·0 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE, AND THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1890.

1. *Imports—June.*—The increase of tonnage is 15·6 per cent., one-half greater than in any month of 1889-90. The increase of value is 12·3 per cent., each of the preceding five months having exhibited a decrease or trifling increase. The decrease in price has continued since January, but is diminishing. The increase of value occurs in every category except miscellaneous articles. In the two important groups of food and raw materials for textiles, it has been 12·3 and 14·6 per cent. respectively.

2. *Imports—Six Months.*—The comparison is less favourable. The tonnage shows an increase of 4·7 per cent. The total value shows a decrease of 0·5 per cent.—viz., from 208 to 207 millions £—caused chiefly by a decrease of 5·7 per cent. in raw materials for textiles, principally raw cotton and raw silk. There has also been a decrease in chemicals and miscellaneous articles. The price of raw cotton has advanced 2 per cent. In the first six months of 1889 there was an increase of 9·5 per cent. in the total value of imports over the corresponding period of 1888. The monthly contrast between the two years is striking:—

PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE AS COMPARED WITH PREVIOUS YEAR.

	1889.		Value.		1890.	
	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.
January ...	—	—	9·2	—	—	0·2
February ...	—	—	11·7	—	4·0	—
March ...	—	—	11·7	—	0·3	—
April ...	—	—	15·9	—	4·2	—
May ...	—	—	12·7	—	4·3	—
June ...	3·9	—	—	—	—	12·3

The difference in average price per ton is no less remarkable:—

	1889.		Price.		1890.	
	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.
January ...	—	—	5·3	—	—	4·5
February ...	—	—	6·6	—	7·3	—
March ...	—	—	2·3	—	8·7	—
April ...	—	—	8·2	—	3·1	—
May ...	—	—	10·2	—	7·3	—
June ...	2·4	—	—	—	3·1	—

3. *Exports—June.*—The tonnage has increased 7·8 per cent.; the value double that amount, 14·8 per cent.; the average price per ton, 7·0 per cent. The increase in value has occurred in every group except living animals and parcels post. It is the largest increase that has taken place since January, 1889. The increase in average price is also satisfactory, being 7·0 per cent., a slight advance upon the increase in May, whereas in three out of the four preceding months there was a decrease.

4. *Exports—Six Months.*—The record is much more favourable than of imports. As regards tonnage, the increase has been somewhat less, 3·5 instead of 4·4 per cent.; but as regards either total value, or value of British exports, or the average price per ton, it is satisfactory. The value of total exports has increased from 153 to 160 millions £ = 4·7 per cent., and of British exports from 119 to 127 millions £ = 7·7 per cent. Last year the latter increased only 5·5 per cent. in the same period. The average price of exports has risen from £7 10s. to £7 14s. a ton, while that of imports has fallen from £15 18s. to £15 4s. This year there has been a small decrease, 2·7 per cent., in the export of Foreign and Colonial merchandise. The only other exceptions to an increase have been in the groups of living animals and apparel, but the increase in yarns and textile fabrics has been less than 1 per cent. (0·9). The increase in coal has been 37·3 per cent.; in metals, 16·4; and in machinery and millwork, 12·4 per cent.

A comparison of the value of British produce and manufactures exported in each of the first six months of 1889 and 1890 exhibits more favourable results than those shown above for imports:—

PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE AS COMPARED WITH PREVIOUS YEAR.

	1889.		Value.		1890.	
	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.
January ...	—	—	11·9	—	—	5·1
February ...	2·0	—	—	—	—	12·9
March ...	—	—	12·2	—	6·5	—
April ...	—	—	10·1	—	—	3·6
May ...	—	—	5·5	—	—	12·3
June ...	2·2	—	—	—	—	15·1
Average monthly increase ...	—	6·0	—	—	—	7·1

The same may be said of the average price per ton of total exports, and of exports exclusive of coal.

	Total Exports.		Exports exclusive of Coal.	
	1889.	1890.	1889.	1890.
January ...	0·1	1·0	12·3	0·8
February ...	3·6	—	2·8	—
March ...	3·9	1·9	—	—
April ...	No change	6·4	—	—
May ...	8·6	6·8	—	—
June ...	No change	7·0	—	—

The record shows more favourably than that of imports, with an improvement in the last two months; and it must be borne in mind that the comparison is made with a year which had already made a great advance upon its predecessor.

A PACIFIC CABLE.

READERS of our leading article in last month's Journal, and indeed all who place Imperial interests above temporary convenience and gain, will be glad to read the following correspondence:—

CANADIAN OFFICES, 17, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W., July 18th, 1890.

TO AUSTRALIANS AND NEW ZEALANDERS.

FELLOW-COLONISTS,—I beg leave to address you on a subject of more than ordinary importance at the present moment, when your Colonies are completely cut off telegraphically from the rest of the world. The accompanying correspondence with Lord Knutsford refers to the traffic-revenue guarantee, proposed to be given to the Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies. I have the best authority for stating that my letter of June 26th fairly expresses the Canadian view of the case. While the reply of the Secretary of State indicates that the Home Government declines to join in the guarantee, there is, as I am informed, some probability that the Australian Governments may, under force of circumstances, accept the terms offered by the existing Telegraph Companies. I venture therefore, as a fellow-Colonist, to point out that by co-operating with Canada a much more advantageous arrangement can be effected.

The proposed guarantee to the Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies, it is estimated by the representatives of these Companies, would add to the liabilities of the Australasian Colonies £54,000, more or less, per annum. The length of cable to reach across the Pacific from Canada to New Zealand and Australia, allowing 20 per cent. for slack, is estimated by competent authorities at 8,900 miles. A cable of the very best type can be laid over this distance for less than £1,750,000; it is perfectly safe, therefore, to take the out-of-pocket in round figures at £1,800,000. I have elsewhere given good reasons why this cable should be a public undertaking, owned by the Governments, worked and managed under a Government Superintendent. If so established, the whole capital, under a joint Government guarantee, could be raised at about 3 per cent., and would involve an annual charge of £54,000. I have elsewhere given indisputable evidence that telegraph messages may be sent between England and Australasia by the Canadian route at less than one-quarter the present rates.

I need scarcely ask which course should be followed. The question is, Should a monopoly of telegraph business be built up in the hands of the existing Companies, or is it in the public interest to establish an independent line, owned by the public, and under Government control? The one course would reduce the cost of telegraph messages to one-half the present rates, and add a liability to the Australian Colonies estimated at £54,000 per annum. The second course would reduce the cost of messages to one-quarter the present rates, and involve no heavier annual charges, while the £54,000 guarantee would be shared by Canada, and, I trust I may add, by the Mother Country. Moreover, the cable would be owned by the contributing Governments, and the profits would accrue to reduce, perhaps eventually extinguish, the interest charges. This is merely the financial view of the question; its momentous political aspect is dealt with in my letter to Lord Knutsford (appended), and in other documents submitted to Her Majesty's Government.

The Admiralty has had in hand the work of sounding the new route since the beginning of 1888, so that there can be nothing to prevent the survey being completed during the

manufacture of the cable, and the whole laid within two years. At this moment, when the existing cables are broken down in three places, I feel it a public duty to submit the case as it now stands for your earnest consideration. I humbly think I have shown how you may speedily and on easy terms obtain cheap telegraphy, and the incalculable advantages of an alternative line by the Canadian route. I have, &c.,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

SANDFORD FLEMING to LORD KNUTSFORD.

HOTEL VICTORIA, NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE,
LONDON, W.C., June 26th, 1890.

The Right Honourable LORD KNUTSFORD,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,—I feel constrained to address you on a subject which concerns Canada not less than other great divisions of the Empire. When I left Ottawa two weeks ago, the matter to which I desire to refer had not been noticed in any quarter on the other side of the Atlantic. My attention has been directed since my arrival here to communications in newspapers of recent date, and more particularly to an article in the *Times* of the 20th instant, on the subject of telegraphy between Great Britain and Australasia. If I understand the proposal which has been made, it is that the charges for telegraphing should be reduced to about one-half the present rates, on condition that the Imperial and Australian Governments join in guaranteeing a certain revenue to the Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies; which guarantee would involve a liability estimated by the representatives of these companies at £54,000, more or less, per annum. To put the proposal in other words, the Governments are asked, as I understand it, to assume the responsibility of supporting and maintaining the monopoly of the present line of telegraph for a period of ten years. The proposal is not new. It was made by the same Companies in a slightly modified form (the principle being the same) three years ago, but it was not then seriously entertained. My surprise is that it should again be renewed, and I feel it a public duty to point out the consequences which will result should the proposal be accepted.

To enable me to do so, it is necessary that I should refer to the proceedings of the Colonial Conference of 1887, at which I had the honour to be one of the representatives of the Dominion. At this Conference an obligation rested upon the Canadian delegates to explain the position of Canada in relation to the telegraphic communications of the Empire, and it was acknowledged by nearly every member of the Conference that it would not be possible to overlook the undertakings and the peculiar geographical situation of the Dominion in considering the telegraphic relations of England and Australia, and in dealing with Imperial communications as a whole. So much importance was attached to the subject, that after the proposal of the Telegraph Companies was submitted, and every argument in its support advanced by their most able advocate and representative Sir John Pender, the Conference formally adopted two resolutions in favour of the Canadian route, and I desire to emphasise the fact that no propositions brought before the Conference were assented to more cordially or with greater unanimity. These resolutions read as follows:—

- 1st. "That the connection recently formed through Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific by railway and telegraph opens a new alternative line of Imperial communication over the high seas, and through British possessions, which promises to be of great value alike in naval, military, commercial, and political aspects."
- 2nd. "That the connection of Canada with Australia by direct submarine telegraph across the Pacific is a project of high importance to the Empire, and every doubt as to its practicability should, without delay, be set at rest by a thorough and exhaustive survey."

The explanations and discussions of which these resolutions were the outcome, set forth in ample detail that the true way to permanently reduce the charges in telegraphy between Great Britain and Australia is to utilise the Canadian route, and establish a new cable across the Pacific from the Western coast of the Dominion. It was likewise shown that by this alternative route the electric cable would be laid in deep water, and the telegraph would pass through countries under the British flag, and in consequence would in every respect be safer from injury than the existing line, and more permanently serviceable in peace or war. The representations of the Conference were considered of so much importance that the Admiralty commenced a survey of the new route, and up to the present time has, as far as I am aware, discovered no difficulties in the way. Possession has also been taken by Great Britain of a number of islands in the Pacific for the purpose of establishing mid-ocean stations.

Recognising that negotiations were necessary in order to reach a common understanding, the Government of Canada two years ago invited the Governments of Australia and New Zealand to send delegates to Canada to consider the whole question of telegraphic and trade relations, and arrange terms. Correspondence resulted, involving delay, and it was finally agreed that delegates should be sent from Canada to Australia. Accordingly, the Canadian Government appointed delegates last year, but the proposed federation of the Australian Colonies postponed their visit under the conviction that more effective action would be attainable after federation became accomplished. The unfortunate delay proceeds from causes, some of which exhibit the extreme desirability of having closer connection by a direct cable across the Pacific. I believe I am correct in stating that the Canadian Government only awaits the proper moment again to commission delegates to proceed on the same mission. Under these circumstances it certainly would be a retrograde step to adopt the proposal of the Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies. Its adoption would practically put an end to any prospect of connecting Canada and Australia telegraphically

for ten years to come, possibly for a much longer period. Admitting all that can be said in favour of reducing telegraph charges, admitting that they cannot be reduced a moment too soon, would it be wise to prevent the establishment of an alternative line, which, to a greater extent than by any other means, would have the effect of reducing these charges? If time be an element of importance, is not the true policy to accelerate the survey undertaken by the Admiralty, and make arrangements for establishing the new line with the least possible delay? It is obvious that the acceptance of the proposal of the existing Telegraph Companies would prove a serious blow to Colonial development and commercial expansion on the waters of the Pacific. It cannot be accepted without completely ignoring the commanding position of the Dominion, and disregarding all that Canadian enterprise has done to make that position commanding. Would this be wise? Is it expedient? Are there not Imperial interests of the first magnitude involved in the question?

In 1886 Her Majesty's Government advised the Queen to summon a Conference for the discussion of questions of general importance to the whole Empire. The Colonial Minister in calling the Conference specially alluded to the development of Imperial telegraphic communications, and gave expression to the opinion that "they should be considered as a whole, in order that the needs of every part of the Empire may, as far as practicable, be provided for, and that suggestions may be obtained from all quarters as to the best means of establishing a complete system of communication without that increased expenditure which necessarily results from isolated action." The joint deliberation of Delegates from all parts of Her Majesty's Empire, and the formal submission of their deliberate opinion under the circumstances of their appointment, and in view of the objects for which they were called together, should carry with it due weight. The reduction of telegraph charges is most important, but there are other momentous considerations; and while it has been indisputably shown that the new line will be able to do its work at far lower rates than is possible by the old line, most important advantages of another kind can justly be claimed for it. It will secure to the Mother Country a second and more direct means of reaching Australia, incidentally affording the much-needed connection with Fiji and other outlying dependencies. It will indirectly give a new means of communication with India, should the lines through Europe and the Red Sea become through war or other causes unusable. The new line will create common interests between Australians and Canadians; it will bring closer together the great outlying divisions of the Empire; it will play an important part in fostering British commerce and upholding the British flag on the Pacific. I humbly think that the £54,000 per annum, or whatever sum may be required to carry out the proposal now before the Government, would more advantageously be expended on the establishment of a new cable across the Pacific from Canada to Australia. Canada has always been prepared to contribute her full proportion of expenditure on works of an imperial character. If she has expended fifty millions of pounds sterling in building a great national highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, who can doubt that she will be ready to do her share in establishing a new telegraph from her western coast to Australia? Is the opinion of the Colonial Conference, unanimously expressed, to be unheeded? Is it expedient that Canada and the Canadian route should be wholly ignored? Is it desirable that any course should be followed which will debar the Canadian Dominion from co-operating with her sister Colonies and with the Mother Country in a matter in which they each have a common interest? I venture to think that aid in the way proposed to the existing companies would be fatal to any Pacific telegraph; it would essentially be a step backwards, and could lead to no permanent good, while the same outlay expended in another direction would result in incalculable advantages. I speak advisedly, and with a thorough knowledge of what I speak, when I say that the sum of £54,000 per annum from the Australian and Imperial Governments, added to the assistance which may reasonably be expected from Canada and from other sources, would insure the completion of telegraphic communication between Great Britain and Australia by the Canadian route, and would realise the fulfilment of a national idea pregnant with lasting advantages to the great and growing communities under the one flag on the three continents. It would secure the completion of an alternative line of communication—British throughout—to multiply and strengthen the ties which bind the Empire together.

I trust I may be pardoned for presenting the subject as it strikes a Canadian. However ungracious the task, I am impelled by a sense of duty to seek the earliest opportunity earnestly to point out that in my humble judgment it would be an error of grave magnitude, equally in the interests of the Mother Country, Australia, and Canada, to give effect to the proposal now under the consideration of the Government. —I have, etc.,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MR. SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G.

DOWNING STREET, 7th July, 1890.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, in which you draw attention to the evils which you consider would accrue if Her Majesty's Government should entertain the proposal to join the Australian Colonies in sharing the payment of the present cable subsidy, and in a guarantee to the Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies, in consideration of the reduction in the telegraph rates.

In thanking you for your observations, which have been laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, I am desired to refer you to the answer given by Mr. Jackson to Sir G. Baden-Powell in the House of Commons on the 12th ultimo, in connection with this proposal.—I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

JOHN BRAMSTON.

NOTE.—On June 12th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Jackson, in reply to Sir G. Baden-Powell, intimated that Her Majesty's Government had not been able to accede to the proposal to join the Australian

Government in the proposed guarantee to the existing Telegraph Company. On the 17th, Mr. Goschen further discussed the question with the Agents-General, and promised that the matter would be fully reconsidered, and a definite reply given. The above letter of June 7th, from the Colonial Office, goes to show that Her Majesty's Government remains in the position indicated by Mr. Jackson on June 12th.

THE LORDS ON HELIGOLAND.

THE debate in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Bill confirming the agreement for the cession of Heligoland to Germany was marked by passages of considerable interest in the speeches of some of the lords who took part in it. Our parliamentary summary is necessarily brief; but some of what follows is of an historical interest, retrospective and prospective, too great not to be chronicled in this Journal.

The Marquis of Salisbury, who was received with cheers, said—I rise to move the second reading of a Bill for the purpose of confirming a portion of the agreement that was signed at Berlin on Tuesday week—that portion of it which provides for the cession of the island of Heligoland to Germany, and, as the Bill is exclusively concerned with that island, I will make some remarks with reference to it; but I hope your lordships will not consider me out of order if I go afterwards for a few moments into the general agreement in other particulars. Perhaps in strict order I should not do so, but my remarks shall be brief. The island of Heligoland, as your lordships are aware, is about three-quarters of a mile in extent, in the bay formed by Germany and the peninsula which ends in Denmark. It was taken in the year 1807, at a time when we were at war with Denmark, to whom it then belonged. Denmark was then the owner of the Frisian territory of Schleswig, to which this island naturally and by population belonged. It was of value to us in that great war for a reason that would not occur to the mind at first sight. The year that it was taken was the year following the issue of the Berlin Decrees by Napoleon, whose aim was to ruin England by the exclusion of her manufactures and commodities from the Continental market. It was natural that this strange and unprecedented policy should be met by efforts to break through the line which he had set up, and Napoleon's policy was to a great extent fought by smuggling. Heligoland was of great use, lying within twenty miles of the nearest German coast. It was of great use as a store for goods afterwards to be introduced into the Continental markets in spite of Napoleon's decrees. Towards the end of the war, but before it had concluded, and while Napoleon was still fighting gallantly in the western provinces of France, in January, 1814, a treaty was concluded at Kiel, of which the main object was to provide that Norway, which previously belonged to Denmark, should henceforth belong to Sweden. In that great contest Denmark had the misfortune to take the wrong side, and Sweden had the good fortune to take the right side, and the transfer of Norway was the expression of that fact. Heligoland, which also had been taken from Denmark, was by the same instrument transferred to the British Crown. I do not think there were any further stipulations with respect to it. It became part of the territory of this country by virtue of the Treaty of Kiel. No doubt the motives for taking it were partly the natural wish to retain territory, and partly that, as our contest was not then concluded, the value of the island was still considerable. It was held, and for some years up to 1821 there was a military establishment in the island; but in that year—not a year when peace theories were in vogue, but when the military spirit was very strong in this country—it was determined to withdraw the military establishment, and since that time the island has remained unoccupied with any considerable force, unfortified, and practically unarmed. It has remained entirely undefended, and I believe there has been no attempt to defend it; and I believe there is no doubt that the recommendation of the Colonial Defence Commission was expressed strongly against any such course. In truth, the value of the island is generally recognised for any strategical purposes as very small. It has no harbour. It has an open roadstead, which is untenable in a north-west wind, which is the prevailing wind. The commercial value of the island, again, as far as this country is concerned, may be expressed by very minute figures. I believe the import of British goods into the island in the course of the year amounts to £50 in value, and not quite that. The population is, I think, Frisian. They speak a Low German language. Only 5 per cent. are not of that nationality, and they have not materially altered during the intervening period. Now, the point that we have to consider on the present occasion is, Is this island of any strategical value to this country? I have shown that commercial value, from the want of a harbour and a market, it has none. What is the strategical value? In times of peace, of course, the question of strategic value does not come up, but it has been mentioned that even in time of peace it is likely to be an inconvenient possession, because I think it was found during the Franco-German war that its proximity to the coast was sufficient to invite efforts to breaches of neutrality, which are very convenient to belligerents, but which are likely to be exceedingly onerous to neutrals. But I will not dwell upon a consideration of that kind, which is not of paramount importance; I will ask what would be the value of the island strategically in case of war? There are two cases—one a great deal more probable than the other, or rather less improbable than the other. One is the case of our being at war with Germany. Well, the island is entirely unfortified. It lies within a few hours' steam of the great arsenal of Germany. If I supposed what is the utterly improbable case of a war with Germany, I presume that if this island remained in our possession, the day of the declaration of war a sufficient force, with all necessary materials and guns, would be despatched to it, and would arrive at the island probably considerably before any relieving force could arrive from our side. Experts differ as to its value in the case of war with Germany. Some think it of no value at all, while others think that it might be useful as a coal depôt to

a blockading force; but a coal depôt when England is so near can hardly be called a great advantage. Let me suppose the case of war with Germany; it would expose us to a blow which would be a considerable humiliation, and it would not confer any great advantage, or any advantage in the conduct of the war on our side. But let us take the much less improbable supposition of our being at war with somebody else. The island can be defended only by a sufficient naval force. If we were at war with any other Power it would be, therefore, necessary for us to lock up a naval force for the purpose of defending this island, unless we intended to expose ourselves to the humiliation of having it taken. Our fleet is large, and I am happy to say it has been augmented, but it is not too large for the purposes of our extensive and extending Empire, stretching into every corner of the globe and meeting with new rivalries at every turn. I think that to discharge our responsibility and defend our line of trade, our fleet, great and powerful as it is, would be taxed up to its full energies. (Hear, hear.) I think we should labour under a distinct disadvantage if we have a position contributing in no degree to the defences of the Empire without commercial or other value, and which yet, in order to avoid a humiliating blow, would require a certain naval force to be locked up and kept useless for every other purpose. On these grounds we have come to the conclusion, which I imagine is the conclusion held by many persons, and has been held by them for a long time, that this island, unfortified and undefended, is not an advantageous position, but that it is one which, for a proper consideration, it would be profitable for the Empire to be divested. But the consideration has been raised by noble lords opposite and others who deal with the question in a different point of view. It is said that the inhabitants of the island are opposed to the cession, and that their veto ought to be conclusive. I do not know that the inhabitants of the island are opposed to the cession. There is no reason that they should be. There is not a long descended ancestral connection with the British Crown. There may be men living now who were alive when the island was originally taken. They are related by the closest bonds of language, race, and religion with those who live almost within sight of their shores. Their pecuniary interests—to come down to motives which are less noble though they are not without power in the case—their pecuniary profit in no way is increased by the connection of the island with this country, nor can they look to any advantage in that connection. On the contrary, their whole prospects of gain depends on the large number of German bathing excursionists who go there in the summer, and that source of wealth would not diminish, but would, if anything, increase, if the island formed part of the German Empire. And it is probable, though the island is worthless to us from a strategic point of view, it will not be thought to be worthless to those near whose coast it lies, and the military expenditure which would be the result of any determination to fortify will form a large addition to the resources of the islanders, and I have no doubt has already been discounted by them. I am informed, and your lordships, I think, have been generally informed, that a very enterprising nationality have already purchased up most of the land in the island. But I cannot admit the doctrine that the decision of a population of a position that has been occupied for military and belligerent purposes is conclusive with respect to the uses to which that position should be put or the destiny which shall attend it. You must draw a line between two sorts of positions—those positions which you rule for the benefit of the population that is in them, and those positions which you hold in order to contribute to the defence of the Empire as a whole; and that latter class of positions, of which we have several, cannot complain of any injustice if it is said that material considerations must occupy a place of paramount importance in the mind of the Government of this country with respect to them, and that no considerations would occupy a place of paramount importance with respect to positions of another kind. Cession is very uncommon; but this doctrine, which has been rather insinuated on the present occasion, goes much further than cession. A hint was given that we ought to have taken the opinion of the people in some form or other, and we could only take it by way of *plébiscite*. Well, if the people are asked to vote by *plébiscite* on a question of Imperial policy like this, they may also claim to vote on the question whether their country shall not be ceded; if their opinion is to weigh so heavily on the question whether they are to be ceded, it ought to weigh equally heavily on the other side. But there is another case—a case which might become practical and important, having nothing to do with cessions—I mean the case where it is necessary to get rid of or to induce the inhabitants to depart when the danger of war is imminent and the possibility of actual siege arises. My lords, most of you who have paid any attention to these subjects know that a problem of a very serious kind attaches to one of our most important positions in that respect, and you would be very unwise to admit that posts which are occupied, or have been occupied, for belligerent purposes, Imperial purposes—that the paramount disposition of them can be affected because the population which has grown up upon the positions has interests in a different direction. My lords, I said we have come to the conclusion that this island was one which it would be not only no disadvantage but an advantage to this country to transfer if we could obtain for it a satisfactory consideration. The consideration for which we look lies on the East Coast of Africa.

The Earl of Rosebery, in the course of his speech, following that of the Prime Minister, said:—"With regard to Heligoland, the noble marquis gave us the most picturesque view of our acquisition of the island, but I think his subsequent remarks came into conflict with each other. He is against consulting the inhabitants of a place which we hold for belligerent purposes; but, on the other hand, he says there is no opposition on their part to the cession. I do not know how he reconciles those two statements. But I come to the strategical value of Heligoland. I do not think that we on this side have any theoretical objection to the cession of territory if it be to the advantage of the Empire. But one consideration ought to be observed, and that is that in an island so near our shores we should not give away any military or naval advantage. I never meddle with the opinions of military or

naval experts. Those opinions must rest upon their own foundations and be judged by their intrinsic merit. They have been shown, we are told by the First Lord of the Treasury, to an indiscreet follower, who only gave us an appetite for more by alluding to them on a postcard to one of his constituents. (A laugh.) I think we may refer, however, to a despatch written by Admiral Russell in 1807 when he took the island, and said the island could, at little expense, be made a second Gibraltar. I do not say this convinces me to the slightest degree, but in the absence of the publication of the opinions of existing naval and military officers it is almost all we have to depend upon. But we have other opinions, not exactly naval and military, but important in their character, which may help us in this connexion, and, as the noble marquis has chosen to unite the questions of the belligerent importance of Heligoland and the wishes of the inhabitants, I may say that none of us would wish that a *plébiscite* should take place as to the wishes of the Heligolanders in regard to this cession. But we do hold as a condition of a proper consideration of a question like this that the opinions of the inhabitants of any part of the Empire, which we think it necessary for Imperial motives to disavow ourselves from, should not be absolutely disregarded as they have been, so far as we know, on the present occasion. The noble marquis the other day said that he had ascertained the wishes of the inhabitants. I do not pretend to have done so myself, but we have yet to find out exactly how the noble marquis arrived at the conclusion which he has confided to us. All the rumours we have heard are that the wishes of these people are adverse to their being disavowed from this Empire, under which they have enjoyed such great benefits. I know it is said that they are only a population of 2,000, and what does the feeling matter of a population of 2,000 in a transaction of this kind? I want to know what is the test of population which you are to apply in regard to such a matter as this. If you say that 2,000 is the limit not to be considered, you have two of the Channel Islands, one of which has a smaller population than 2,000, and the other has not more than one-fourth of that population. But I say, whether you have 2,000 souls or one soul, you have some right to be considered in the transfer of your person and the territory in which you live from the flag under which you were born. (Hear, hear.) I venture to say that the noble marquis, great as are his power and his abilities, is only one person and one soul, and I do not think that he would very much care to be transferred against his will to the dominion of a foreign Power. (Laughter.) I do not wish to bandy words, however, with the noble marquis as to what the wishes of the Heligolanders may be in this matter. I think we have information of a character which the noble marquis himself will admit to be important with regard both to the strategical value of Heligoland and the wishes of the Heligolanders. In a speech delivered in 1885 a distinguished member of Her Majesty's Government said:—

"He had listened to the speech of the hon. and learned member (Mr. Gorst) with some surprise, for there was a most extraordinary omission in that speech. The hon. and learned member had spoken of the ardent desire of the German people to have possession of Heligoland, but he had quite forgotten to refer to the feelings of the Heligolanders upon this point. He was satisfied that there was no desire on the part of the people of Heligoland for the proposed annexation. They had prospered and thrived under English rule, and he was certain they did not desire to come under German rule or German law, including conscription for military service. He was not prepared to sacrifice these people for the purpose of pleasing and conciliating the German people, however desirable it might be to do so. The hon. and learned member had stated that from a strategical point of view Heligoland was no use to this country. He was disposed to contradict that opinion even upon the hon. and learned member's own statement as to the position of Heligoland, but he had the honour of having served on a Royal Commission on Colonial Defences and the Protection of Trade, and although their proceedings and the report were strictly confidential, yet it would be no breach of that confidence to say, that, at all events, some persons of experience entertained contrary views to that of the hon. and learned member."

That is the speech of the present Secretary for the Colonies, under whose amiable and genial rule Heligoland is at present existing, and I hope that at some later moment of the debate he will give us some explanation of what it is that has caused him to change his views, both as to the strategical importance of Heligoland and as to the wishes of the Heligolanders. (Hear, hear.) On the same occasion we have another member of the present Government, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, saying:—

"He was much astonished when he saw the notice of motion of his hon. and learned friend, which appeared rather as a trap for Her Majesty's Government, and he congratulated them that they had escaped the snare. He was very glad that the proposal had practically received no support in the House. As to the point that the island was of no use to us, it had been shown by the noble lord and others who had taken part in the debate, that Heligoland was of great importance to our fisheries in the North Sea. As to the feelings of the people of Heligoland, when he was at the Colonial Office, so far from there being any desire on their part to sever themselves from the British Empire, they were exceedingly well pleased to be connected with England rather than with Germany."

I do not think I can add anything to the weight of these opinions. There is another condition which, I think it will probably be admitted, ought to attach to any cession of territory by this country—that is, that there should be no breach of faith. (Hear, hear.) I cannot say whether there has been any breach of faith in this instance, but it is asserted that by the 10th Article of the Capitulation of 1807 it was provided that the natives of Heligoland should be permanently exempted from any naval service in the future. Whether that pledge has been given, and whether if given it has been safeguarded by the noble marquis in the present agreement, is a point upon which we shall no doubt receive information farther on. As to that Capitulation, I may say that my interest in it is

not newly sprung out of the incidents of the cession. I moved for a copy of that Capitulation in 1876, and I remember that my noble and lamented friend Lord Carnarvon, whom I cannot mention on a subject like this without expressing what I am sure has been the feeling of the whole House during the past fortnight, as to the loss this House has sustained through his untimely death—(hear)—Lord Carnarvon refused to give me that Capitulation, because he said it contained most perilous matter. In consequence, I have never been able to trace or see that document. I suppose that another condition that Parliament would attach to a settlement of this kind is that we should receive adequate and ample compensation for sacrifices not so much of territory as of *amour propre*. The equivalent for the cession of Heligoland is to be found, we are told, in Zanzibar. . . . We have handed over the people of Heligoland like chattels to a foreign Power, and in exchange we have received this extremely qualified concession. It may be thought that this is an agreement to which we in this House and in the other House should offer a persistent opposition. But I shall offer no such opposition. It would be futile in the present condition of our party in this House; but if there were behind me, instead of thirty, 300 peers, my attitude would be exactly the same. I believe that the agreement might be considerably modified for the better, but having been made, having been accepted by Germany, it would plunge us into the worst possible relations with Germany if the arrangements were not now consented to. . . . That is one reason for having nothing further to say in opposition to this treaty. There is a larger reason still to which I attach personally more importance than that; and it is this: I for one will never be a party to dragging the foreign policy of this country into the arena of party warfare. I attach infinitely more importance to our preserving a dignified and united attitude abroad than to any petty advantage we can gain at home. I for one will never raise my voice by the utterance of a syllable, I will never give a single vote, unless under a major force than any that exists in this instance which might diminish by one jot or tittle the supreme influence of Great Britain. (Cheers.)

Lord Knutsford said:—"I think it necessary, after the eloquent speech of the noble earl, to interfere with reference to an almost personal matter. The noble earl has already challenged me to explain away a speech I made in March, 1885, in the House of Commons. I entirely decline to do that. Your lordships will see that that speech was made on a motion for an Address to Her Majesty praying her to be good enough to induce Germany to take over Heligoland. There was no question then raised as to whether there should be any consideration for the cession of Heligoland or whether it was to form part of a great arrangement for avoiding difficulties that might lead to grave complications. It was merely a question whether we should cede Heligoland to Germany in order to please Germany, and to get rid, so far as we were concerned, of a certain amount of useless expenditure. In these circumstances I was of opinion that it was a case in which the Heligolanders might well be consulted. If the only object in giving up Heligoland was to please Germany or to relieve ourselves of a certain expenditure, it would only be reasonable for us to consult the wishes of the Heligolanders. But the circumstances of the present day are entirely different. I am also free to admit that I do not believe there is any strong desire on the part of the Heligolanders to make any change. They have thriven, and they are content under our rule. As I said on a former occasion, the main reason for my thinking that the Heligolanders would be unwilling to place themselves under Germany was that they objected to naval and military conscription. But again, the condition of things is entirely altered. We have now arranged with Germany conditions which have been agreed to by which any person living at the date of the agreement will be free from naval and military conscription. We have also secured to them that there shall be no increase of their dues for twenty years. We have secured to them the observance of their customs and laws as far as possible; and, looking at these conditions, I believe it will be found that the people will readily come under the German Sovereign whose subjects have already for many years been their best customers. The noble earl has pointed out that I, as a member of a Royal Commission, referred to persons of experience having expressed opinions different from those of Sir J. Gorst. Sir J. Gorst said that Heligoland was of no value whatever, and could not be so in any circumstances. I ventured to differ from him: I thought that under certain circumstances it might be of some value; but, speaking on the spur of the moment and without reference to books, I exaggerated unintentionally the evidence that had been given before the Royal Commission. I find, on closer examination, that there had not been several persons of experience, but only one, and he did not come up to be cross-examined before the Commission, but his opinion was stated in a letter.

Earl Granville said:—"No answer has been given to the comments made upon the point referred to by the noble marquis the other day, when he said he had the means of knowing that the Heligolanders were not dissatisfied with the change. All the general information given to us is exactly the reverse. The noble marquis did not adduce any facts, but said he had reason to believe that the Heligolanders were satisfied, and that, as reasonable people, they ought to be. There is one ground on which they might object to their transfer, and that is that people who have been once Englishmen do not like to cease to be Englishmen. I think that is a reason which might have weighed with the Government. But as for supposing that the Heligolanders are satisfied, because, in the opinion of the noble marquis, they ought to be satisfied, that appears to be an illusory way of arguing this question. No answer has been given with regard to the Capitulations. The noble lord opposite said that those who are now living are not to be subjected to the conscription. But what is to happen to the children of those living people? Do the parents consent to their children being subjected to conscription? One would have thought Her Majesty's Government would have felt the strongest possible stimulus to protect the Heligolanders in the enjoyment of all the privileges that had been secured to them. What does

the agreement come to? With regard to English fishermen, their protection is unlimited to all eternity; but with regard to the Heligoland, the protection is only for a few years. I really think these are points calling for a reply from the Government.

The Marquis of Salisbury in the course of his reply said:—I have no doubt myself that the population as a whole are well disposed towards this change, but the sources from which I have received my impression are necessarily confidential. I should quite agree with the noble lord that he has no right to be satisfied with that assurance on my part if the assent of the population is an essential part of the agreement. I have tried to show that a very strong line of distinction is to be drawn between those countries which were originally occupied for purely belligerent purposes and those which were occupied for settlement. In the latter case the wishes of the population ought to have an enormous weight, but in the other case they must be subordinated to the general considerations affecting the welfare of the Empire where we are dealing with a possession which was originally acquired on purely belligerent grounds. After all, when we talk of the necessity for obtaining the sanction of the population, I would remind the noble lord that they became British subjects entirely without their consent, by the application of pure force, and, therefore, I think that the doctrine which the noble earl asserts is exceedingly wide of any doctrine which has been hitherto laid down, and if it was accepted by authority in the first instance would in regard to such matters produce signal inconvenience in the administration of the Empire.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

THE debate upon the Conference Resolutions in the New South Wales House of Assembly, adjourned upon the conclusion of Sir Henry Parkes' opening speech, as recorded in our last issue, was resumed on May 14th by Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the Opposition. In the course of his speech Mr. Dibbs said:—

We want in this matter simply solid, sound commercial and political arguments as to why we should change from our present free constitution and adopt a proposal for a federated Australia. (Hear, hear.) I can clear myself at once by saying I am in favour of federation. (Cheers.) I have never been opposed to it—"Oh!"—and I will give proof of it. (Hear, hear.) I have a perfect and undoubted right to the freest opinions on any proposal—to criticise and find out the surest foundation for Australia becoming a nation. (Hear, hear.) The difference between the Colonial Secretary and me is that he believes in the federation that I think will be incomplete, and I believe in a union of Australia, and having an Australian nation. (Cheers.) I believe I speak the minds of a great many members on both sides of the House. (Hear, hear.) I do not think the time is ripe to

SEVER FROM THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

I would do nothing to sever those ties; but as I have said before, I repeat that this Colony has one of the grandest futures that any country in the world could wish to possess. We have a future, and it was eloquently expressed by the Premier in respect of the creation of States of Australia under one flag and footing. (Hear, hear.) I am ambitious that this country shall become a nation—(cheers)—and we in Australia are stronger to-day than the Americans were when they set up the flag of independence. (Cheers.) I want to vindicate the speeches I have made in the past, because I have been unfairly dragged before the public mind by the Colonial Secretary. . . . When the Western Australian question was last before the House, the Premier, in a brilliant oration, used these words:—"I foresee the time, and I think that time is steadily advancing, when the Australian Colonies will be a great power on the face of the earth." I want to know whether the hon. member differed from me in the views I put forward for one united Australia,

NOT AS A DEPENDENCY

to any Power on earth, but as a nation, with its own flag, ready to take its place among the nations of the world. (Cheers.) On the same occasion I made this utterance: "If ever we are to enter into federation or to take united action in any way, we desire that New South Wales shall enter into conference with a State equal to ourselves in every respect." My idea was that we could have no question of federation discussed with a Crown Colony. We are free and independent Colonies almost to the point of separation, and we should meet for the discussion of so important a question as federation with States equally free with ourselves.

Mr. Dibbs then proceeded to quote further, from the speech he made on the occasion of the debate on the Western Australia Constitution question, the same passage which we printed in the number of this journal for October, 1889 (p. 240). As, however, he adopts and ratifies the language then used at this far more important constitutional juncture, we again reproduce it here.

I go on to say, in a speech which the Premier has published, that "I thoroughly agree with what Sir Henry Parkes has expressed so well with regard to keeping Australia for the Australians, and that I am prepared to carry out that idea in a practical sense to even greater lengths than the hon. member." "I differ entirely from the Premier," I go on to say, "in his dream as to what the future will bring. I have a dream, and it is that there will be a different form of government in Australia to what there is to-day. The very necessities of our position—our large and rapidly increasing population throughout Australia—show that Australia will be in the eyes of the world a State as vigorous as the United States of America were in the past. I look forward to the day when that change of government will take place. There is no necessity to sever the ties which at present exist between ourselves and the Mother Country, but the necessities of our national life will

cause us to spring forth from the position of a dependency on a great Power to the position of

AN INDEPENDENT STATE."

There is no crime in that. (Hear, hear.) Surely my voice on that occasion was raised fairly and clearly for the Australian Colonies to be firmly welded into one. I pointed out also that when the time comes for us to federate we must bind ourselves into a Power which will be equal to any in the world. I said: "That will be our great stepping-stone to a great future which will render Australia at no distant date one of the nations of the world. With this great territory, with our vast resources, with an Anglo-Saxon population endowed with the energy, capital, and power which our people possess, Australia is bound to be a nation separate and altogether free from the trammels of any country, even the Mother Country itself." And I further used these words: "The granting of a free government to Western Australia will be a great and important event, to which I hope every man born in Australia will gladly look forward. Without any ill-feeling, or without any desire to break off immediately from the Old Country, we desire to have

AUSTRALIA FOR THE AUSTRALIANS

in every shape and form, in view of the inevitable, that at no distant date we shall become a nation as free as England itself." These are the views, as I then expressed them, and which the Premier has published and sent to England, and these are views strong, clear, and emphatic as to what federation should be; and it would have saved the Premier trouble in searching through acres of country papers in order to find some word which he could quote against me to suit his purpose—(hear, hear)—if he would read that one speech. With this explanation I leave that portion of the hon. member's address as unworthy of him, as unworthy to be placed on the records of the House, and as unworthy to form a portion of the future history of the country. I stand as firm on this question as man ever did, with a strong and powerful desire—as I am a native of the country, and because I have an ambition as to what this country should be—that if we are to change our present form of government we should blossom into a nation, instead of being a dependency. (Cheers.) . . . I scout the idea that we should federate upon the lines of the Dominion of Canada; and further, we have the opinion of the hon. member, delivered in 1884, that the Dominion of Canada was not a success. (Cheers.) The very existence of Canada depended upon her being allied with a maritime State such as England, so practically she was forced into union with England. Therefore, to keep to the lines of that Dominion would not suit New South Wales. I must point out to members what took place with regard to America when she federated. We were told the other night that it took America twelve years after the agreement to federate before she established herself as a nation, and I remember the hon. member read the powerful language of George Washington himself that for twelve years after separation from England America was in a state of chaos. I want hon. members to bear this in mind. Under the scheme of federation proposed by the Premier we would place the Colonies of Australia in the position that America occupied in the years following her separation from the Mother Country. And when we were told that it was desirable to federate for the purpose of

ESTABLISHING A STANDING ARMY,

then the difficulties loom up as darkly as does the South Head itself. A standing army for what? We are told that the standing army of New South Wales is to be presided over by an Imperial officer, and at the same time we are told that the English Government will not be allowed to have any voice whatever in the management of that army. Would the standing army be for the purpose of coercing any Colony that, having rushed hurriedly into the union, sought to get out of it again? Would it be used to coerce a Colony that wished to free itself from a bad bargain? We will have to go to England for an Enabling Bill to bring into existence the very federation proposed, and we can go to England afterwards to get permission to leave the union if we are dissatisfied with federation. And suppose we surrender our constitution and our rights and go in for this federation, we would find it to be a rope-of-sand kind of union unless there was a power to coerce any State that desired to leave it. Suppose we entered this federation, and then our people, led by the fervent language of the Premier, found that they had made a bad bargain and insisted upon getting out of the bargain, there was no power on earth that could keep us in the union one hour longer than we determined. Are we, a dependency under the Crown, to establish a standing army which may be turned against us? (Hear, hear.) It was different with the American Colonies. Under that powerful union and within it there was a power that forced the States to maintain that union. I would point out that, so far as the Premier's proposals go, with the exception of the defence and fiscal questions, all really important issues are altogether left out in the cold. The scheme, I say, is but a partial one. When in 1874 I moved the federal resolutions in this House, it was proposed to get over preliminary difficulties by securing legislation upon certain points, and there is nothing at the present moment to prevent the Colonies coming to agreement upon those points. I refer to the prevention of the influx of criminals, a matter upon which there should be full agreement amongst the Colonies in the common interest, to the fisheries in Australian waters beyond territorial limits, legal procedure in civil and criminal courts, custody of offenders, questions of general defence, quarantine, copyright, bills of exchange, uniformity of weights and measures, and so forth. All the matters proposed to be dealt with by the Federal Council can now be dealt with by living on fair and equitable terms with the other Colonies, and by making laws common to us all. All these things can be obtained without federation. I wish to say a few words in reference to the report sent in by Major-General Edwards. In connection with that report the Premier has made an attempt to scare the people of these Colonies by striving to make

A CHINESE INVASION

appear probable. A protest should be made to the English Government against such unworthy conduct on the part of one of its military

officials. The Major-General recommended that his old friend, the Chinese Admiral, should show his powers in these waters. The conduct of the Premier in trying to raise a Chinese scare was unworthy the name of Englishmen. The attempt to coerce our people by letters from a British General is a disgrace to that General. A person who writes such letters is unfit for his position. Our people are quite competent to defend these shores against the whole Chinese nation. I have stated, as clearly as language can put it, that I am in favour of Federation; but I do not think that the proposal of the Premier can ever be successful. I believe in another form of Federation, which may be nearer at hand than we think, by which our Australian Colonies shall be one nation. It is better for us to remain a Dependency of England than to forfeit such independence as we now possess for such an alliance as Sir Henry Parkes proposes. I will give to any proposal to bring about Federation on proper lines my strongest possible support. This Colony may be the birth-place of a nation, or it may not; but it is the hope of all our people to see the flag of the Southern Cross flying, not only over the whole of Australasia, but over Australasia as a united nation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Among subsequent speakers who touched upon the questions of Imperial Federation and Separation,

Mr. Seaver said he would welcome Australian union as an instalment of a far wider project—Imperial Federation. He had little patience with people who entertained any idea of ultimate separation from Britain, a land to which Colonists owed everything. Such a separation would have but one meaning, "a death-blow to the future race of these Colonies." To say that these Colonies need fear no invasion was an instance of "supreme folly and ignorance."

Mr. Copeland was in favour of a closer union of the Colonies, but he was not sanguine enough to imagine that it could be accomplished in less than six or seven years. He favoured it, among other reasons, because it would be a salutary apprenticeship on the road to entire independence. For the latter, he thought the Colonies scarcely ripe, although, both for the sake of the Old Land and of the New, the question of ultimate independence should never be lost sight of. Many thought that Australian sovereignty would be prejudicial to England; but he was quite at a loss to discover how they had arrived at such an opinion. Trade, the real basis of the present connection, would still proceed as usual, while the United Kingdom would be relieved of the necessity of defending distant lands which offered to her no greater commercial facilities than to the rest of the world.

Referring to the proceedings of the Conference Mr. Reid said:—

The observations of Mr. Deakin about the control of the Federal purse staggered Mr. Bird, and here came in a little piece of spreadeagleism, of which we heard too much. Mr. Bird talked about this flag of a united Australasia, and this Australasian Empire, when we were all separated from the Mother Country, and in the same breath he calmly proposed that the unfortunate Government of the Mother Country should talk up to France in order to clear her out of the New Hebrides. That was an extraordinary state of things. England was to get into trouble with the great Powers of the world, in order that we might carry out our little ambitions; we were to make use of her in this way, and then to give her the kick-out. That might be business, but he did not see the generosity of it. (Hear, hear.) . . . The resolutions referred to important points, notably the reference to a union under the Crown, and apropos of this he might say that some men in this country made no secret of their opinions that the time had arrived when the Colonies should assert their independence. In time we might have an independent Australia, or Federation of the whole world; but it occurred to him that they were wasting time in a Legislative Assembly of business men who broached such a theory. (Hear, hear.) The great majority of the people regarded Separation from the Mother Country as a thing contrary to their best interests. (Hear, hear.) Just now, while the Western Australian question was before the Mother Country, she might say, hearing the leader of the Opposition of a great party

SPEAKING OF SEPARATION,

"We have given you two and a half millions of square miles: now we will keep half a million at the other end for ourselves." Those who advocated any theory of the character of Imperial Federation were just as mad as those who desired independence. (Hear, hear.) It was beyond his comprehension how men of experience could waste their time on such schemes.

Commenting on Mr. Dibbs' speech in a leading article published the day after its delivery, the *Sydney Morning Herald* says:—

No one questions the intensity of Mr. Dibbs' opposition to the Federation proposal as it shapes itself to the mind of the Premier. Any doubts on that subject that might have been suggested by the remarks of the friends of the Opposition leader during the last few days, were effectually dispelled by that gentleman's speech last night. Creditable as it was to his sincerity, it was not favourable to his title to a place in the Convention, unless that body is to be constituted merely for purposes of abstract academical discussion. We know, however, from the utterances of the Premier, that the Convention is to be called together for something more definite than that. Those who object to the Federation proposals in their present stage may have ground for objection to the convoking of such a Convention at all, but none whatever to its delegates being so selected as to give some probable prospect of the transaction of practical business. Sir Henry Parkes, in moving the resolution at the late Conference which gave significance to all the subsequent proceedings, specifically spoke of "an early union under the Crown." Federation on those lines was what the Conference agreed to. In his motion in the Assembly a week ago, to appoint delegates to the Australasian National Conference, these

words were quoted as part of the resolution. If the movement in the direction of a Convention has any significance at all, it is such as is lent to it by the terms of the two resolutions taken together; and if Mr. Dibbs' speech last night proved nothing else, it placed the fact beyond any chance of doubt that he altogether disapproved of the holding of the proposed Convention on these lines at all.

Unskilful as was the Opposition leader's speech, it has the merit of narrowing the issue before the public. Mr. Dibbs approves of Federation, but it must be based, he says, on sound commercial and political arguments. He spoke of the Australian sentiment, and on its behalf he claimed independence and a national flag for the United States of Australia, but only after a certain judicious interval had passed. "This is not the time to sever the connection with the Mother Country," said Mr. Dibbs, and he had solid commercial reasons to offer for this conclusion. If this shrewd combination of practicality and sentiment is the kind of patriotic fervour that is to animate the National Party, of which so much was said in the Assembly last night, it at least has the commercial argument to recommend it. But it is not exactly the sentiment that apologists of the love of one's country have eulogised in the past, nor is it precisely what the exponents of the Australian sentiment have led us to expect. It may be commercially prudent to hang on to the skirts of the Mother Country so long as we can get anything out of her, and cut the painter as soon as the prospect of further profit begins to show signs of decline; but it is neither spirited nor dignified as the policy of what is described as the New National Party.

But the question just now before the public has nothing to do with that shadowy independence which even Mr. Dibbs describes as something to be talked of, on strictly commercial principles, in the indefinite future. . . . Every one would like to see Mr. Dibbs representing the Colony as a delegate, if such a thing were possible consistently with his own professions. But his characteristic candour last night showed him so utterly opposed to anything in the shape of the Federation in "an early union under the Crown" as at present proposed, that his inclusion among the delegates would be a step in the direction of constituting a house divided against itself.

NEWFOUNDLAND ITEMS.

THE two following cuttings probably represent the two extreme views taken in the Australian press—the moderate and statesmanlike view almost always to be found in the *Argus*; and the anti-Imperial view not uncommon in the Colonial press. The Melbourne *Argus* says:—

Our fellow-colonists of Newfoundland are certainly just now a thorn in the side, not only of the Colonial Office, but of the empire. That their position is anomalous is frankly admitted by all who look into the question, but it can by no means be said that they have been wise in council, or conciliatory in disposition, or moderate in language. A few weeks ago their leaders spoke of renouncing Great Britain and of seeking admission into the American union, and now the cable brings news of menacing language about the islanders taking the law into their own hands. The French can, of course, claim to have their factories protected from violence, and apparently the discontented element in the island is threatening to resist any British man-of-war's men who may be employed to cover property. It is probable that the French claim to erect lobster factories on the coast is in excess of treaty rights, but still the colonists did something to provoke this aggression. There can be no doubt of the treaty right of the French to a share of the Newfoundland cod fisheries, and the island Legislature took an extreme step when it passed an act prohibiting French vessels from buying bait in the ports, as it may be urged in equity that the concession of the right to fish carried with it the concession of the right to do all things necessary to carry on the fishing. The French have been driven to great difficulties in obtaining bait, and they say that it is merely in order to render their trade profitable once more that they have gone into the business of lobster-catching. What the islanders want is, as has been said in as many words, the abrogation of the Treaty of Utrecht, but no British Government can abolish that international compact, nor is it to be supposed that the United States, if they took over Newfoundland, could ignore it. . . . The tall talk of the Newfoundlanders excites the "patriots" of the French Assembly and quite sets aside the idea of any large withdrawal on the part of France, so that altogether there has seldom been a more awkward quarrel than this one about the coveted cod-fish.

The *Capricornian*, a Queensland paper, writes:—

In this matter Australians cannot refrain from taking an interest, because there is involved in it the right of the Colonists of Newfoundland to manage their own affairs. If they find that the operation of ancient treaties and conventions, in the formation of which they had no part, is to the prejudice of colonial interests, they have the right to insist that they be modified or abrogated. How long would such a state of matters as exists in Newfoundland be allowed to prevail in Australia? Would any of our Colonies permit a foreign power to claim and exercise such exclusive privileges as those held by the French in Newfoundland? It was because our shores were threatened with the proximity of subjects of another nation that Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith took possession of New Guinea, and general indignation was felt in Australia that his action was not ratified by the British Government. It would appear that in this Newfoundland trouble, it is standing in the way of the Colonists settling their own affairs. War is a thing to be avoided, and some would "cut the painter" that ties us to the United Kingdom, because of the danger of our being involved in a contest of which we do not approve; but we hope we will ever be ready to stand by other dependencies in a conflict for the maintenance of Colonial rights. It will be incumbent on other Colonies in connection with the subject under consideration, to use their influence to secure

that Newfoundland be not brow-beaten by the threats and pretensions of France on the one hand, or cajoled and humbugged by the Imperial Government on the other. As the occasion arises, it is for us to testify that the freedom and independence of Colonists are sacred privileges that we cannot see lightly trifled with, and remain altogether unmoved.

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

23 JUNE—30 JUNE.

JUNE 23.

In the House of Commons—

EXPIRING TREATIES OF COMMERCE.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT asked the President of the Board of Trade whether a representative of the trading interests of Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and India would be appointed to the committee now in process of formation to consider the treaties of commerce which were about to expire.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH: No, Sir. It is proposed to confine the committee to representatives of the commercial interests of the United Kingdom. The commercial policies of our self-governing colonies are, with one great exception, very different from our own.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

In reply to MR. LEIGHTON,

BARON H. DE WORMS said: No territory is placed under the control of the British South Africa Company by the Royal Charter. The effect of that charter is to enable the company to exercise as a corporation any concessions and any powers of control granted by local rulers. Mr. Rhodes is not chairman of the company. As one of the officers of the company (managing director in South Africa), he is bound under section 18 of the charter to communicate freely with the High Commissioner, and to pay due regard to any requirements, suggestions, or requests which the High Commissioner may make to him.

JUNE 26.

In the House of Commons—

WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL.

In Committee: SIR G. CAMPBELL moved to postpone the first clause till other clauses had been considered, on the ground that a constitution ought not to be granted to Western Australia until it was decided what extent of territory was to be handed over to the governing body of the colony.

MR. J. MORLEY opposed the amendment, and strongly deprecated the details of the Bill being discussed over again after they had been carefully considered by a Select Committee.

The Committee had had to accept the principle of the Bill, as it had been read a second time.

BARON H. DE WORMS said: The Government could not agree to the proposal of the hon. gentleman.

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR stated that every Australian Government, without exception, not only supported the Bill, but instructed its agents here to press it forward.

SIR G. CAMPBELL maintained that it was not a question as to whether the Australian people were united on this subject, but whether the people of this country wished to part with that territory. (Hear.)

The Amendment was withdrawn.

MR. CHANNING moved to add at the end of Clause 1 a section providing that the Order in Council referred to should not be made until the scheduled Bill had been amended by the abolition of the property qualification for a member to be elected to the Legislative Assembly, and substituting manhood suffrage for the £10 household and lodger franchise proposed by the Bill.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that the hon. member seemed to have overlooked the fact that the Western Australians themselves had introduced this property qualification into the Bill. The people of that colony had conferred upon them by statute the right of deciding what qualification their representatives should have, and what they had determined upon had been embodied in this Bill. The Legislature of the colony would have the power of altering that qualification in the future by subsequent statutes of their own. The Government could not accept the Amendment. (Hear.)

MR. DEASY thought that unless a constitution similar in every respect to that which obtained in other colonies were given to Western Australia the question would not be regarded as satisfactorily settled.

SIR J. GORST said that the hon. gentleman who had just sat down appeared to be under a misapprehension as to the powers of the House. (Hear, hear.) Hon. gentlemen who supported the amendment talked as if the House were imposing a restricted suffrage upon the people of Western Australia. It was doing nothing of the kind. The power of the British Parliament was simply either to accept or reject the Constitution the colony itself had passed. (Hear, hear.) The colony, under the powers conferred on it by the Act 13 and 14 Vict., c. 59, had passed a Constitution, and the House could accept or reject it, but could not amend it. (Hear, hear.) The effect of the amendment would be to refuse a Constitution to Western Australia until the House had compelled the colony to amend their Act. He could not conceive any more offensive and tyrannical way of imposing a Constitution on a colony. (Hear, hear.)

MR. J. MORLEY pointed out that the 25th and 26th Victoria enacted that the Legislative Council of Western Australia might alter the provisions for the election of members to the Council and for the qualifications of electors. And he went on to show that for the Imperial Parliament to interfere in any way in the qualifications of the electors of Western Australia, the statute which had been quoted that evening would have to be altered. This was a Bill which had been passed by the representative Government of Western Australia, whose definite decision in the matter he contended it was not for the House to override. (Hear, hear.) If the Committee adopted the amendment, the effect would be that they would have to send the Bill back to Western Australia to revise. The colony certainly did not want that. Moreover, the Agents-General representing the whole of Australia backed up the demand. That was an important fact, and would it be wise, because they held certain views of their own in reference to property qualification for voting—views which he himself shared—to oppose the wishes of the colonists in this matter and to force those views upon Western Australia? Would it be wise to thus place themselves in a false position, not only with reference to Western Australia, but the whole of the Australian colonies? (Cheers.)

MR. W. H. SMITH hoped that the House would not consent to the motion. (Hear, hear.) The question had been very carefully considered by a Committee in which the House had full confidence. All that the House could do was to accept and sanction that which the colony proposed or refuse it; they could not change it.

The Committee divided on MR. CHANNING's amendment, and the numbers were—

For the amendment	81
Against.....	255
Majority	—174

The CHAIRMAN then left the chair.

JUNE 30.

In the House of Lords—

HELIGOLAND.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY asked whether Her Majesty's Government would be prepared, in the event of the cession of Heligoland being carried out, to give facilities to such of the natives as might wish to remain subjects of the British Crown to settle in other portions of the British Empire.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY: I am not aware that my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has any funds to dispose of for the purpose of settling Heligoland in various parts of the Empire. I have received no intimation from the island or from the people that such a measure would be in conformity with their wishes. I have received no intimation that there is any discontent on their part with what has been done.

In the House of Commons—

WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL.

In Committee,

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON asked whether the colony of Western Australia had not the right to withdraw restrictions upon the fishing in waters outside the territorial waters. This was a matter which affected the relations between the mother country and the colonies. The discussion seemed to him to prove how entirely unfit the House of Commons was to control Australian affairs.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that as regarded extra-territorial waters, Western Australia would have no power whatever to alter what had been done by the Federal Council. Of course, within territorial waters Western Australia would have such rights.

On Clause 3, vesting the Control of Waste Lands in the Colonial Legislature,

SIR G. CAMPBELL moved an amendment restricting such control to the southern portion of the colony.

The amendment was negatived.

A further amendment, moved by MR. CREMER, placing restrictions upon the methods by which such lands should be disposed of, was also negatived, and the clause was passed by 194 to 54 votes. Progress was then reported.

* * * We are compelled by pressure upon our space to hold over the Parliamentary Summary for July.

Sir Rawson Rawson has been appointed to represent the West Indies on the Committee of the Imperial Institute.

It was a wonderful work, says the *Record*, for a little country like Canada to build its Canadian Pacific Line. But in a thousand ways it has been a blessing not merely to Canada, but to the British community at large.

The goal of the future.—The Mayor and Corporation of Rockhampton, Queensland, presented an address of welcome to the Governor, in which they said:—"We welcome Your Excellency as the Representative of our Empress Queen, and the link which binds us to the great Empire, the Federation of which is the goal of the future."

A Good Example.—The *Mackay Mercury* published for the instruction of its readers the succinct account of the Imperial Federation movement given in Hazell's Annual. The account, for anything so brief, is excellent, as we stated some time ago in noticing this year's edition of the Annual, and we wish every paper in the Colonies would follow the example thus set.

Three Australian Cables Broken.—Very shortly after the appearance of our July issue, with an article on the Australian cable question, one of the arguments we adduced received a further and rather striking confirmation. The Eastern Extension Telegraph Company notified with much regret the interruption of telegraphic communication with Australia by the sudden and simultaneous breakage of their three cables between Java and Australia, presumably by earthquake, as shortly before the interruption the sharpest shock of earthquake felt for many years in the neighbourhood passed over Banjoewangie (eastern end of Java). All three breakages were in the same locality, close to Banjoewangie.

An Indian View.—John Bright's scheme of grand committees of the House of Commons may be reasonably regarded as the one means whereby the representative Chamber can adequately discharge its duties to the very different portions of its home constituencies, whilst preserving the much-talked-of, but never endangered, integrity of the Empire, leaving the representative sections quite free to conjointly discuss measures of general interest and deal with the ever-increasing demand for greater attention to Indian and Colonial affairs. Such a partition of work must inevitably precede any more ambitious attempt at Imperial Federation, and that the latter is an absolute necessity for the proper maintenance and effective development of the British Empire few will deny.—*Allahabad Morning Post*.

The Imperial Federation League might do worse than engrave upon the monument erected to Mr. Dalley the stately verses which Mr. Andrew Lang wrote when the news of the despatch of the Sydney contingent was received. Here are some of them:

Sons of our giant ocean isle, In sport our friendly foes so long, Well England knows you; and we smile When you outmatch us many a while— So fleet you are, so keen, so strong.	But now when first the shadow falls On England, and the touch of fate, You leave your ocean-girdled walls, You answer ere your mother calls, And meet our foemen in the gate.
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St. James's Gazette.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE, LONDON, W.

President.—THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

Vice-President.—THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M.P.

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SIR FREDERICK A. WELD, G.C.M.G.
H. F. WILSON.
JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. (Vice-President Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

Titles of Publications relating to the British Colonies, their Government, &c., in connection with Imperial Policy. Compiled by JAMES R. BOOSE. Under 2 oz. 6d.

Speeches by the Earl of Rosebery, President of the Imperial Federation League, at Leeds, October, 1888; and at Edinburgh, October 31st, 1888. Revised and reprinted from "Imperial Federation." Price 2d. each.

The Imperial Conference of 1887. Price 2d.; 10s. per 100. Under 2 oz.

Report of the Conference on Imperial Federation, held July 29th, 1884. Price 6d. Weight 8 oz.; on thin paper, for transmission abroad, 3 oz.

The Formation and Conduct of Branches. Price 1d. Under 1 oz.

The following publications may also be had at the Office of the League:—

Imperial Federation. By the MARQUIS OF LORNE. Price 1s. Under 10 oz.

Our Colonial Expansion: Extracts from "The Expansion of England." By PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY. Price 1s. Under 5 oz.

Imperial Federation of Great Britain and Her Colonies. By SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. Under 24 oz. Price 6s.

A Synopsis of the Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire. Prepared by SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B. Price 2s. 6d. Under 12 oz.

Obtainable through all Booksellers, or from the Publisher, EDWARD ARNOLD, 18, Warwick Square, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Full Report of the Speeches at the Mansion House Meeting, November 15, 1889. Under 2 oz. 2d.

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England and her Colonies. Five Prize Essays on Imperial Federation. Published by Messrs. Sonnenschein & Co. for the London Chamber of Commerce. Price 1s.

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The weight is given, that those ordering, whether at home or abroad, may know how much extra to remit for postage.

SUPPLEMENT TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION:

The Journal of the Imperial Federation League.

LONDON: AUGUST 1, 1890.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE AND CHEAP TELEGRAPH RATES.

OUR POSTAL SUPPLEMENT.

WE have willingly opened our columns to the following very exhaustive article by Mr. Henniker Heaton. The League has always regarded the postal and telegraphic services of the Empire as of the first importance in maintaining and strengthening the Imperial connection; and it is satisfactory to find that in this the latest and most important of his published statements, the writer of the paper we print this week should rest his case so much as he does on this aspect of the question. For Mr. Henniker Heaton, though a member of the League, and nominally holding a seat on its Council, is, first and above all, a postal reformer; whilst members of the League, as such, are Imperialists first and postal reformers after. It will not be out of place here to recall to our readers the language used by the Council on this subject in its last annual report. The paragraphs dealing with postal matters ran as follows:—

“The League is to be congratulated upon the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the postage to Her Majesty's Dominions is henceforward reduced to twopence-halfpenny. From the date of the first meeting of the Conference, which resulted in the formation of this League, the reduction of the postage between all parts of the Empire to a uniform and moderate rate has been recognised as one of the greatest aids to be sought in the attainment of its object. . . . Great as is the advantage which has thus been gained to the cause of Imperial Federation, it is felt that the League should not rest satisfied with any arrangement which does not place the correspondence addressed to British Dominions in all parts of the world upon an equal footing.

“With this view the following resolutions were adopted by the Postal Committee of the League, and circulated to the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, shortly before the introduction of the Budget:—

“(1) That the introduction of a cheap uniform rate of postage, and a uniform postage stamp for use between all parts of the Empire, would not only be of great material advantage, but would also mark the fact of Imperial unity, and help to ensure its permanence.

“(2) That it is desirable that such portion as may be necessary of any future increase of net postal revenue in the United Kingdom should be applied to this object.

“(3) That it is desirable that an inquiry, by Royal Commission or otherwise, into the whole question of Imperial intercommunication should be instituted forthwith.”

As regards general principles Mr. Henniker Heaton and the League have, with one important exception, been working on parallel lines, though we have never disguised

from ourselves or from our readers that in some respects, and especially as to some of the methods employed in putting the case before Parliament and the country, it has been impossible for the League as a body, or for this Journal, to join hands with Mr. Henniker Heaton. We have been workers in the same cause without being partners. Mr. Heaton's paper, that constitutes the present supplement, we desire to leave to speak for itself. It is full of matter, and contains many valuable tables and some interesting correspondence. With the main thesis and arguments advanced, all who desire to see the establishment of a uniform Imperial Penny Post are in accord. On such questions as the application of Post Office Revenue, the iniquity of charging “subsidies” to the Post Office, and ultimately to the writers of colonial letters, the transit charges for the overland service, telegraph rates and monopolies, the inadequacy of the recent postal reductions, and the ultimate possibility of a uniform penny rate, the effect of cheaper postal and telegraphic rates upon commerce, and, above all, their effect in relation to the main object—the unity of the Empire. On these and many other points, we are entirely at one with the writer of the paper.

Upon some points we, as well as others, may perhaps find room to differ from Mr. Henniker Heaton. The one important matter of principle on which we certainly differ from him is that in respect of which a Canadian correspondent criticised his scheme in the June number of this Journal—the inclusion of the United States. As we said at the time, this is to miss the core of the whole movement from the point of view of the League, which is its Imperial character. Let us have a penny post to the States by all means. We ought to have it; and so we ought to France, and Germany too, for that matter. But let us do one thing at a time, and that which most concerns us, and that is, get a penny post within the Empire. That accomplished, our work in this direction is done. We must leave it for some league or body, not national, but cosmopolitan, to labour for an international penny post. Mr. Heaton thinks it would be ridiculous to pay more for a letter to the States than for a letter through the States to Canada. We do not see it. It is because Canada is part of the Empire that we should choose to establish a cheaper rate between it and the United Kingdom, and other parts of the same Empire. With these observations we desire to commend to our readers' consideration the valuable contribution that fills the remainder of this Supplement.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE

AND

CHEAP TELEGRAPHIC CABLE COMMUNICATION.

By J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P.

1840-1890.

INTRODUCTION.

"WHAT substantial objections are there to Imperial Penny Postage?" is a question that has not yet been answered. Certain faint-hearted gentlemen who have never given me any assistance would mumble, "If it were not for the cost," while declining to press for a Select Committee of the House to take the common-sense course of ascertaining the possible expenditure. Now we have ascertained that this cost bogey means an outlay of from £45,000 to £75,000 for the first year, the objection has been abandoned.

The most industriously spread "objection" was that circulated by the Postmaster-General and his friends, that the Colonies did not want cheap postage, and would not accept or agree to it. The *Times* and other great papers took my word on this point, and added, that it was the duty of England to take the lead, and the Colonies would follow the mother's example. This is exactly what occurred, for every Colony has agreed to Mr. Goschen's proposals. To our astonishment, one of the youngest and most enterprising of our Colonies, Queensland, has not only agreed to the 2½d. rate, but "reserved to itself the right to establish penny postage from Queensland to England by the splendid British India steamers which are subsidised by the Queensland Government." This means that Queensland has granted facilities to the 120,000 emigrants who have reached that Colony from England during the past fifteen years to correspond with their friends, to remit them small but acceptable sums of money, and to encourage their relations to follow them to the new home. Will Mr. Raikes now admit how inaccurate or misinformed he has been on this point?

The last and greatest objection raised by the Postmaster-General has suffered an ignominious collapse. Mr. Raikes occupied the chair at a banquet held to celebrate the Jubilee of the introduction of penny postage in England, and made the speech of the evening. His principal object was to show the absurdity and impossibility of extending Rowland Hill's scheme to all parts of the Empire. In acting thus he only imitated his predecessor, who opposed Rowland Hill, and declared that of all the wild and imaginary schemes ever submitted his was the worst. Mr. Raikes ventured on the assertion that there was no growth of correspondence sufficient to justify the extension of penny postage to all parts of our Empire. In the pages that follow I have swept away that objection, and shown that the percentage of foreign and colonial correspondence is relatively greater than the Home correspondence. It should always be remembered that we have already penny postage for heavy newspapers to all parts of the Empire, and can send a newspaper, four ounces in weight, to the Antipodes for one penny, while a letter of the same weight and conveyed in the same mail bag by the same route will cost 4s. The fact, too, should never be lost sight of that 350,000 emigrants leave our shores every year, most of them never to return, and it should be our constant policy to encourage these men to correspond with their relatives in the old country.

Since 1855 no fewer than 8,800,000 emigrants have gone from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and of these 6,000,000

went to the United States, 1,000,000 to Canada, 1,350,000 to Australia, and 450,000 to other countries.

My thanks are specially due to Lord Rosebery, who on two memorable occasions—at Edinburgh in 1886 and London in 1889—expressed complete confidence in the feasibility of my scheme, and gave me encouragement to persevere. We are now on the eve of success, and I venture to hope that a careful study of the arguments advanced in this paper will convert the few who still hold back.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

After a controversy that has raged for more than four years, and provoked a surprising amount of acrimonious feeling, the institution of an Imperial Penny Post is beginning to be accepted as the one indispensable feature of all schemes for establishing more intimate and sisterly relations between the various widely severed portions of the Queen's dominions. It is perceived that the existence of a stable British Empire involves not merely the concession of equal privileges to all the citizens of it, but further, the necessity of specially cultivating the attachment of scattered and outlying communities to the parent stock. The feeling of patriotism, like india-rubber, tends to become weaker if extended too far. It is good policy to take great pains, and even, if need be, to spend capital in order to secure free and constant intercourse between the British Islands and the Colonies. Of all human institutions, as at present developed, the Penny Post is best adapted for this purpose.

THE NEW 2½D. RATE.

A great step has been taken by the Government in the direction indicated by the establishment of a uniform rate to the Colonies of 2½d. per letter. The scale of charges previously in force was, however, so crushing, so unfair to British subjects, and so absurdly anomalous, that its maintenance had plainly become impossible. I am not aware that any man, except the Postmaster-General, has ventured to defend it, and even he admits that he was secretly in favour of a lower rate. The truth is, that the reduction of rates to 2½d. is the result of the compulsion of public opinion, aroused by my agitation, and did not originate in any thought of serving the public, or strengthening the Empire. It was doubtless calculated that the concession of a 2½d. rate would kill the movement for the 1d. one. It is our duty, now that our rulers confess, in effect, that they have been overcharging us for so long in this matter, to scrutinise very closely the statements and arguments by which they would justify the imposition of the awkward 2½d. rate, as marking the utmost possible limit of reduction.

COST OF IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

I may here refer to the Postmaster-General's estimate that the introduction of Imperial Penny Postage would involve an annual loss of £75,000, in addition to the sum of £105,000 from the institution of the 2½d. rate. Surely that ought to be an end of the matter. If for £75,000, or about the price paid by the nation for the *Ansidei Madonna*, we can secure to the 327,000,000 of the Queen's subjects the

inexhaustible and immeasurable benefits of cheap postage, we ought not to haggle and hesitate. Why, France and Germany sacrifice two or three times as much every year on their postal service to the British Colonies. Yet, strange as it may seem, this question of spending £75,000 is the sole difficulty remaining to hinder the immediate establishment of Imperial Penny Postage.

POST OFFICE OBSTRUCTION.

Now, I cannot too often repeat, that under the existing system of Post Office accounts, it is simply and absolutely impossible for a Member of Parliament, or anybody else, to discover what is the actual cost of conveying a letter to any part of the world. Immense sums are set down as the cost of conveying the mails, which in reality represent also the payment for other and equally important services, unconnected with the mails or the Post Office. Other immense sums are expended without the knowledge of Parliament, and are not included in the accounts presented; and vast deductions are made from receipts (on the ground of setting off payment for the inland carriage of foreign and colonial mails). On this subject I cannot do better than reproduce a letter which I addressed to the *Times*, and which was published on September 11th, 1889:—

POST OFFICE ADMINISTRATION.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—Most Australian stockowners understand the term "boiling down"—i.e., reducing sheep and cattle to fat and eliminating every other element. Well, I have never been accused of wearying your readers, but after occupying a column and more of your space by giving, without explanation, fifty facts on Saturday, I hardly know how to present to the public a few more extraordinary facts regarding Post Office administration and mismanagement, "boiled down" to the limits of a letter which Mr. Goschen can find time to read and verify.

By accident I discovered that the revenue of the Post Office was £700,000 more than is represented in the Estimates. I called for an explanation of this, and the following extraordinary statement has been officially given me—first, that if a person puts a sixpenny stamp on a letter to Australia and a fivepenny stamp on a letter to India, the Parliament is informed that the revenue received was 8d., and not 11d. The postal authorities, without consulting Parliament at all, pay away the 3d. unaccounted for to foreign Governments, and make contracts with foreign Governments and railway companies for conveyance of mails to the extent of £300,000 a year, and these contracts are never submitted to the House of Commons; yet for the conveyance of mails throughout the United Kingdom and to the Continent, America, and the Colonies, the accounts are submitted to Parliament.

Again, the extraordinary method is pursued of paying out of the current revenue of the Post Office the cost of land and buildings required for Post Office purposes, and through this means the Postmaster-General owns already land to the value of more than two and a quarter millions in London alone. No business man in the world would conduct his affairs in this manner—taking no account of the money he expends in landed property and buildings. Yet this very department, that trifles with hundreds of thousands of pounds, refuses to allow a local postmaster in my constituency to expend 1s. 6d. in mending a lock of a door, but insists on despatching an officer from the Board of Works to the scene at a cost of £3 10s. This I proved before the Select Committee.

In your powerful leading article you have consistently followed the policy which you advocated in Rowland Hill's day, of cheapening and extending postal facilities, but I wish to point out we shall all be grey-haired politicians if, while taking your advice to keep "pegging away," I also study patience.

It took me three years to get the parcel post extended to France, and it involved scores of questions to the postal authorities, scores of letters to the *Times*, visits to France, public and private interviews, constant bickerings; France declaring that England blocked the way, and England declaring that France blocked the way; refusals in Parliament to produce the correspondence, and—victory. A similar story might be told of the De la Rue contract. To look up the earlier questions and replies given me when we were assured that the contract was a positive boon to England, and the "climbing down" replies a year afterwards, when it was coolly acknowledged that we were losing £60,000 to £70,000 a year on this Post Office stationery arrangement, one finds it difficult to believe any answer given by a Minister. It took us two years and three months to introduce

the system of telegraph money orders. You will notice by "Hansard" that it was on the night and early morning of June 6th and 7th, 1887, that I kept Mr. Raikes from getting his Post Office Estimates until he promised "to comply with the suggestions of the hon. member for Canterbury and introduce, as an experiment, the Post Office telegraph money order system." Well, on the 2nd of September of this year the promise has been fulfilled. Again, it is worth while to notice the trouble Mr. Raikes himself had to remedy what he called "a grave Post Office scandal." I have before me the first letter I wrote to the *Times* on the subject, pointing out that millions of samples of English merchandise were being sent from London to be posted in Belgium back to every town in England at half the rates which would be charged in England, for it was far cheaper to post a parcel on the Continent for Canterbury or Manchester or Glasgow than from London to these places. Incredible as it may appear, the Postmaster-General's threats and pleadings for this reform were ignored for years by other members of the Government.

Bearing all this in mind, I repeat my fear that we shall be old men before we obtain the common-sense reforms we still plead for in order to cheapen and facilitate communication between her gracious Majesty's subjects in every part of the British Empire.—Very faithfully yours,

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

There is no exaggeration in this language.

OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION.

In order to get at the actual cost of conveying letters from this country to the Colonies it is necessary to ascertain the weight and number of the letters or other articles despatched in each case, the receipts for postage, and the items of expenditure relating solely to the conveyance of the mails. As a Member of Parliament, I was of course entitled to receive such particulars from the Department concerned on making the necessary application; and I will undertake to say that the United States Post Office would have furnished a Member of Congress with the corresponding statistics in a few hours. Yet for more than four years I vainly tried to get from the British Post Office the figures (which must exist) showing the amount and nature of the inland, foreign, and colonial business done, and the cost of it. Over and over again I was told by Sir S. A. Blackwood, Secretary to the Post Office, that the Postal Union kept no accounts, and could furnish no figures. At last, after a process of pertinacious and exhaustive questioning and cross-questioning, I succeeded in getting the chief figures relating to Australia, and after further weary intervals of interrogation, those referring to the United States, Canada, and India. This operation of close questioning was sometimes as exciting as an otter-hunt. The Minister would dive into the depths of official ignorance, come up under cover of an obscure phrase, wriggle with ambiguities, snap fiercely at trifling inaccuracies, and generally conduct himself like an injured and hunted creature, instead of candidly stating all he knew upon the subject. In any case, as I have said, the information required has at length been obtained, and I now proceed to lay it before the reader.

STATISTICS.

In the following tables I have attempted to show the extraordinary growth of written communication between the United Kingdom and the various Colonies. The returns are incomplete; but one and all, from the earliest to the latest, tell the same tale of an increase in the tide of correspondence "by leaps and bounds." They are specially interesting, as bearing upon the most recent and fatuous objection to an Imperial Penny Post, namely, that the "area of productivity" is too restricted and barren to repay the cost of cultivation. We will begin with the Cape of Good Hope. The following return gives the increase in correspondence sent from the Cape to England, but of course in every case the amount of epistolary and other postal matter sent from the Mother Country to a Colony is far larger than the amount received from that Colony.

Imperial Penny Postage and Cheap Telegraphic Cable Communication.

*Return showing the number of Letters, Papers, and Books despatched from Cape Colony to the United Kingdom, 1880—1888:—**

Year.	Letters.	Papers.	Books.	Total.
1880	476,050	370,137	15,736	861,923
1881	713,614	482,879	20,129	1,074,554
1882	896,631	513,786	32,193	1,452,401
1883	712,197	557,361	46,785	1,316,343
1884	719,539	470,920	45,928	1,236,387
1885	709,760	460,882	44,860	1,215,502
1886	763,680	473,840	56,880	1,294,400
1887	887,692	479,576	107,664	1,474,932
1888	896,350	550,336	154,128	1,600,814

* This is an extract from the Report of the Postmaster-General of the Cape of Good Hope for 1888, received from the Cape Government. Why cannot we obtain from the British Post Office the corresponding return of the mails sent to the Cape?

The following return relates to Australasia:—

DESPATCHED TO AUSTRALASIA.

—	1885. Letters.	1885. Books.	1885. Newspapers.
New Zealand ...	751,531	420,500	1,561,900
New South Wales	1,082,336	142,247	982,763
Victoria ...	802,226	237,873	1,475,967
South Australia ...	400,000	12,000	737,000
Queensland ...	436,238	77,653	738,693
West Australia ...	40,111	12,890	73,800
Tasmania... ..	—	—	—
Total	3,512,442	903,163	5,570,123

RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALASIA.

—	1885. Letters.	1885. Books.	1885. Newspapers.
New Zealand ...	641,000	73,000	612,000
New South Wales	793,300	92,900	703,300
Victoria ...	617,977	76,148	890,128
South Australia ...	300,000	38,000	445,000
Queensland ...	345,073	18,273	250,256
West Australia ...	30,898	3,807	44,500
Tasmania... ..	78,849	—	—
Total	2,807,097	302,128	2,945,184

The following return relates to Australasia as a whole for the year 1889:—

DESPATCHED TO AUSTRALASIA.

Route.	Weight. lbs.	Number (estimated) Letters.	Postage. £
Brindisi or Naples } (Letters) ...	59,000	2,400,000	57,000
"All Sea" ... } (Letters) ...	4,000	160,000	26,000
All Routes ... } (Other articles) }	952,000	—	25,000
Totals	1,015,000	2,560,000	108,000

RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALASIA.

Route.	Weight. lbs.	Number (estimated) Letters.	Postage. £
Brindisi or Naples } (Letters) ...	52,000	2,080,000	50,000
"All Sea" ... } (Letters) ...	3,800	152,000	25,000
All Routes ... } (Other articles) }	517,000	—	14,000
Total	572,800	2,232,000	89,000

NOTE.—The above figures, taken from an official answer of the Postmaster-General, cannot represent the total of the mails sent to Australasia

in 1889. For Mr. Raikes admits that the return from postage on mails to Australasia increases "at the rate of £5,000 per annum." And yet Sir A. Blackwood had already presented a return showing that 73,523 lbs. of letters, and 1,149,316 lbs. of other articles were sent to Australasia in the year 1886. What is the meaning of this flagrant discrepancy?

The next table refers to NEW ZEALAND.

Table showing the number of Letters, Book-packets, and Newspapers received from and despatched to places outside the Colony during the year ended 31st December, 1888:—

—	RECEIVED.		
	Letters.	Books, &c.	Newspapers.
UNITED KINGDOM:—			
Via San Francisco ...	305,923	278,662	640,858
Via direct contract packets	282,036	254,819	590,721
Via P. & O. and Orient lines	34,387	18,192	30,667
Via direct non-contract packets	9,404	9,004	18,008
Australian Colonies ...	601,492	250,346	715,209
Other places	86,461	46,086	170,430
Totals	1,319,703	857,109	2,165,893
Previous Year	1,168,797	744,493	2,150,134

—	DESPATCHED.		
	Letters.	Books, &c.	Newspapers.
UNITED KINGDOM:—			
Via San Francisco ...	391,769	55,475	353,192
Via direct contract packets	167,640	22,007	112,638
Via P. & O. and Orient lines	5,531	214	187
Via direct non-contract packets	15,549	3,589	5,522
Australian Colonies ...	590,359	55,296	415,723
Other places	89,939	16,404	116,533
Totals	1,260,787	152,985	1,003,795
Previous Year	1,088,298	158,595	1,032,688

THE UNITED STATES.

The following official figures have been supplied to me:—

—		lbs. of Letters.	lbs. of Newspapers, &c.
In 1888	Sent to United States	285,128	2,421,374
" 1889	" " " "	321,193	2,923,939

Showing that 1,440,000 more letters were despatched to the United States in 1889 than in the previous year.

RECEIVED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Letters. lbs.	Newspapers, &c. lbs.	Postage. £
1889	261,992	1,289,448	—

(For Indian Postal Table, see p. 5.)

"OUTWARD" AND "INWARD" MAILS.

I then contrived to procure from the Postmaster-General a statement of the utmost importance, on the subject of the total quantity or weight of the mails sent out of the United Kingdom, and of those received in the United Kingdom. I must premise that the universal rule is for each country to keep the postage received on its own mails, and to deliver free all mails received from another country. The following is the correspondence referred to:—

"GENERAL POST OFFICE, LONDON,
"24th May, 1889.

"SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 16th of February last, I am directed by the Postmaster-General to inform you that this department is not in a position to furnish an estimate of correspondence received from and despatched to foreign countries and Colonies daily; but a rough estimate has been

INDIA.

Statement showing growth of correspondence exchanged between India, the United Kingdom, and Foreign Countries.

Year.	To the United Kingdom.		From the United Kingdom.		A To Countries other than the United Kingdom.		A From Countries other than the United Kingdom.		Total Number of Articles Exchanged with Foreign Countries.	Remarks.
	Letters. No. Actuals.	Newspapers, Books, and Pattern Packets. No. Actuals.	Letters. No. Actuals.	Newspapers, Books, and Pattern Packets. No. Actuals.	Letters. No. Estimates.	Newspapers, Books, and Pattern Packets. No. Estimates.	Letters. No. Estimates.	Newspapers, Books, and Pattern Packets. No. Estimates.		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	
1871-2	1,360,308	361,210	1,394,451	1,612,534	Letters.				4,728,503	A.—This heading includes all Foreign Countries other than the United Kingdom. B.—Newspapers only.
1872-3	1,981,377	366,693	1,476,679	1,608,137	442,852				5,875,738	
1873-4	2,003,416	374,608	1,615,716	1,610,412	589,289				6,193,441	No record of other articles under columns 7 and 9.
1874-5	2,110,560	325,623	1,543,574	1,667,658	604,219				6,251,634	
1875-6	2,173,309	346,494	1,641,970	1,902,676	386,120	No Record.	297,615	No Record.	6,748,184	Based on statistics taken in November, 1879.
1876-7	2,295,557	345,184	2,262,241	1,946,032	413,743	No Record.	305,856	No Record.	7,568,613	
1877-8	2,293,205	583,046	2,181,455	2,828,348	355,168	165,640	569,352	327,111	9,303,325	Based on statistics taken in November, 1879.
1878-9	2,386,014	587,727	2,353,208	2,782,019	491,062	171,314	562,822	243,854	9,578,020	
1879-80	2,545,751	641,578	2,514,792	3,114,467	491,062	171,314	562,822	243,854	10,285,640	Ditto. C.—A new assessment of the number of articles contained in a pound was made in 1880-1, and this affects the figures shown, and, in a measure, destroys comparison with previous figures.
1880-1	2,242,289	711,839	2,605,957	3,653,968	614,707	209,234	585,818	393,788	11,017,600	
1881-2	2,687,915	741,666	2,565,696	4,035,234	614,707	209,234	585,818	393,788	11,834,058	Based on statistics taken in May, 1881.
1882-3	2,717,798	786,623	2,644,410	4,233,107	614,707	209,234	585,818	393,788	12,185,485	
1883-4	2,804,972	913,941	2,721,543	4,634,968	777,737	303,932	636,421	513,603	13,307,117	Based on statistic taken in May, 1885.
1884-5	2,874,487	1,006,104	2,796,347	4,763,332	715,390	293,867	744,244	558,117	13,751,888	
1885-6	3,012,359	1,037,993	2,669,298	4,469,520	715,390	293,867	744,244	558,117	13,500,788	Based on statistics taken in May, 1889.
1886-7	3,099,565	1,138,604	2,991,707	5,251,968	715,390	293,867	744,244	558,117	14,793,462	
1887-8	3,238,779	1,098,168	3,127,302	5,152,918	1,227,641	397,861	1,344,639	1,055,292	16,642,600	Based on statistics taken in November, 1887. The increase here shown is due not only to the long interval between the statistics of 1885 and 1887, but also to the inclusion for the first time of correspondence conveyed by non-contract vessels (private vessels).
1888-9	3,245,013	1,186,792	3,270,150	5,315,333	1,227,641	397,861	1,344,639	1,055,292	17,042,721	

made of the weight of such correspondence exchanged in a year, and the result is as follows:—

Despatched from the United Kingdom ... { Letters 1,160,000 lbs.
Other articles 9,350,000 lbs.
Received in the United Kingdom ... { Letters 1,018,000 lbs.
Other articles 3,960,000 lbs.

"I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
"EDWARD H. REA.

"J. Henniker Heaton, Esq., M.P."

"36, EATON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.
"10th October, 1889.

"SIR,—I thank you for your note of 5th October, and I have the honour to direct your attention to the following figures with reference to the receipt and despatch of letters, &c., to and from foreign countries, and British Colonies and dependencies.

"From these it is apparent that under the Postal Union England benefits largely as compared with other countries.

"I find by your letter of the 24th May last, that whilst 1,160,000 lbs. of letters, and 9,350,000 lbs. of other articles, are annually despatched from the United Kingdom, and on which we retain the postage, only 1,018,000 lbs. of letters and 3,960,000 lbs. of other articles are received and delivered in this country from abroad.

"According to a calculation which is based on figures taken from your letter and from Post Office blue books, it appears that the balance in favour of the British Post Office on this interchange of mails is £228,000, the figures being:—

Receipts for outward postage ... £764,000
Estimated receipts by foreign and Colonial Governments ... £536,000

Balance in favour of England £228,000

"It is true that you state that the figures given in your letter of the 24th May are but a rough estimate, but they are corroborated so far as regards India, Australia, and the United States, by the exact figures which Sir Arthur Blackwood was enabled to supply to the Revenue Department estimates commission (see Report, Appendix 13, page 291).

"I will not here repeat my arguments as to the impolicy of maintaining the present high rates of postage which result in this large surplus. My object in submitting these figures is to show that considering the balance of profit accruing to the Post Office as above stated, you would be justified, without detriment to the public purse, in recommending a reduction of the postage to India, China, and the Colonies, to at least the level of the rates ruling in foreign countries. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"J. HENNIKER HEATON.

"The Right Hon. Cecil Raikes, M.P., Postmaster-General."

"GENERAL POST OFFICE, LONDON. 20th November, 1889.

"SIR,—I have laid before the Postmaster-General your letter of the 10th of last month, in which you institute a comparison between the amount of postage collected by this department on correspondence sent from the United Kingdom to foreign countries and British Colonies, and the amount collected in those countries and Colonies on correspondence sent to the United Kingdom, and proceed to calculate the balance which you suppose to accrue in favour of this country in respect of this interchange of correspondence. In reply I am directed to inform you that, on inquiry, the Postmaster-General finds it would be almost impracticable to frame a precise estimate on this head, but that so far as can be ascertained, he cannot admit your figures to be correct.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"EDWARD H. REA.

"J. Henniker Heaton, Esq., M.P.,
"36, Eaton Square, S.W."

We have now established these facts:—(1) That the amount of correspondence exchanged by each of the Colonies with this country increases largely every year, especially in the cases of South Africa, the United States, India, and Australia; and (2) that under the Postal Union arrangement, the balance of profit is largely on the side of the United Kingdom. There is certainly nothing in these facts tending to show (as was so long argued) that it was necessary to charge British subjects writing to the Colonies higher rates than foreigners had to pay. And our surprise at this hostile discrimination is certainly not lessened when we remark the absolute or bare cost of conveying the mails.

COST OF THE MAILS.

The bare cost of conveying the colonial mails includes (a) the cost of conveying them to the port of embarkation in the United Kingdom (Dover or Queenstown), and (b) the cost of conveying them from the port of embarkation to the colonial port of disembarkation. In the case of most of the correspondence for India and the East, and for Australasia, there is a third item (c), the cost of conveying the mails overland from Calais to Brindisi. As already observed, the universal rule is for each country to keep the postage received on its own mails, and to deliver free all mails received from another country. It follows, that in ascertaining the cost to the British Post Office of conveying mails to the Colonies, we are not concerned with the colonial inland conveyance and distribution of such mails.

Imperial Penny Postage and Cheap Telegraphic Cable Communication.

But it is, I repeat, impossible for any person—even an experienced accountant—to discover from the official reports and accounts exactly what is paid by our Post Office for the conveyance of mails. On this subject it will presently be our duty to dwell. It is, however, an easy matter to determine what the Post Office *ought* to pay for such conveyance, and it will be seen that a letter may be carried from the British Isles to the farthest point of the British Empire—namely, New Zealand—for much less than one penny. The calculation is a simple one, but it does not appear to have been mastered at St. Martin's-le-Grand. Let us first take the cost of conveying correspondence from London to New Zealand *via* the Mediterranean, thus avoiding the land journey from Calais to Brindisi. We have first the collection, stamping, and mailing of the letters posted in the various metropolitan receptacles.* The work is performed by the postal staff, and it is of course impossible to apportion the amount of wages earned by that staff in dealing with foreign and colonial mails from the amount earned in dealing with the inland mails. But the time required for the handling of the foreign and colonial mails must be a very small part of the working day, and in view of the irregularity in the daily bulk of inland correspondence, it would hardly be practicable to make any large reduction in the staff.

A CALCULATION.

Sir Rowland Hill calculated that the cost of conveying a letter from any point in the United Kingdom to any other was $\frac{1}{30}$ of a penny, which we might take as the cost of collecting the letter in London, stamping it, putting it in the proper mail bag, conveying the mail bag to Southampton, and placing it on board the steamship.

As to the cost of conveying the letter from Plymouth or Southampton to New Zealand by sea, Sir Rowland Hill put it at one farthing. Sea carriage has become much cheaper since he wrote, half a century ago. It is a favourite contention of the Postmaster-General, that there is special difficulty or trouble in handling mail bags placed on board ship. This is a mistake. When a mail bag is once on board, it is carefully guarded from injury or theft, just like a box of jewellery or diamonds, that is all, and the captain is of course heartily glad to get rid of it. Still, as letters are obviously much more valuable than any kind of goods can be, it is only right that a special rate of carriage should be paid for their conveyance. The most precious goods can be sent to New Zealand for about 40s. per ton. We might pay the shipowners £25 per ton, or at the rate of $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a penny per letter—more than twelve times the highest rate for goods. We have already seen that the letter might be collected and put on board the steamship at Southampton for $\frac{1}{30}$ th of a penny—or let us say $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a penny, in order to avoid haggling. The total cost of conveying the letter might then be shown thus:—

From London to Southampton	$\frac{1}{30}$ d.
From Southampton to New Zealand	$\frac{1}{12}$ d.
Total	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.

The amount allowed for carriage to Southampton is shown to be sufficient by the fact that, according to the official statements, the Post Office surplus of £3,000,000 is made exclusively on the inland penny post.†

If a penny were charged for the postage of a letter to the Colonies, the consequent revenue would be £300 per ton.‡

Deducting from this £75 per ton, the total cost of conveying the mails, first to Southampton and then to New Zealand, there would be left for the Post Office a clear profit of £225 per ton on the transaction.

The above calculation will of course apply equally to the conveyance of the American and Canadian, the West Indian and the South African mails.

Most of the mails sent from this country to India and the East, and to Australasia, are forwarded overland from Calais to Brindisi or Naples.

If a penny were charged for the conveyance of a letter by this route, and a reasonable amount were paid for the railway transit across the Continent, there would still be a clear profit for our Post Office. In fact, if all postal transit contracts were made on business principles, then by any imaginable route an Imperial Penny Post would be profitable.

THE TRANS-CONTINENTAL SERVICE.

Instead, however, of paying the French and Italian Governments $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for the transmission of a letter from Calais to Brindisi, our postal authorities pay them 1d. per letter, and, therefore, so long as this rate is maintained, correspondence sent by that route would not yield a profit at the penny rate of postage. This charge of 1d. per letter is exacted by the two Governments referred to because there exists no competitive service, and they think themselves entitled to charge what they like. A few years ago, and until I directed public attention to the subject, they were charging $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per letter. Now, the distance from Calais to Brindisi is about 1,200 miles. The distance from New York to San Francisco is about 3,000 miles, and for the conveyance of British correspondence between those places by rail we pay the Americans $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per letter. If we paid for the Calais-Brindisi journey at the same rate per mile, we should give France and Italy $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per letter. But I propose to pay $\frac{1}{4}$ d., which would be quite enough.

Let us look at the calculation in another way. The distance is, as stated, about 1,200 miles. We require one special train weekly each way, or 104 trains in the year. We ought not to pay for these trains more than 5s. per mile, or in all £31,200 per annum. Yet last year we paid at the rate of more than 13s. per mile, although the mail trains carry in addition large numbers of passengers at express fares.

I now wish to call special attention to the following remarkable figures, showing the increase of Indian and Australian correspondence, by the increase in the amounts paid to foreign Governments for the conveyance of such correspondence from Calais to Brindisi, and from Brindisi to Calais:—

In 1879 we paid France and Italy	£67,224.
" 1880 " " "	74,870.
" 1881 " " "	77,689.
" 1882 " " "	80,503.
" 1883 " " "	82,839.
" 1884 " " "	93,225.
" 1885 " " "	93,190.
" 1886 " " "	97,884.
" 1887 " " "	99,742.
" 1888 " " "	102,650.*
" 1889 " " "	105,550.*

In ten years the mails increased from 700 to 1,200 bags weekly.

As to the belief of the two Governments, that their lines are indispensable to us, they are mistaken. There is now a railway service from Ostend, *via* Vienna, to Salonica, which is much shorter than the Brindisi route. Why we have not invited a tender from the companies concerned on the Salonica route for the service in question I am at a loss to understand. If the London and North Western Railway Company charged 13s. for a service which the Great Northern Railway Company was willing to perform for 5s., we know what the public would do. Indeed, so great is the disgust felt among our Colonial brethren at the monstrous exactions of the French and Italian Governments that the late Australasian Conference on postal rates passed a resolution in favour of abandoning the Brindisi route altogether; or, in other words, in favour of my old scheme of "Ocean Penny Postage." I repeat, we ought not to pay more than £31,200 for the use of the Brindisi route. We actually pay £84,000, or £52,800 more than is fair and necessary. After concluding this far from brilliant bargain, the postal officials calmly inform us that the rate of postage to the Colonies cannot be lowered, because the £52,800 has to be made up from some source or other. Yet if the writers of letters to the Colonies are to contribute not only the natural and proper cost of conveying their

* The cost of this work is paid for by the profit made by this country under the Postal Union arrangement, but I have nevertheless included it in this calculation.

† Moreover, the railway companies collect the most valuable goods in London, and deliver them in Southampton at rates varying from 15s. 10d. to 38s. 4d. per ton.

‡ As each letter weighs on an average less than $\frac{1}{4}$ oz., there are of course more than 32 letters to the pound.

* In reference to the last two items, it should be explained that this calculation is on the old basis of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per letter. The reduction to 1d. per letter, made by France and Italy, reduced the sums paid. My object is to show the absolute growth of correspondence by this route between England, India, and Australia.

correspondence, but all additional sums which the Post Office may undertake to pay, they are surely entitled to insist on all bargains being negotiated on business principles. In any case, as the Brindisi route is not required for the Canadian, American, West Indian, and South African services, it is clear that the necessity of making up the £52,800 referred to does not concern them in any way. I am, by the way, informed by the French railway authorities that they are paid by the Government of France for the conveyance of our Indian and Australian mails across that country at a much lower rate than the French Government receives from us. Why should the French Government make an intermediate profit?

SUBSIDIES TO MAIL-STEAMER LINES.

But there is another point on which the writers of letters to the Colonies suffer still more flagrant injustice. As we have seen, it would be fair to pay for the longest sea transportation of mails about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per letter, or £25 per ton. The Post Office, however, does not pay for the service as a private firm would pay—that is, according to the market value of the work done. An annual subsidy is granted to each of the steamship companies which are employed to carry the mails, and the total of such subsidies is given in the Postmaster-General's Report for 1889 at £627,018. It is true, the account in detail annexed to the report only shows an expenditure of £516,153, but these trifling discrepancies are common in postal accounts. I must here remark that the whole of the mails for India and the East, for Australasia, and other parts of the world (except North America), are conveyed by the steamship companies for fixed sums, irrespective of weight.* It is, therefore, the duty of the Government to place on board as many mail bags as possible, looking only to the service of the public. Now it is the attempt to raise this immense annual sum of £627,000 out of the postage on foreign and colonial letters which has kept the rates on them for so long a time 100 per cent. above the rates charged to Frenchmen or Germans for similar correspondence. Yet, as we shall now see, the bulk of this huge sum is paid to secure objects altogether unconnected with the postal service, and therefore, to that extent, the rates charged for postage should not be affected by the necessity of raising it. This matter is of such importance that it calls for close examination.

In the infancy of our Colonial Empire, it was found necessary to establish and maintain frequent steam communication with the settlers (too poor to build steamships themselves). Subsidies were accordingly granted by the State to the steamship companies for three distinct purposes. First, for the conveyance of the mails to and fro; secondly, for ensuring to our traders the swift and regular transportation of their goods, at fixed times, without which they could not, in the face of keen foreign competition, command the colonial markets; and, thirdly, for keeping up a great fleet of some 500 ocean-going clippers, to be utilised, in the event of war, as cruisers and transports (thus ensuring to Great Britain commercial, as well as naval, supremacy on the seas). It will be seen at a glance that the writers of letters to the Colonies are only concerned with the first of these objects, and, as already shown, payment to the ship-owner at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per letter would amply remunerate him. As for the second object—a regular trade service—that benefits the vast majority of the writers in question no more and no less than the rest of us, and therefore that object should be paid for by taxation spread over the entire community; not by increased postage. It may be objected that merchants trading with the Colonies also write letters to their colonial correspondents, and should therefore pay for the trade service. But I doubt if such merchants write five per cent. of the colonial mails, and it would be unjust to tax the other 95 per cent. on their account. Moreover, it is forgotten that although these merchants benefit immediately by the maintenance of the trade service, yet most of the ultimate benefit is reaped by the millions of workpeople employed by them in this country, and by the classes that supply these workpeople with goods in exchange for their earnings. Thus, from every point of view, we perceive

that the State as a whole is benefited by the maintenance of the trade service, which ought accordingly to be paid for by the State.

There remains the third object—namely, the keeping up of a reserve fleet of cruisers and transports, available in time of war. This is so clearly an object of State, concerning the whole community, that I have never yet met with any person bold enough to argue that the writers of letters to the Colonies are the only persons benefited by it. Nevertheless they have to pay for it. We might just as fairly throw the cost of maintaining the Royal Irish Constabulary on the inhabitants of Jersey. This is shown by the fact that down to 1860 the votes for keeping up the packet service were charged to the Admiralty (that is, to the general body of taxpayers), the mail steamers being regarded as an auxiliary naval power. For some reason, however, this was entirely altered, and on the Post Office was placed the whole burden, although the following official protest was made:—

"The claim that the Post Office should be charged with the whole of the expense of this packet or ocean service must be considered as barred by the simple fact that few of the mail packets were established either by the Post Office or for merely postal purposes, their expense being far beyond what such requirements would justify. To assume that these packets were really established for Post Office purposes is to charge the Government with the most absurd extravagance. The West India packets, for instance, were established at a cost of £250,000 per annum, though the utmost return that was expected from letters was £40,000, leaving the £200,000 a clear deficit" (*Post Office Report, 1863*).

Subsequently a Select Committee of the House of Commons recommended that "a fair proportion of the expense should be charged to the Admiralty, and that the Post Office should only be charged for the actual transmission of mails." This recommendation has been ignored.

THE PUBLIC HOODWINKED.

This liability, wrongfully imposed on the Post Office, to pay, not only for the carriage of the mails, but for the trade service and the reserve fleet, is constantly and unblushingly put forward by the officials as a sufficient reason for refusing any reduction of the rates on colonial letters. The present Postmaster-General is the chief offender in this respect. He habitually assumes that the unfortunate letter-writers (largely consisting of persons in extreme poverty, appealing for aid to their emigrant relatives) are morally, as well as legally, called upon to provide a steam service for the £740,000,000 of our foreign and colonial trade, and several hundred cruisers for the protection of that trade. Thus, in referring to the recent lowering to $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. of the rates of postage to the Colonies, at Bradford, the other day, he said that it "cost the country sixpence to send a letter to Australia, or fivepence to send one to India," and that there was "injustice" in making the "ordinary tax-payer" defray half the cost of carrying a letter to the Colonies for the benefit of the letter-writer. Whereas, we have seen that it is possible to send a British letter to any part of the world for much less than a penny, and that the rest of the "fivepence" or "sixpence" referred to by Mr. Raikes is made up of (a) the cost of the trade service; (b) the cost of the reserve fleet; and (c) the immense profit reaped by the French and Italian Governments from the foolish and improvident bargain entered into by the Post Office for the transmission of the mails from Calais to Brindisi. The reader will now be in a position to understand the following account, entitled "Foreign and Colonial Packet Service," set out at p. 32 of the Postmaster-General's Report for 1889:— (See page 8.)

It need not be pointed out that the column headed "Estimated British loss on the sea service" is utterly misleading and untrustworthy. It should be honestly headed "Estimated British expenditure on the trade steamship service, and on the steam-clipper *Reserve*," and in that case the total of £215,400 would appear none too large for the attainment of such vital and essential results for the State. It is unspeakably mean and despicable to pretend that this sum, or one farthing of it, is incurred for the conveyance of letters.

THE NORTH AMERICAN SERVICE.

Let us test a single item of it. It is represented that there is a loss of £32,000 on the North American service.

In reply to a question put by me, the Postmaster-General says, in a reply dated May, 1890:—

* It is important to recollect that if, by reason of a reduction of rates to one penny per letter, the number of mail bags were to be doubled, these steamship companies would not be entitled to an additional shilling for carriage. Two or three hundred extra mail bags are but a trifle on board of the leviathan employed.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PACKET SERVICE. (From the last Report of the Postmaster-General.)

Line of Packets.	Contracts.		Payment.	Penalties for Overtime.	Contributions towards the Cost of the Service.	Estimated Receipts for Sea Postage.	Estimated British Loss on the Service.	Rate of Postage per single Letter, excluding Transit Rates.
	Commencement.	Termination.						
AUSTRALIA:								
Brindisi or Naples and Adelaide ...	1 Feb., 1888	Contracts not yet concluded	£ ...	...	...	£ ...	£ ...	5d.
Aden and Brisbane ...	...	Colonial Contracts	...	...	...	...	...	...
San Francisco and Sydney ...	...	On 6 months' notice	...	...	...	979	Nil.	...
London and Sydney, and intermediate Australian Ports ...	1 July, 1886	For Parcel Post ...	(a) 979	...	...	...	...	...
BRAZIL, RIVER PLATE, AND CHILI:								
Fortnightly Service from Southampton	1 Sept., 1876	On 6 months' notice	(a) 6,380	...	...	16,500	5,600	4d.
Fortnightly Service from Liverpool	1 July, 1878	On 6 months' notice	(a) 15,727	...	...	...	...	6d.
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE and NATAL: do. for calls	...	Colonial Governments	...	...	...	...	2,600	6d.
at St. Helena and Ascension ...	...	...	(c) 2,733	...	...	144	...	...
Natal ...	17 June, 1887	On 6 months' notice	(a) 72	...	...	72	Nil.	...
EAST INDIES and CHINA ...	1 Feb., 1888	For Parcel Post ...	265,000	£200 for every 12 hours late at Brindisi. In other cases £100	India, £37,500 Ceylon, £1,400 Straits Settlements, £6,000 Hong Kong, £6,000	80,700	123,000	Mediterranean 2½d. India ... Ceylon ... } 4d. China, &c. 4d.
EAST COAST OF AFRICA: Aden and Zanzibar ...	1 July, 1885	For Parcel Post ...	(a) 2,248	...	...	...	...	...
EUROPE: Dover and Calais ...	Service provided under arrangement with Foreign Office	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
do. ...	20 June, 1878	On 12 months' notice	(b) 13,067	£5 for 15 minutes or upwards.	...	...	...	2½d.
Dover and Ostend ...	1 Oct., 1887	On 6 months' notice	(a) 3,476	...	...	3,476	Nil.	...
Channel Islands and St. Malo and Granville ...	Arrangement with Belgian Government	For Parcel Post ...	4,500	...	...	...	...	2½d.
Liverpool, Constantinople, and Smyrna ...	15 Feb., 1888	On 6 months' notice	(a) 21	...	...	21	Nil.	...
London to Hamburg ...	1 Jan., 1886	On 6 months' notice	(a) 31	...	...	31	Nil.	...
United Kingdom and Lisbon ...	1 Jan., 1886	For Parcel Post ...	(a) 149	...	...	149	Nil.	...
NORTH AMERICA:								
Queenstown to New York ...	1 Mar., 1887	On 12 months' notice	(a) 95,170	...	...	62,900	32,300	2½d.
Bermuda and New York ...	1 April, 1886	On 31st December, 1888...	325	...	...	...	...	Bermuda ... 4d.
PANAMA to VALPARAISO ...	1 Jan., 1889	On 6 months' notice	(a) —	...	...	...	...	...
WEST INDIES:	1 July, 1878	On 6 months' notice	(a) 3,397	...	...	1,800	1,600	4d.
Fortnightly Service ...	1 July, 1885	On 30th June, 1890	90,000	£25 for every 24 hours.	Antigua ... 489 Barbados ... 4,357 British Guiana ... 7,480 Dominica ... 186 Grenada ... 372 Jamaica ... 4,163 Montserrat ... 86 Nevis ... 71 St. Kitt's ... 470 St. Lucia ... 209 St. Vincent ... 310 Tobago ... 151 Tortola ... 18 Trinidad ... 3,998	...	...	...
Additional Services:								
Non-Contract Service	...	...	(a) 275	...	...	...	...	...
Liverpool to West Indies and Mexico ...	24 Oct., 1881	On 26th December, 1888...	(a) 1,137	One-eighth part of ordinary payment for every 24 hours.	...	24,200	46,500	4d.
Belize and New Orleans ...	Contract made by the Honduras Government, terminating 30th Sept., 1889	...	(c) 1,600	...	...	...	...	...
do. ...	1 Mar., 1887	On 6 months' notice	(a) 9	...	...	...	...	...
WEST COAST OF AFRICA ...	Indefinite ...	For Parcel Post ...	(a) 9,812	...	...	6,100	3,800	Union Places, 2½d. or 4d. Non-Union, 6d.
1 Jan., 1888	On 6 months' notice	For Parcel Post ...	(a) ...	...	...	197,117	215,400	...

(a) The payments in these cases depend upon the amount of correspondence conveyed by the packets.

(b) Including £2,780 for excess of premiums over penalties.

(c) These sums represent the Imperial share of the cost of the services.

"The weight of correspondence of all kinds posted in this country last year for the United States of America, for transmission *via* Queenstown, and the payment for sea conveyance were as follows:—

	Weight.	Sea payment.
(1) Letters and postcards	321,193 lbs.	£48,179
(2) Other articles	2,923,939 lbs.	36,549
		£84,728

The Postmaster-General's report states that the total payment for sea conveyance to North America in 1889 was £95,495. It follows that £10,767 of this sum was paid for the transmission of mails by steamships not calling at Queenstown. Now in another statement of the Postmaster-General, dated in May last, he says, "The Post Office pays for sea conveyance to the steamship companies calling at Queenstown for mails from the United Kingdom for America the sum of 3s. per lb. for letters, and 3d. per lb. for other articles."

To the companies not calling at Queenstown for the mails, payment is made at the rate of 1s. 9½d. per lb. for letters, and 2d. per lb. for other articles.

Taking these figures, we should put down about 70,000 lbs. of letters despatched for a payment of £6,226, and 545,000 lbs. of other matter despatched for a payment of £4,541, by steamships not calling at Queenstown. The full account for the North American service will therefore stand thus:—

	lbs.	Sea payment.
<i>Via</i> Queenstown, letters	321,193	£48,179
" " other articles	2,923,939	36,549
		£84,728
<i>Via</i> Southampton, &c., letters	70,000	6,226
" " other articles	545,000	4,541
	3,860,132	10,767
		£95,495

To these payments the Postmaster-General, in the following reply to a question, seeks to add further items. He says:—

"For the one postage of 2½d. the Post Office not only provides the sea conveyance, but does the whole service connected with collection and conveyance by railway to Southampton of the outward letter, and also the conveyance by railway from Southampton, and the delivery of the corresponding homeward letter, for which, under the Postal Union system, this department receives no credit. The postage is thus divisible into two inland rates of 1d. each, and a single sea rate of ½d."

Mr. Raikes (or rather, the ingenious person who prepared this answer for him) forgets that from his letter of May 24th, 1889, and my reply of October 10th, 1889 (both already set out in this paper), it appears that England receives £764,000 for "outward" postage, while foreign and Colonial Governments only receive £536,000 for the postage of letters, &c., sent to this country and delivered by our Post Office. Our Post Office therefore makes a clear annual profit of £228,000, or more than the total cost of (a) carrying the outward mails to the port of embarkation, and (b) delivering the mails received from foreign countries. In other words, our Post Office does not incur a farthing of expenditure for the inland carriage of the foreign and Colonial mails.

"The postage receipts," says Mr. Raikes (on the mails sent to the United States), "may be taken at £185,000." And as the total payments of the British Post Office on these mails only reach £95,495, there is a clear profit to the British Post Office of £89,505. But this is not all. The British Post Office pays for the sea carriage of mails sent *via* Queenstown 3s. per lb. for letters and postcards, and 3d. per lb. for other matters. So that our Post Office receives 8s. 4d. per lb. as postage on letters, and pays away 3s. per lb., making a profit of 5s. 4d. per lb. Now the United States Post Office pays for the return journey only 1s. 10d. per lb. for letters and postcards, and 2½d. per lb. for other matters. Why is the British Post Office unable to make as good a bargain as the American officials make with the shipowners? The vessels, I believe, fly the British flag, but that is hardly a reason for our paying their owners 1s. 2d. per lb. more, for the voyage from Queenstown to New York, than they receive for the voyage from New York to Queenstown from the American Government. The account stands thus:—

Paid by England for sea conveyance of 322,000 lbs. of letters and 3,000,000 lbs. of newspapers and other articles to America last year	£85,800
Paid by America for sea conveyance of nearly the same weight of mail matter to the United Kingdom	56,642
Loss to England through bad contract	£29,158

INJUSTICE TO ONE CLASS OF LETTER WRITERS.

It must be remembered, as a partial explanation of this large profit of £89,505 on the North American service, that we have in this case nothing to pay for the trans-continental journey of the mails from Calais to Brindisi. None the less, however, are the writers of letters to North America charged a proportion of that expenditure, with which they have no more to do than with that on the Forth Bridge, or the Thames Tunnel. The sums paid to France and Italy (£84,000 last year) are charged against the Colonial and foreign service as a whole, and thus one of the two reasons why a reduction of postage is refused on the North American service is, that the Indian and Australian service "is so expensive." How long the writers of letters to the United States and Canada will stand such gross injustice as this, I know not.

RESULT OF A PENNY RATE TO NORTH AMERICA.

I have shown that there is at present a profit of £89,505 per annum on the American service. I will now show that if the rate were lowered from 2½d. to 1d. per letter, there would still be a very large annual profit. Taking the figures supplied by the Post Office, it will be seen that the proportion of postage received on "letters" to that received on "other articles" is as 109 to 82. The total sum received for postage was, last year, £185,000, of which £105,579 was received for letters, and £79,421 for "other articles"—that is to say, newspapers, book packets, and so forth. The reduction of rates would not apply to this latter item. But, the letter rate being lowered from 2½d. to 1d., we should receive only £40,230 for letters, and the total revenue on the service would be £119,651. As the total expenditure is £95,500, there would still be a clear profit of £24,156 per annum. But this does not represent all the net revenue to be expected. For in the first place postcards are included in the item "letters," and there would be no reduction for them, which means an addition of say £2,000, making the profit £26,156. And next, there is the certain and vast increase in the number of communications that would ensue on such a reduction in the rate. This increase would at the very lowest estimate be in the first year 50 per cent., so that our net profit on the whole service would be about £40,000 per annum, and in the course of five years I reckon that it would be £100,000 per annum. That this is not an extravagant estimate is shown by the facts that (a) even under the present rate the receipts increase by £14,000 a year; and (b) that in the year 1840, after the introduction of the Inland penny rate, the amount of correspondence was doubled, and is now 19 times what it was in 1839.

Thus the result of an investigation of the facts connected with the American service is, that instead of a loss of £32,000, we find a present profit of £89,505, and that under the penny rate there would be an immediate profit of £40,000, rising in five years to £100,000.

THE LETTER OF "MANU FORTI."

I will here deal with the elaborate attack made upon me by "Manu Forti" in the June number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION. The gist of his complaint is, that by including the United States in the scheme of Penny Postage, I have sacrificed the Imperial character of the scheme. In other words, he says that by admitting a foreign country to the benefits of the reform, we take from that reform its value and efficacy as a means of binding the various parts of the Empire together. This contention is based on a transparent fallacy. In lowering the postage rate to the United States, we do not confer the slightest benefit upon that country; we only benefit ourselves. Each country keeps its own postage, and so it would be open to the Government of Washington to maintain the present rate,

even after we had reduced it for ourselves. The two services are totally distinct and independent. Again, "Manu Forti" is apparently ignorant of the fact that the mails sent from the United Kingdom to Canada are mostly landed at New York, and thence forwarded to the Dominion. Now, does he really suggest that we are to charge an inhabitant of the United Kingdom twopence halfpenny for a letter sent to New York, and another inhabitant of the United Kingdom one penny for a letter sent by the same steamer to New York, to be forwarded thence some thousands of miles to a Canadian address? If so, he must suggest some plausible explanation which will satisfy the sender of the first letter. The only reason he attempts to give is that the Canadians will feel aggrieved if this popular measure be "poisoned" by the inclusion of the United States. Well, I cannot believe that his countrymen share his feeling of hatred to the people of the great Republic. But if they did, they would raise no objection on that score, since it is the subjects of the Queen, and not American subjects, who will be benefited. "Manu Forti," who writes so confidently, without having mastered the elementary facts of the subject discussed, charges me with "posing as the champion of this idea," and says "it is hardly fair for anyone to appropriate to himself special credit for it." Before publishing this accusation, he might have done me the justice of reading one or more of my utterances on the subject, when he would have found that I distinctly disclaimed credit for the conception of this idea.

For proof of this I would refer readers to my pamphlet on Postal Reform; Ocean Penny Postage, p. 42; and my article on a Penny Post for the Empire in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1890, p. 913; and I would specially refer to my speech at the banquet given me in Sydney in August, 1887, in which the following passage occurs:—

"The letters will be spread on a congenial soil, and will yield a harvest of commerce and good feeling throughout the Empire. (Applause.) It is impossible for human language to exaggerate the incalculable gain, both moral and material, which is bound up in the success of this movement. I, who have awakened interest in the question throughout the Old Country; the powerful press of England, Ireland, and Scotland, that has overwhelmed me with praise for the manner in which I have conducted the campaign: the one hundred and forty members of the House of Commons who form the Parliamentary Committee to forward the movement—we all, who may be regarded as promoters, claim no credit for originality, or for superior economical judgment in the matter. We only ask that the beneficent work of the great Rowland Hill shall be taken up at the point where the limits of enlightenment in his days compelled him to leave it. We only ask that an axiom of political economy shall be faithfully followed out, and that a principle of that noble science shall have fair play—like any other. Now, to illustrate this, we shall say a principle must be either true or false. If it be true that a reduction of postage doubled the commerce, multiplied the wealth, and intensified the happiness of the people of the United Kingdom and Ireland, surely it will have a similar effect with an extended application! (Cheers.) Two and two make four all the world over, scientific laws are the same in both hemispheres, and there is no doctrine of physical or mathematical science which is true in the temperate zone but false in the tropical. (Hear, hear.) Latitude and longitude have nothing whatever to do with the question. It seems incredible that the learned, far-seeing statesmen of Europe should have to be told these things by a man from the Antipodes. Yet nothing can be clearer than this—that the opposition of the official classes arises solely from a mortal terror of a possible deficit, although the British Post Office now makes a profit of three millions a year."

Rowland Hill himself never claimed to be the originator of the penny post. Two hundred years before he was born a pamphlet was written on the subject.

There is another aspect of the question to which "Manu Forti" is sublimely indifferent. We in this country are more anxious to gratify a natural and legitimate wish of our Irish fellow-subjects than to feed the foolish and fanatical hatred of the United States which animates the breast of my assailant. The Transatlantic Republic is the home of many millions of the Irish race, who keep up constant correspondence with

their relatives in the Emerald Isle, and contribute freely to their support. Is this self-assured writer aware that every year some 400,000 persons resident in the States send over a sum of £1,500,000 in small postal orders to poor kinsmen in the United Kingdom? How much pinching and self-denial, how much filial love and duty, how much relief and comfort does that sum represent! In my opinion the Irish members would be quite justified in voting against the institution of an Imperial Penny Post if the United States were excluded from the scheme.

A COMPENSATION.

It will be observed that the gain of £228,000 per annum realised by the United Kingdom under the Postal Union arrangement almost covers the alleged "loss" on the Colonial sea service. We send eight letters out of this country for every six or seven that we receive, and two and a half pounds of other postal matter for every pound received. The only country that has insisted on a fair bargain with us in this matter is Australia, which (at my instance) insisted on our paying £95,000, as against £75,000 contributed by the Australian Governments.

SAVINGS.

In the course of the past five years I have suggested to the British Post Office various expedients for increasing its revenue to an amount far greater than would be required to cover the initial cost of instituting an Imperial Penny Post. Incredible as it may appear, these reforms represent already a total saving of national expenditure to the amount of over £2,000,000 sterling. They are—1. A saving of £107,000 a year, or a total of £1,070,000, on the ten years' contract for the conveyance of the mails to India and the East paid to the Steam Ship Companies. 2. A saving of at least £30,000 a year in the payments to France and Italy for the carriage of mails per railway overland from Calais to Brindisi on their way to India, China, and Australia. 3. A saving of at least £40,000 a year in the De la Rue contract for Post Office stationery. 4. A saving of £25,000 a year on the sample parcel post in connection with a reform of the scandal of posting British samples abroad. By adopting my suggestion of allowing the backs of telegraph forms to be used for advertising a further sum of £60,000 a year might be secured.

OFFICIAL IMPROVIDENCE.

I feel it my duty moreover to point out another instance of the wastefulness and improvidence characterising Post Office management of the mail service. The officials responsible have provided no less than three independent and parallel lines of steamships for the conveyance of the mails to India, Australia, and the East, though one line would suffice as far as Aden; the Government thus paying three times over for the service rendered, and creating an illusory notion as to the cost of the mail service. We have in the first place a weekly service to Aden and India, and a fortnightly one to Colombo. What we require in addition are, first, a service every other week from Aden to Colombo, and secondly, a weekly service from Colombo to Australia (this would give a weekly service along the entire route). Instead of this contracts have just been approved for an independent weekly service over the entire distance, 9,748 miles, though, as I have shown, a great part of the route is already provided for. If this service is not for mail transport alone, and this is acknowledged, I have no objection to the three lines.

THE "AREA OF PRODUCTIVITY."

We have now to deal with the Postmaster-General's argument that although Inland Penny Postage has been such a gigantic success, this is owing entirely to the fact that we have here such an immense population devoted to the art of correspondence. There is no such "area of productivity," he says, in the Colonies, and he instances India. He could not have made a more unfortunate choice. I have lately received from the Postmaster-General of India statistics which show an astonishing growth of postal correspondence with this country. In 1871–2 there were despatched from India to England 1,360,308 letters and 361,210 newspapers. In the same year there was received from England 1,394,451 letters and 1,612,534 newspapers, or a grand total of 4,728,503. In 1888–9 the number of

letters despatched from India had increased to 3,245,013, and newspapers to 1,186,792. In the same year there were received from England 3,270,150 letters, and 5,315,333 newspapers, or a grand total of 13,017,288. The last column of statistics furnished me by Mr. Fanshawe, Postmaster-General of India, is even more striking. In 1871-2 the total number of articles exchanged by India with foreign countries was 4,728,503. In 1888-9 the total number of articles exchanged with foreign countries had risen to 17,042,721. India was put forward by Mr. Raikes as the "shocking example" by which the "area of productivity" argument was to be illustrated and proved. Yet we find that under the repressive influence of heavy postal charges the Indian postal business has assumed these immense proportions. What would it be under the penny rate?

EFFECTS OF AN IMPERIAL PENNY POST.

I have in the foregoing portion of this paper dealt with the calculations showing that the conveyance of mail matter to the very ends of the earth ought to be affected at a comparatively trifling expenditure—so trifling, that a postage rate of one penny per letter would in all cases yield the Post Office a handsome profit. This is sufficient for my purpose, since nobody can be found to maintain that an Imperial Penny is not desirable for the happiness, the prosperity, and the safety of the Empire. If we consider the conditions of our Queen's Empire for one moment, we must perceive that it differs in one important respect from the Roman or the Napoleonic Empire. It is not a compact mass of states, grouped round a central governing one, with which free and continuous communication is kept up. It consists of a large number of communities, scattered over both hemispheres, separated from each other by vast oceans, and not less divided by diversity of sympathies, temperament, and creed, and including some 330,000,000 of the human race. Its composition is therefore somewhat like that of the Dutch and Spanish Empires, which, as we know, fell to pieces for want of a cohesive force. Now of all imaginable devices for creating this cohesive force—for inspiring so vast a section of humanity with a common sentiment of solidarity, or patriotism—there is none that can compare for a moment with the establishment of the cheapest possible postal and telegraphic communication. With such a service, the Empire is like a living body, furnished with a complete system of nerves, by which all its physical energies are directed and concentrated at any moment, and for any purpose. Without it, the same Empire is like a paralysed body, which may be injured at one point without any warning being conveyed to the remainder—which lies inert, helpless, and insensible, a prey to the first enemy that passes.

EFFECT ON COMMERCE.

As to the effect on our commerce it is hardly necessary to say one word. Correspondence is to the merchant what seed-corn is to the farmer, and if we overtax correspondence, we act like a farmer who eats his seed-corn. Every man with the slightest knowledge of business is acquainted with the difficulty of obtaining, and next, of retaining a market for his goods. Where the market is at a distance, this difficulty is intensified, and where keen and unscrupulous competition has to be faced, the difficulty reaches its maximum development. This is the state of things with which a British merchant, engaged in Colonial trade, has to deal; and we cannot serve him better than by providing him with a postal (and telegraphic) service cheaper and better than his rivals enjoy. So far the opposite conditions have prevailed. Hitherto the British Government has conveyed the letters of foreigners to British Colonies, in British ships, for half the rate which it has charged to subjects of the Queen. I have at last beaten down this disgraceful anomaly, and henceforth the rate for British subjects and foreigners will be the same. But this is not enough. If a British letter were conveyed to Canada, or Australia, or India for one penny, and a foreigner had to pay 2½d., we should only be doing a strict act of justice, by compensating our countrymen for the long years during which they have been charged double the foreign rate. It is needless to appeal to the readers of "IMPERIAL FEDERATION" on the question whether it is good policy, and common sense, to

encourage British trade with British Colonies. But I solemnly declare that so far as I can discover, the British Ministers responsible in the matter will not lift a finger to give British trade the slightest advantage over its rivals. After an irresistible pressure of public opinion had forced some concession from them, they fixed the twopence half-penny rate, though they admit that for £75,000 more the penny rate could be established to-morrow. This halting, peddling policy of compromise will please nobody—except the German or French merchant—and it can be defended on no one intelligible principle. It does not confer any advantage on the British trader over his competitors, it does not establish a rate within the means of the masses, and therefore, it does nothing to increase the strength and stability of the empire. And these splendid results are sacrificed in order to effect a paltry economy of £75,000, and then to throw that amount away on French and Italian railway companies, on De la Rue and Co., or on parallel double lines of mail-steamers where one line would suffice.

EFFECT ON HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE.

It is idle to appeal to these Ministers on the score of the happiness which the penny rate would bestow on many millions of our poorer fellow subjects. But residents in the Colonies, who have witnessed the rapture with which a crossed and tear-blotted letter from the "old folks" at home is received and read, will not sneer at this consideration. We are all indebted to the sturdy emigrants who pour out from these islands at the rate of 350,000 per annum, in order to further the development of our Colonial Empire. They go no doubt for their own advantage; but they also labour for ours. They dig, plant, and reap; build houses, rear herds and flocks, bridge rivers, clear forests, lay railways, and extend the dominion of civilisation. The immediate result of all this toil is the creation of new markets for British goods. And, as I have said, we all benefit directly or indirectly by the increase of our trade with the Colonies—not only the merchants who obtain the orders, but the numerous class of workmen employed by them, and lastly, those who sell goods and produce to those workmen, in exchange for their wages. As already stated, our foreign and Colonial trade amounted last year to £740,000,000, and the Colonial branch of it is increasing at the rate of £10,000,000 a year. Surely we ought to spare no effort to maintain, and even increase this great wage-fund, on which so large a proportion of our citizens subsists. Let us remember, too, that every one of the emigrants referred to just now leaves behind him, in this country, a circle of five or six friends and relatives, all keenly interested in his welfare. It is all very well for highly placed officials, with comfortable salaries, to sneer at the tie of natural affection subsisting between the exile and his family in the United Kingdom. But it is just these millions of delicate, almost imperceptible filaments, which, woven together, would constitute a mighty bond of Imperial union, that no power on earth could snap.

If the Postmaster-General takes his stand on his estimate that the reform would cost the country £75,000 in the first year, I would observe that the surplus of the Post Office is more than £3,000,000 annually, and that this surplus increases at the rate of about £250,000 per annum. In other words, we shall have an increase this year three or four times larger than is required to cover the initial cost of Imperial Penny Postage.

By way of practical comment on the views above set forth, and by way of answering the Postmaster-General's bold assertion that the Colonists, especially the Australian Colonists, are averse to the idea of a penny post to this country, I may again refer to the gratifying intelligence, just received, that Queensland, while accepting the reduction to 2½d., has reserved the right to institute a penny postage to Great Britain and Ireland, by the British India line (which is subsidised by the Queensland Government). This is the first declaration on record by a British Government in favour of Ocean Penny Postage, and Queensland is once more the leading British state in this branch of postal reform. (Queensland, it will be remembered, was the first Colony to reduce the 6d. rate to 4d.) But, unless I am mistaken, we shall shortly hear that this action of Queens-

land has been shared in by all the Australasian Governments.

It is useless in these days for one official, however highly placed, to attempt to defeat a reform on which the masses have set their hearts. "Our masters," numbering now close upon forty millions, and reinforced by the enlightened public opinion of three continents, are not to be terrified and routed, like a few timid sorters or letter-carriers, by an obtuse functionary in a gold-laced coat.

CHEAP TELEGRAPHS.

What the post does for our age and time, the telegraph will doubtless do, far more efficiently, for future ages. As we know, the inland telegraph service has become part of the ordinary machinery of social and commercial life, supplementing the post, at a moment's notice, with machinery independent of the obstacles of space and time, and capable of accomplishing wonders that rival the fabled achievements of magicians and genii. The number of telegrams annually despatched in the United Kingdom exceeds the number of letters carried when Sir Rowland Hill published his famous pamphlet.

WHAT CABLES MIGHT BE TO THE EMPIRE.

But this is reversed as regards electrical communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Electricity, which merely supplements the post on land, becomes the essential medium of intercourse, in the case of a vast conglomeration of kingdoms, Colonies, islands and settlements, separated by thousands of miles of water. In fact, as I have elsewhere maintained, the invention of the electric cable may be regarded as an altogether providential one for the British Empire, at this stage of its existence. What we want is an agency for transmitting official directions, important intelligence, and trading and social correspondence, from London to Canada, India, or Australia, as rapidly and easily as such communications are flashed from Paris to Boulogne, or from Berlin to Strasburg. Nay, more, we want an agency that shall if possible overcome the sense of division and isolation which tends to spring up in peoples separated by journeys of several weeks' duration; that shall keep the remotest corner of the Empire in constant touch with the vital centre of all, that shall enable the most distant subject of the Queen to share in the emotions and experiences of his fellows.

CABLE MONOPOLY.

Such an agency Providence has given us, but the rapacity of a few monopolists has been suffered to intercept the benefit that might have been shared by the poorest and humblest of us. At this moment the cost of telegraphic communication is absolutely prohibitive to all but the wealthy. The Eastern Telegraph Company, and its allies the Eastern Extension Company, the Eastern and South African Company, and the Northern Telegraph Company, have a virtual monopoly of cable communication all over the world, and these associations exploit, for their own exclusive profit, the natural desire of the human race for instantaneous exchange of thought and will. A glance at the map will show that, as I have so often repeated, the cable net of the world is the nerve system of the British Empire. "From a space measurable by yards within the city there radiate actual, material, tangible lines of communication, reaching to Vancouver on the one hand, and to New Zealand on the other." The cable system of the monopolising companies is so arranged, that it is impossible to lay any competing lines (with one exception) with any expectation of profit. Thus lines constructed from Australia to the Cape, the Straits, or Ceylon, would simply merge in, and feed the Eastern Company's system. This state of things has long enabled Sir John Pender and his colleagues to levy monstrous charges, which helped them to pay dividends ranging up to 14½ per cent., regardless of the fact that they were fattening like vampires upon the very life-blood of the Empire. I have never ceased during the past five years to direct public attention to this nest of monopolists, and a few weeks since I was enabled to take action which resulted in wringing from them an offer to reduce the Australian rate from 10s. to 5s., and ultimately to 4s. per word. Their charges to India are 4s. and to the Cape 9s. per word. But

my action will probably have further results, for we can hardly suppose that a merchant will consent to pay as much for a message to India as he is to be charged for one to Australia, some thousands of miles more distant.

REMEDIES.

The breaking down of this monopoly is an indispensable preliminary to the attainment of the full blessings of Imperial Federation. Until the sense of division and isolation has been made to disappear, any mere paper Federation will be a "mere delusion, a lath painted to look like iron." Some years ago I formed an association (afterwards amalgamated with an independent one, having the same object) for laying a cable from Australia across the Pacific, *via* Fiji, to Vancouver, there to be connected with the land line of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which is joined to the cable across the Atlantic to Valencia. Such a cable, which could transmit annually 10,000,000 words, would produce a revenue of £500,000, and would probably cause Sir John Pender to cut down the Australian rates by another 50 per cent. at least.

THE AFGHAN LINE.

Another scheme, which is comparatively easy of accomplishment, is that of my friend, Mr. Pitman, C.I.E., Superintendent of Government Telegraphs in the Bombay division, for connecting the Indian and Russian telegraph systems, *via* Herat. There is but the gap across Afghanistan between the Indian terminus (Chaman) and the Russian (Penjdeh), and if that gap were once filled up, there would be a land line between Calais and Calcutta, and the rate to India would instantly drop to 6d. per word. The mercantile classes can best estimate the effect which such a reduction would have upon our Indian trade. It will be remembered that we take 55 per cent of the total trade of India. Military men, too, will perceive the great value of electric communication with the Russian border, and what a load would be taken off the minds of those responsible for the defence of the North-Western frontier. It is objected that the Ameer would resist the proposal, and that the wire would be cut in time of war. But the Ameer is an enthusiast in electrical science, and he would gain more than anybody by the provision of a means of instantaneous communication with his potent protectors in India. As for Russia, we are not at war with her for more than two years in a century; and it must be remembered that cables may be cut as well as land-lines. Moreover, a cable is far more difficult to repair than a land line; and as both the available lines from England to India are submerged for a part of their length, it would obviously be advisable to complete our land communication without delay. The next step would be the laying of a land line from Calcutta down the Malay Peninsula to Singapore, whence a cable could be laid to Australia. We should then be in a position to negotiate with our friends the monopolists. We could either buy the existing cable net at a valuation, or, if the companies stood out for exorbitant terms, lay new cables altogether.

RESULTS OF REFORM.

In any case the Government and the public would be enabled to transfer to the wire all the more important kinds of business now transacted in writing, and the beneficial effect of such a change upon business, upon social affairs, and upon the future of the Empire, cannot be over-estimated. The working expenses of the cable system are so small, and the value of it to the Empire is so great, that not an hour should be lost in dealing with the question. We know that the wealth and vast extent of our possessions have awakened the cupidity of more than one powerful rival; we know that unhappy local prejudices and misconceptions are at work at various points (as witness Newfoundland) to sap and overthrow the feeling of patriotism, and we all see and lament the need of some efficient means of harmonising the divergent aspirations and interests of the numerous races that owe common allegiance to the Queen. Here is what we require lying at our feet. How long must we wait for an irresistible and imperious popular demand for the simple and reasonable reform which I have here advocated?

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

July, 1890.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

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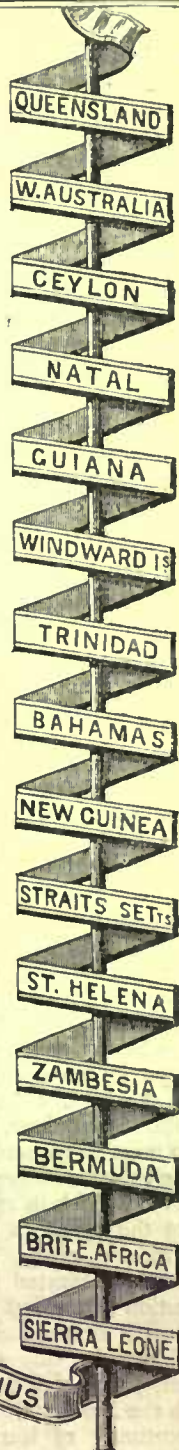
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Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1890.

FEDERATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

WHILE the wheels of the Federal chariot seem to be running smoothly enough in all the other Colonies of Australia, in New South Wales considerable difference of opinion has manifested itself, and the question has unfortunately been brought very much into the vortex of party. Whether this was entirely due to the exclusion by Sir Henry Parkes of the name of the Opposition leader, Mr. Dibbs, from the list of delegates to the forthcoming Convention, or partly to causes that would have operated in any case, we are not concerned to inquire. That the whole subject should be thoroughly threshed out in the Legislature of the oldest of the Colonies in the group is so much to the good; but if the result of debating it on party lines to the extent that has obtained, especially in the Lower House, be in the end unfavourable to the speedy adoption of the Federation programme in the Convention by New South Wales, there will be room for very great regret indeed. We are not sanguine enough to expect that the whole matter will be settled off-hand at the Convention in February, but we should like to see solid progress made. At the present time all eyes are turned upon Australia. We all believe that her union in Federal bonds is essential for her own individual future, and as a step in the direction of the larger Imperial scheme, and any delay from factitious or unnecessary causes is to be deprecated as postponing the time when the fruits of the measures now being taken may be gathered.

But the debate in the Legislative Chambers of New South Wales has a special interest for us over and above that associated with its general influence on the course of Australian Federation, inasmuch as there ran throughout it a thread of opinions expressed on the one side and on the other upon the all-important question of the two roads along which Federation would carry the Colonies—towards separation from the Mother Country or continued union under the Crown. The latter expression, it will be remembered, is that used in the Conference resolutions themselves, submitted to the various Parliaments for adoption, as the form it was intended Federation should take; and one of the grounds given by Sir Henry Parkes for not putting Mr. Dibbs on the Convention was that the latter had distinctly repudiated this as the true line for Federation to follow, declaring for a union looking to separation and independence as its ultimate goal. In his own speech Mr. Dibbs upheld these views, though he saw the prudence of whittling down the programme of separation and independence to something little more than a pious aspiration for some undefined future. But it was on this tremendous issue that speakers on both sides expressed their opinions during the debate, and though the position and influence of some of the speakers may not be such as to entitle their views to any great weight or consideration, yet, considering the gravity of the subject, we must not on the other hand fall into the error of attributing too little importance to these public declarations, in their places in Parliament, by men who must be assumed in the main to represent the views of the electorate throughout the Colony.

We publish in another column a long series of extracts from the speeches of members of both Chambers of the Legislature, giving, not a summary, but the members' own words as reported in the local press, wherever this grave question is touched upon. These extracts will, we believe, be read with unusual interest by many who hear a good deal on one side and the other as to the views held by leading Colonial politicians on the maintenance of union with the Mother Country, and who will be glad to have an opportunity of learning at first hand how the matter presents itself to the legislators of the Colony where the question is most canvassed. For it is in New South Wales more than any other Colony that separation is most talked

about. We exclude Queensland, from which Colony we are constantly hearing much vapouring talk of such things, because we can never bring ourselves to take the Queensland separatists, or disloyalists, quite seriously. The portions of the speeches we publish will, we are very sure, repay perusal. It is idle to shut our eyes to the existence of such a body of opinion as here shows itself looking to independence as the ultimate goal or manifest destiny of Australia. On the other hand, it is reassuring to find that even in New South Wales those who have thought fit publicly to express these views are, to say the least, fairly counterbalanced even in numbers by those who express disagreement with them; while these latter certainly have the advantage in point of weight and position. Two other considerations of a reassuring character also present themselves in connection with these speeches. One is the absence of any acerbity towards the Mother Country, which is very marked among even the most decided advocates of separation. The other is that the date of separation is almost always relegated to some paulo-post-future time.

BEHRING SEA.

THE official correspondence on the Behring Sea Fisheries dispute, which we referred to last month as having then just been published in the United States, has now been issued as a Blue-book by our own Government, with the important addition of Lord Salisbury's latest and, so far, final despatch of August 2nd. It is very voluminous, and extends over the whole period from September, 1886. In another column we give extracts from those portions of the correspondence that are most noteworthy in connection with the light in which the question is to be regarded as a Colonial one generally, and with especial reference to the line taken by some of our own correspondents and other writers. That a question of such a nature should remain open, a source of irritation, and a possible danger even to peaceful relations between ourselves and the United States, is a somewhat discouraging commentary upon the aspirations of those whose laudable endeavour it is to draw all the English-speaking peoples together into a league of peace. It is at least consolatory to know that this prolonged diplomatic failure is owing to no want of goodwill, nor, as is more often the case, to any dilatoriness on the part of our own Government. The entire blame, it may be said without any qualification, lies at the door of the American Department of State, which allows its foreign relations to be worked in the interest of party politics—to Mr. Blaine, in short, whose reckless disregard of the honourable traditions attaching to the conduct of international relations, endangers the peace of two great and friendly nations, for the sake of gaining the votes controlled by that incubus of American politics, the Irish "boss."

Into the general merits of the question at issue, it is quite beside the present purpose to enter at any length. The old, old question of *mare clausum*—the discussion of which fills so many pages of the works of jurists of the times of Grotius and Bynkerschoek—is re-opened by the very nation whose statesmen and public writers, since the course of its history began, have been most strong in their condemnation of the principle involved in the term. The claim now set up by Mr. Blaine to treat as territorial waters any part of the Behring Sea beyond the waters universally so treated within the marine league of the shores, is to fly in the face both of the whole course and tendency of modern international law, and of the policy and contention of his own direct predecessors in office, who were dealing not only with the same general question, but with the identical subject-matter, and the identical *locus in quo*. Lord Salisbury's despatches show conclusively that the United States opposed the claim set up by Russia to territorialise Behring Sea, on precisely the same grounds and with reference to the same portions of the sea as the British Government now opposes the claim of the United States. Mr. Blaine's attempts to escape from this dilemma consist of subterfuges and quibbles capable of being, as in fact they are, in Lord Salisbury's despatches, exposed, and demonstrated to be entirely

groundless and false with a completeness of proof seldom attainable in diplomatic controversy. The case for the United States is, in fact, so absolutely hollow that it is quite impossible to believe that it is put forward with any degree of sincerity. It is only the aggressive and high-handed action of the United States Government that has converted the matter into a diplomatic controversy at all. If that Government had seen fit to take up a position at once friendly and in accordance with history and with public law, a settlement satisfactory to all parties could have been arrived at long ago. Putting aside the untenable claims asserted by Mr. Blaine, the question is not one of international law or ancient treaties at all, but one to be settled by international agreement in accordance with the practical and industrial requirements of the case. The whole trouble with the seal fisheries is the want of regulations and restrictions dealing with close time, the number to be killed in a year, and so forth.

Fishing without restriction, either within the admittedly territorial limits on and around the islands belonging to the United States, or in the open sea, would alike be destructive to the industry. America controls the fishing on her own islands; it is for her, in concert with other Powers interested, to establish by international agreement whatever regulations are necessary for the control also of what is called pelagic fishing—that is, fishing on the high seas, which no one nation alone can lawfully affect to control. There has been some difference of opinion (and possibly some blunder on the part of our Government) as to the proper close time to fix. But it is upon the basis indicated and on no other that the question can be set at rest; and there is some hope now that the negotiators of the United States may see fit to do what—if they had honestly desired a fair and amicable settlement—they might have done long ago.

It is to be hoped that those people in Canada who have felt so much indignation at what has appeared to them the neglect of their compatriots' interests by the Home Government, will find in the correspondence now published reason to modify their perhaps natural but not altogether well-founded opinions. They will see that the matter has throughout four years never been allowed to sleep, but has constantly engaged the anxious attention of the Foreign Office. They will also see that the Government, while showing that forbearance which the traditions of our diplomacy and the strength of its case allowed it to exercise in the face of exasperating sophistries on paper and aggressive conduct in fact, has yet never abated a jot of the rights to which Canadians as subjects of the British Empire are entitled. And they will further see that in maintaining those rights, which are solely Canadian, the Empire has been brought—we do not like to say within measurable distance of hostilities with the United States—but to such a point in its relations with that Power, that practically almost the last word was said that could be said in peace. The formal protest delivered by Her Majesty's representative at Washington on the 14th June (the text of which will be found in another column) is the kind of document that is not lightly used between nations. And some Canadian writers, and others who have dealt with the question in other Colonies—we expressly desire to limit the application of this observation—would do well, too, to remember that it is the Foreign Office of Great Britain that has had the conduct of this matter, and that it is the Navy of Great Britain that stands behind that office. To such we commend the following passage from President Grant's lecture, delivered last year at Winnipeg. He says, speaking of the influence of Canada in Imperial affairs:—"We have none at all now, except that which is indirect and conceded by the generosity of Britain. We deserve to have none, for we have not shown that we value it, except by newspaper clamour when the inconvenience of our position is felt. It is humiliating to read articles in our papers calling on Britain to send *her* ships, for instance, to Behring Sea. I do not undertake to say whether ships of war should be sent there from Esquimaux or not; but, until we are able to change the pronoun and use the phrase *our* ships, we should have the grace to keep silent." And he draws the conclusion, for the sake of which we ourselves have made the previous observation, namely, that the remedy for all this lies in Imperial Federation.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

By JEHU MATHEWS.

No. III.

My readers will probably remember that in former letters I sought to discover the nature of Imperial Federation by inquiry as to the amount of corporate unity which Federalism must everywhere necessitate; that here, with the assistance of Mill and Freeman, I reached the conclusion that the authority of a Federal Government must be complete in all transactions with foreign Powers; whence I went on to argue that it must at least control diplomacy, armaments, finance, and, to some extent, commerce; and thence went on to endorse the view of the League—that an Imperial Federation "should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." How might such a combination be effected? And what would constitute an equitable basis? When, considering the extent of our responsibilities to and for each other, these questions have been to some extent examined, supposing any concurrent reply to them to have been reached, the next point which the concurrent parties would discover would be the need of some common authority to enforce the terms of union on individual members—or, in plain English, of a Government. What should be its nature?

If I have been correct in concluding that the nature of our corporate union is—to a certain extent, at least—marked out for us by our circumstances, these landmarks, I think, also cast some light on the nature of the Government which would be needed. I have seen some proposals for a Federal authority of the nature of an Administrative Board akin to the old Privy Council, on which all parts of the Empire should be represented, each part retaining its present Legislature for purposes of local government. I am not disposed to allege that such a body would be incompetent for its work. But if I have been right in maintaining that the Federal authority must at least control diplomacy, armaments, finance, and commerce, and that it must be a composite-state Government acting on individuals, I think we may safely conclude that neither at home nor in the Colonies would people be disposed to entrust these prerogatives to any other than a representative Government, and that it would be useless to ask them to do so.

Taking, then, the head of the Executive Government as provided in our gracious Sovereign or her House, how could we organise the Legislative Chambers? Here it may be well to consider whether we could not organise them out of Chambers already existent. One "plank" in the League's "platform" affirms—"That no scheme of Imperial Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs." This being accepted, it follows that the Colonial Legislatures existent at the date of Federation should form their local Governments. But how about the Imperial Parliament? That body, like every national Legislature, fulfils, in the country for which it acts, the duties which, in a Federation, are divided between the Federal and local Legislatures. And prior to the adoption of Free Trade and Colonial self-government, it discharged not only these duties for the United Kingdom, but also—with the exception of raising a Federal revenue—all the duties of a Federal Legislature for the Empire; and it is still legally competent to legislate for any and every part of it. Should it, in the event of Federation, be made the nucleus of a Federal Legislature, and a new system of local Government created for the British Islands? and if so, of what nature? Or, should it be made an exclusively local Parliament, and an entirely new Federal Legislature constructed? Might not some such modifications as the following—partly of procedure—fit it again to fulfil the functions of both a local Legislature for the British Islands and a Federal Legislature for the Empire?

1. To fit it to fulfil the duties of a Federal Legislature, all parts of the new Federation must be represented in it; and to have this done satisfactorily, representatives should be apportioned on some definite basis of representation according to which periodical readjustments might be made—probably at each Census—as is done in Canada and the United States. As both Father Land and Colonies have

already apportioned representation according to numbers, I presume that they would do so again; but for myself I cannot help saying that this seems to me a most incorrect basis, as representation according to population is *absolute* equality, and taxation according to property is *relative* equality—two things altogether different; and why political equality requires that individual circumstances should be carefully observed in one case, and studiously ignored in the other, we are not informed. Then, what countries should be represented? Is it not clear that India and the Crown Colonies, unable to work a local representative Government at present, could not assist in working a Federal representative Government hereafter? If so, does it not follow that as they now stand towards the United Kingdom, so would they have to stand towards the Federation; the active working body of which would, therefore, be limited to the Father Land, Canada, Australasia, the West Indies, and South Africa? Were these, then, represented in the House of Commons on any uniform basis, all needing representation in the Lower House of a Federal Legislature would be represented in a Lower House competent to legislate for any and every part of the Empire.

2. That a Federal Upper House could be constructed with equal facility seems to me doubtful. The Colonies do not possess the materials for an hereditary peerage, and probably would not accept one. Still, as life-peerages are now constitutional, Colonial representation in an Upper House might, perhaps, be attained by allotting a certain number of such peerages to each Colony. My own impression, however, is that such a body would be too weak satisfactorily to fulfil the duties of an Upper Chamber in an Imperial Federation; that care should be taken to make it emphatically "a chamber of statesmen," and of statesmen not afraid to act according to their convictions. I would suggest that one part of it should be representative, being elected by the peers in the British Islands, as is now done by those of Ireland and Scotland, and by the Colonial Legislatures in the Colonies; that another part should be nominated by the Crown, unconditionally; and that a third part should consist of men who had filled certain offices in the Empire, as is suggested by J. S. Mill in his sketch of an Upper Chamber for the United Kingdom.¹ With the Lords modified in either manner suggested, and with a Federal Ministry appointed by the Crown, and responsible to the Commons, we should have all the branches of a Federal Government provided.

3. These Chambers, when convoked by the Crown, should enter on consideration of the matters, whatever they might be, reserved for the Federal Legislature; and that business being finished, they should be prorogued. But that done, I think that the Colonial representatives might retire; and that the Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom alone could be called to a second Session for legislation on matters appertaining to the local affairs of that part of the Empire, there being here also a local Ministry responsible to the local Commons only. By this policy I think that we might at once construct both a local legislature for the United Kingdom and a Federal Legislature for the Empire; and, without the formation of any new legislative authority whatever, invest Father Land and Colonies with the local independence and the Federal unity demanded in a Pan-Britannic Federation.

It is one thing to explain a policy and another to justify it in its details. Were I here to attempt to defend the above policy as the best means of creating a Federal government for the Empire and a local government for the British Islands, I fear that this letter might become rather lengthy. But my object is much less to sketch a model scheme of union than to expose the alternatives which would confront any body of men who may attempt to form one. And, therefore, I ask any of my readers who may dissent from my views how otherwise a composite-state government for Fatherland and Colonies could be formed save by converting the Imperial Parliament into a Federal legislature, and creating one local government for all the United Kingdom, or different local governments in different parts of it? And if either of the latter policies would be likely to prove less difficult of accomplishment than that which I have suggested? Here I think that I must recede some-

what from my previously expressed resolution not to write in defence of the feasibility of Imperial Federation. Any anti-Federationist reading thus far would at this point hasten to affirm that the scheme carries condemnation on its face, as it would be an utter impossibility even to assemble such a legislature as is here sketched as quickly as would be needed. Let us see.

California was admitted a State of the American Union in 1850 and Oregon in 1859, but the first Pacific Railway was not opened until 1869. Thus during about twenty years the most expeditious route from the United States capital to the Pacific States was by steamer to Aspinwall, thence by rail to Panama, and thence again by another sea-voyage to San Francisco. This journey usually consumed twenty-four days; and three more (or twenty-seven in all) were needed to reach Oregon. But New Zealand could be reached from London in a like time to-day. Should anybody doubt the correctness of this latter statement, I would quote to him the words of Sir Charles Dilke on the Canada Pacific railroad:—"Some are inclined to see in the Canadian Pacific line a binding force for the closer union of the British Empire. For the first time in the history of Greater Britain it is possible to travel from England to Australia by an overland route (in which that phrase from the proportion of land to sea on the passages has a real significance) without traversing a yard of soil not British. . . . Letters have been sent from England to Vancouver in twelve days, a time which we shall doubtless soon see reduced to ten. From there to Yokohama is under 4,500 knots, which eventually will give the Suez Canal route but little chance; while the distance to Auckland from Vancouver is under 6,300 knots, and that to Brisbane under 6,400; so that it is easy to see that, when swift ships are put on, this inter-Colonial line will enter upon a serious competition with the route by the Suez Canal."² Is it not clear that, with the run to the Pacific reduced to ten or twelve days, a 17-knot steam service would accomplish the rest of it in sixteen days, or a 20-knot service in about thirteen days, thus reducing the whole of it to at least as short a time as that consumed in the voyages between Washington and the Pacific coast prior to the opening of the first Pacific railroad? When an ocean journey of this length was found consistent with the integrity of the American Union and the regular assemblage of its Congress, why should it be declared inconsistent with like results in a pan-Britannic Federation?

There are, however, certain parties who are always sceptical of success on behalf of their own race and country, and for their benefit I would offer a few more suggestions. One is that, in order to enable members to know when they would be wanted, the session should annually open at a fixed date, as is done in the States. Another is that to meet political crises, such as those created by diplomatic difficulties, Colonial members should be allowed to vote by proxy, and be required to elect at the end of each session a certain number of their colleagues who should remain at home during the recess holding their proxies. And a third is that, in order to facilitate communication between Colonial members and constituents, lines of ocean cable should be constructed at State expense, and use of them granted to members and officials at almost nominal rates. With these measures adopted, the Federal legislature could be assembled in times of crisis as quickly as can the Imperial Parliament to-day, and with the Colonies represented in it probably by their best members; while in case of real need of communication, New Zealand would be practically nearer London than was Caithness or Donegal at the opening of the nineteenth century.

Still, however, I expect to be told that "It would not work; the countries are not socially united; and consequently could never be politically united even for purposes of Federal Government." Let us here turn to principles said to be applicable to all federations; examine the conditions essential to the success of Federalism anywhere and everywhere, and then inquire whether they are existent, or non-existent, in Fatherland and Colonies. The "circumstances under which a federal union is desirable" have been explained so clearly by Mr. Freeman that we can scarcely do better than endeavour to judge the case before us.

¹ See "Representative Government," Chap. XIII.

² "Problems of Greater Britain," pp. 83, 84.

according to his principles. Mr. Freeman writes of Federalism as follows :—

"It is a system eminently suited for some circumstances ; eminently unsuited for others. Federalism is in its place whenever it appears in the form of closer union. Europeans, accustomed to a system of large consolidated States, are apt to look upon Federalism as a system of disunion, and therefore of weakness. To a Greek of the third century B.C., to an American in 1787 it presented itself as a system of union and therefore of strength. The alternative was not closer union but wider separation. A kingdom of Peloponnesos or of America was an absurdity too great to be thought of. A single consolidated republic was almost equally out of the question. The real question was : Shall these cities, these States, remain utterly isolated, perhaps hostile to one another, at most united by an inefficient and precarious alliance ?—or shall they, while retaining full internal independence, be fused into one nation as regards all dealings with other Powers ? Looked at in this light, the federal system is emphatically a system of union and of that strength which follows upon union. The federal connection is in its place wherever the several members to be united are fitted for that species of union and for no other. It requires a sufficient degree of community in origin, or feeling or interest, to allow the several members to work together up to a certain point. It requires that there should not be that perfect degree of community, or rather identity, which allows the several members to be fused together for all purposes. Where there is no community at all, Federalism is inappropriate ; the cities or States had better remain wholly independent. Where community rises into identity, Federalism is equally inappropriate ; the cities or States had better sink into mere counties of a kingdom or a consolidated republic, and take their chance of the advantages or disadvantages of large States. But in the intermediate set of circumstances, the circumstances of Peloponnesos struggling against Macedonia, of Switzerland struggling against Austria, of the Netherlands struggling against Spain, of the American Colonies struggling against England, Federalism is the true solvent. It gives as much union as the members need, and not more than they need. . . . Wherever either closer union or more entire separation is desirable, Federalism is out of place. It is out of place if it attempts either to break asunder what is already more closely united, or to unite what is wholly incapable of union. Its mission is to unite to a certain extent what is capable of a certain amount of union and no more. It is an intermediate point between extremes, capable of being either despised as a compromise, or of being extolled as the golden mean." ³

I shall here, Sir, trouble you with some comments on the above extract which I wrote nearly twenty years ago. This I do because I have seen no reason in the interval to modify any of the opinions then expressed ; and, also, from the fact that when the volume containing them was under criticism the following argument I always found left undisputed :—

"The circumstances of England and her Colonies seem to answer almost exactly to those in which Mr. Freeman declares Federalism to be in its place. It would there unite, 'in closer union' than at present, countries to which the alternative is not a still more intimate union, but 'wider separation.' As in the cases of Peloponnesos and America, a consolidated republic is 'an absurdity too great to be thought of,' and the real choice lies between 'utter isolation,' and 'unity as regards all dealings with other Powers' accompanied by 'full internal independence.' We have fuller proof than existed in the case of Peloponnesos or America that 'the several members to be united are fitted for that species of union and for no other,' in the facts that they have for a long time constituted a harmonious modified Federation, and that a system of government under which certain members were deprived of 'full internal independence' has been tried and failed. Their history proves indisputably that there is 'a sufficient degree of community in origin, or feeling or interest [or rather in origin, feeling, and interest] to allow the several members to work together up to a certain point ;' and it is equally indisputable that they cannot be 'fused together for all purposes.' The

members are not, indeed, struggling for national independence against foreign foes, as in the cases mentioned ; but the Colonies are, one and all, incapable of maintaining their independence single-handed ; and the growth of mighty empires on every side of England renders it essential to her safety to be able to keep pace with the growth, which can be done only by utilising the resources of her growing empires beyond the sea. For these purposes a Federal Union would give 'as much of union as the members need, and not more than they need.' It is affirmed that 'wherever closer union or more entire separation is desirable, Federalism is out of place.' In the present instance it is certain that a closer union is not desirable ; and, if our arguments be correct, neither is entire separation ; consequently we may conclude that Federalism would *not* be 'out of place.' And if it be a correct statement that 'its mission is to unite to a certain extent what is capable of a certain amount of union, and no more,' can there be a shadow of a doubt that it is exactly the remedy needed to-day by the British Empire, inasmuch as its history proves incontestably that its members are capable of a certain amount of union and no more ?" ⁴

For the reasons above stated I have long been of opinion that almost every one of the circumstances under which Mr. Freeman declares a federal union to be desirable finds its counterpart in the position of Fatherland and Colonies. But to these arguments I would now add the facts that they have begun to seek this sort of union ; that if the first half of this letter be correct, they may lay hands on nearly all the machinery of Federalism ready-made ; that they have, had a larger experience of representative government than any other people in the world ; and that one and all of them seem loyal to British constitutionalism—something altogether different from modern democracy, which, in its supreme maxim "The greater number should rule the less," makes government a matter of will instead of "a matter of reason, truth, and justice."

In my next I hope to deal with some crucial questions of the purse.

Toronto, 1890.

FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY.

BY OSCAR BOULTON.

LET me remark, by way of preface to the following article, that I am one of those who, advocating ardently some form of Imperial Federation, believe that the time has now come for the supporters of that movement to place their policy before the Empire in some definite and practical shape. The reasons upon which I base this conclusion I have stated at length in the columns of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, and I will not recapitulate them here. I may, however, state what I believe to be a fact—that the adoption of an active policy is at present rendered extremely difficult by the peculiar political position of the League, which contains men of every political party, and is anxious to avoid any disturbance of the harmony which has so far characterised its deliberations. Thus whilst peers and politicians of opposite views continue to work amicably together, very little is really being done to bring about that unity which is the object desired by the League. Believing, however, myself that this anomalous attitude on the part of Federationists has endured long enough, and that the problem of Imperial organisation should at once be boldly grappled, I intend to offer here some suggestions as to the difficulties which will have to be encountered in the initial stages of the task, and to hazard an opinion as to their possible solution. Assuming, then, that in accordance with my suggestion, elsewhere offered to the League, the members of that body have met together to frame a definite programme for the consideration of Parliament and of the Empire, the following are some of the more important questions which will suggest themselves to the minds of the assembled delegates.

It is of course obvious that the nature of the relations to be established between Ireland on the one hand, and a federated Empire on the other, must necessarily depend upon the success or otherwise of the movement for Home Rule. It is easy therefore to imagine the embarrassment

³ "History of Federal Government," pp. 108—110.

⁴ "A Colonist on the Colonial Question." London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1872.

which would thus be created amongst a constituent assembly of Federationists, containing, as it doubtless would contain, Unionists and Home Rulers opposed to each other hopelessly at the outset on this important detail. The same difficulty, though perhaps in a minor degree, would exist with regard to Scotch and Welsh Home Rulers and their opponents. I shall endeavour to show further on how, by means of the initial programme of Federation which I shall propose, this grave impediment may be surmounted. I cannot, however, refrain here from venturing a remark upon these movements for Home Rule within the United Kingdom, which is provoked by the peculiar connection which some persons have endeavoured to establish between them and the Imperial Federation movement. It is asserted then, that amongst the other advantages, provincial and local, which will be derived from the cession of autonomy to Ireland, and to other portions of the United Kingdom, the change thus contemplated will assist the consummation of federal unity for the whole Empire. It is this contention which I desire to examine, putting aside for the moment all consideration of the question whether for other reasons Home Rule is, or is not, desirable. Now it appears to me that the authors of the theory above mentioned have very greatly misunderstood the object of Federation movements both historical and hypothetical. The object of a Federation is to bind together the scattered entities of a race or Empire. Its aim is to *tighten*, not to *loosen*, the links which bind communities together; and though it may be *necessary* to increase the autonomy enjoyed by the individual States which form the Federation, it is not as a rule *desirable*. It is indeed difficult to see how the unity of an Empire is to be assisted by first splitting a portion of it arbitrarily into three. It is rather as if a man, engaged in splicing together two pieces of stick, were to imagine that the operation was rendered easier by first breaking one piece and splicing that. To take an example from other Federations, we can scarcely believe that German unity would have been rendered any easier by the cession of autonomy to the various States including Hanover and Holstein, which comprised in 1870 the kingdom of Prussia, although it might have been highly desirable for other reasons to do so. In the same way it was no doubt necessary that Bavaria should continue after 1870 to exist as an autonomous kingdom, and to have control in peace time of her own army, since on no other terms probably would she have remained a contented member of the Federation, but it was fortunately not necessary to extend the same degree of independence to Saxony or Hesse; and who can doubt that, in the interests of German unity, it was not desirable? Now, if on no other terms but Home Rule can Ireland be induced to take part amicably in a federated Empire, that might, no doubt, be a valid reason for granting her request, but would scarcely in the interests of Imperial Unity be a matter of congratulation, nor a logical excuse for thrusting artificially the same independence upon England, Scotland, and Wales. It may indeed be thought good to revive in these three countries the national and racial antagonisms and distinctions which the hand of time has for centuries been laboriously and carefully destroying, but we shall search in vain through the history of the world to find a precedent for doing so in furtherance of Federation, or for cutting a kingdom to pieces in the interests of unity.

Having said this much incidentally on the relation of Home Rule to Federation, I pass on to the actual and ultimate problem to be taken in hand by the proposed conference—the creation of a Federal constitution; and here the second great difficulty at once presents itself, viz., the form in which the new Imperial political system is to be moulded. Before deciding this question, there are two others which must first be answered with regard to the proposed constitution.

1st. What do you want it to be?

2nd. What do you want it to become?

You want it to be, I take it, a rough yet strong foundation upon which the edifice of English unity may in time gradually be constructed; you want it to be a centre and a rallying-point for those vague sentiments of loyalty and sympathy which, roaming at present unhoused throughout the Empire, may, if caught and tended here, develop into

sound and healthy organisms of national life; but are likely otherwise, in course of time, to perish miserably of exhaustion and exposure. But in laying these foundations, you are bound to bear in mind what your ultimate aspirations are as to the nature of the completed edifice, so that each wing and storey of the building, as it is subscribed for by sentiment, and set up by statesmanship, may come naturally into its place and not interfere with the architectural design, or necessitate the demolition and reconstruction of any of its important parts. What, then, is to be the ultimate political goal upon which advocates of Federation are to set their hopes? Is it to be the Parliament of the United Kingdom reinforced only by delegates from the Colonies? Is it to be an Imperial Parliament, overshadowing that of the United Kingdom, as that itself might overshadow the Parliaments of England, Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, which a generation apparently enamoured of such assemblies might decide to create? Or is it to be an Imperial committee or council to which certain Imperial questions are to be periodically referred, after the nature of the Austro-Hungarian Delegations or the Australasian Federal Council? Now assuming, what I will not here discuss, that an Imperial Democratic Parliament like that of Germany is desirable as the ultimate development of its unity for the British Empire, it is pretty generally admitted that the time is not at this moment ripe for creating brand-new and complete an institution of that nature. Nor in my opinion is it desirable to add to the British Parliament a contingent of Colonists who shall vote and take part in debate only when Imperial matters come before the House. To allow them to discuss as ordinary members all our internal affairs, would, of course, be intolerable, in view of the fact that we are not allowed to interfere with their local politics. The objections, however, to their periodic presence on occasions of Imperial importance are, I think, very strong. In the first place the inherent awkwardness of the arrangement must inevitably strike even the casual student of constitutional machinery. The Colonial delegates must either be kept dangling their heels in London, awaiting the occasions when during the session of Parliament their presence is required, or a certain annual or biennial term must be fixed during which Imperial affairs are to be discussed in Parliament, and their attendance demanded. During this term, the British Parliament would thus in a sense become transformed into a Parliament of the Empire, but with this absurd anomaly in its constitution: that the Colonial members would have been selected, expressly on Imperial grounds, and the British members by their ordinary constituencies, largely or mainly on provincial or local issues. Such an arrangement, however desirable in itself, could never be permanent, since it would place the Colonists in an unequal and arbitrary position, and would take no account of the inevitable day when the Colonial populations, outnumbering the Home population, would demand not a less but a greater amount of representation in the Imperial Parliament, and an equal principle of selection. Thus, suppose the Colonial delegates to be elected by the Colonial Parliaments, or by specially created democratic constituencies, the English representatives who sat with them must obviously then be elected by the same method, and it is therefore, I hold, a mistake to set up now a constitutional principle which it can be foreseen you will be unable to retain.

(To be continued.)

*** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMERCE: BRITISH AND FOREIGN. LETTER NO. 4.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—My present letter will show the comparative trade of each group of British Possessions, in Imports and Exports,

in each year, and each quinquennial period for the same twenty-one years from 1869 to 1889. The trade of Hong Kong has been eliminated, as that island is mainly an *entrepôt* for China and other foreign parts. The value of this trade to the United Kingdom during the twenty years 1869-88 averaged annually 0·2 per cent. for Imports, and 2·4 per cent. for Exports, which should be credited to the foreign rather than to the Colonial trade.

Before I go further, I desire to correct the error in my letter of June, referred to in the P.S. to my letter of 5th July, for the discovery of which I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Edgcome, of the National Fair Trade League, who, I am glad to learn, proposes to discuss the results of my examination of the question raised by Mr. Begg, as to the comparative vitality and growth of the trade of the United Kingdom with the Colonies and foreign countries respectively. It is, as I have said, a question of the highest interest, to be determined by a reference to the recorded facts of the case, which I have endeavoured to lay before your readers, and which appear to be beyond controversy.

Your correspondent, Major-General Dashwood, will find in my last letter separate statements of the import and export trades of this country, which he considers will be more favourable to his views, and I will, with your permission, supply some further information on a future early occasion, that may throw light upon the questions raised in his letter, which are quite apart from that of the growth and vitality of the respective trades.

I now supply the correct figures of the trade of 1888-89, as well as of those of the average of 1869-88, incorrectly inserted in my letter of July, with the percentage proportions of each period.

TRADE OF UNITED KINGDOM WITH—	Amount omitting 000.			Percentage proportion.		
	Average of 1869-88.	1888.	1889.	Average of 1869-88.	1888.	1889.
Europe	280,353	298,500	326,987	43·1	43·5	44·0
United States ...	118,012	120,974	139,340	18·3	17·6	18·8
Other Foreign Countries	84,301	87,706	88,118	12·4	12·9	11·9
Total	482,666	507,180	554,445	73·8	74·0	74·7
India and Straits	71,486	72,688	76,374	10·9	10·6	10·3
Colonies	100,928	105,652	111,150	15·3	15·4	15·0
Total	172,414	178,340	187,524	26·2	26·0	25·3
Total Trade	655,080	685,520	741,969	100·0	100·0	100·0

The only correction required in the conclusions presented in my letter of June relates to the total increase of trade in the two periods. The comparison, as drawn there, was between the year 1889 and the average of 1869-88. The foreign trade was stated to have increased £72,000,000, or about 15 per cent., and the Colonial trade had increased £15,000,000, or 8·7 per cent. The comparison between 1888 and 1889 shows that the foreign trade had increased £47,000,000, or 9·3 per cent., and the Colonial £9,000,000, or 5·1 per cent. If the same had maintained the same proportionate rate of increase as in 1884-88, it would have increased 5·4 per cent.

I turn to the main subject of this letter. The two following Tables have been prepared in the same form as my previous comparisons. The principal results are exhibited below.

TABLE No. 1.

STATEMENT OF THE PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS IN THE TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH EACH GROUP OF BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN THE YEARS 1869-1889.

Years.	British India and Straits Settlements.		British North America.		Australasia.		Cape of Good Hope and Natal.		All other, exclusive of Hong Kong.		Total.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1869	12·1	8·6	2·6	2·5	4·1	6·1	0·9	0·6	4·0	3·1	23·7	20·9
1870	9·1	9·2	2·8	3·1	4·6	4·4	0·9	0·8	3·9	3·3	21·3	20·8
1871	10·1	7·4	2·8	3·2	4·4	3·9	0·8	0·8	3·7	3·2	21·9	18·5
1872	10·5	7·0	2·6	3·6	4·4	5·0	1·0	1·3	3·6	3·1	22·1	20·0
1873	9·0	7·9	3·2	3·0	4·7	6·2	1·1	1·5	3·6	3·1	21·6	21·7
1874	8·9	9·5	3·2	3·4	5·0	7·0	1·2	1·6	3·7	3·3	22·0	24·8
1875	8·9	9·8	2·7	3·4	5·5	7·5	1·2	1·9	4·1	3·5	22·3	25·1
1876	8·7	10·0	3·0	3·1	5·9	7·6	1·1	1·8	6·1	3·5	24·8	26·0
1877	8·6	11·5	3·1	3·3	5·5	8·5	1·1	1·8	3·9	2·9	22·2	28·0
1878	8·1	10·8	2·6	2·9	5·7	8·7	1·2	2·2	3·5	3·4	21·1	28·0
1879	7·5	10·0	2·9	2·4	6·0	7·2	1·3	2·5	3·7	3·4	21·4	25·5
1880	8·2	12·1	3·2	3·0	6·2	6·5	1·4	2·5	3·2	2·9	22·2	27·0
1881	9·1	11·4	2·8	3·1	6·8	8·1	1·4	2·6	2·7	2·8	22·9	28·0
1882	10·8	10·7	2·5	3·5	6·1	9·2	1·5	2·8	2·1	3·1	22·0	29·5
1883	10·2	12·2	2·9	3·3	6·1	8·8	1·4	1·6	2·2	2·7	22·8	28·6
1884	10·0	11·8	2·8	3·3	7·2	9·1	1·5	1·5	2·8	2·9	24·3	28·6
1885	9·8	12·3	2·8	3·1	6·3	10·3	1·2	1·5	2·4	2·8	22·5	30·0
1886	10·4	13·0	3·0	3·4	6·0	9·3	1·3	1·4	2·1	2·5	22·8	29·6
1887	9·7	12·3	2·9	3·3	6·4	7·9	1·4	2·0	2·3	2·7	22·7	28·2
1888	9·3	12·3	2·4	2·9	6·7	9·6	1·4	2·1	2·3	3·1	22·1	29·7
1889	9·7	11·1	2·8	3·0	6·3	8·1	1·4	3·1	2·3	2·7	22·5	28·0
Average of 20 years, 1869-88.	9·4	10·5	2·8	3·1	5·7	7·5	1·2	1·7	3·3	3·0	22·4	25·8

TABLE No. 2. QUINQUENNIAL ABSTRACT OF THE ABOVE.

Periods.	British India and Straits Settlements.		British North America.		Australasia.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1869 to 1873	10·2	8·0	2·8	3·1	4·5	5·1
1874 .. 1878	8·6	10·3	2·9	3·2	5·5	7·9
1879 .. 1883	9·2	11·3	2·9	3·1	6·2	8·0
1884 .. 1888	9·8	12·3	2·8	3·2	6·5	9·2
Average 1869-88.	9·4	10·5	2·8	3·1	5·7	7·5
Year 1889.	9·7	11·1	2·8	3·0	6·3	8·1
	Cape of Good Hope and Natal.		All other Colonies.		Total.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1869 to 1873	0·9	1·0	3·8	3·2	22·1	20·4
1874 .. 1878	1·2	1·9	4·5	3·1	22·5	26·4
1879 .. 1883	1·4	2·4	2·8	3·0	22·5	27·3
1884 .. 1888	1·4	1·7	2·4	2·8	22·9	29·2
Average 1869-88.	1·2	1·7	3·3	3·0	22·4	25·8
Year 1889.	1·4	3·1	2·3	2·7	22·5	28·0

NOTES.

1. Of the total trade of the United Kingdom, there has been contributed by each group of countries, on the average of 1869-88, and in 1889—

	Average of 1869-88.		1889.	
	Imports. per cent.	Exports. per cent.	Imports. per cent.	Exports. per cent.
Foreign Countries, including				
Hong Kong	77·6	74·2	77·5	72·0
British India and Straits	9·4	10·5	9·7	11·1
British North America	2·8	3·1	2·8	3·0
Australasia	5·7	7·5	6·3	8·1
South Africa (Cape of Good Hope and Natal)	1·2	1·7	1·4	3·1
All other Colonies	3·3	3·0	2·3	2·7
	100	100	100	100

2. Imports from India decreased in the second quinquennium, but have continued to increase ever since. Exports to that country have increased from the first.

3. The trade with British North America has scarcely varied either in years or quinquennial periods.

4. The trade with Australasia increased greatly in the second period, 1874-78, viz., 22 per cent. in imports, and 55 per cent. in exports. The increase in the last ten years has been more moderate, viz., 18 per cent. in imports, and 16 per cent. in exports. In 1889 the imports fell off 6 per cent., and the exports 15 per cent.

5. In the same way the trade of South Africa took a spurt in the second period of 33 per cent. in imports, and 90 per cent. in exports. It has since increased 17 per cent. in imports, and has decreased in exports 10 per cent. The great increase of exports in 1889 is worthy of observation, and the trade of South Africa has been rather abnormal throughout the whole period.

6. The remaining Colonies have decreased 37 per cent. in imports, and 12 per cent. in exports. It may safely be surmised that this decrease may be largely attributed to the changed conditions of the sugar trade.

I will conclude this series of letters with a statement of the import and export trade with Australasia, and of the loans raised in England by that group of Colonies in each year. There appears to be no immediate connection between the columns of exports and loans, but it can scarcely admit of a doubt that such large sums loaned annually must have greatly stimulated the trade between the two countries, greatly to the advantage of both, especially the export trade from the United Kingdom; and this may be traced in the quinquennial abstract which follows it, and which will enable the reader to realise the actual growth of the trade, import and export, the great increase of the loans in the last ten years, and the very large proportion which the amount of loans bears to the amount of exports. It must be noted, however, that the annual table shows a decreased proportion in the last three years, but still amounting to 30 per cent.

	Trade of United Kingdom with Australasia.		Loans raised in England by Australasia.	
	Imports. £ Millions.	Exports. £ Millions.	Imports. £ Millions.	Exports. £ Millions.
1869	...	12·1	...	8·9*
1870	...	14·0	...	2·5
1871	...	14·5	...	1·7
1872	...	15·6	...	1·9
1873	...	17·3	...	5
1874	...	18·5	...	2·1
1875	...	20·5	...	4·2
1876	...	21·9	...	5·3
1877	...	21·7	...	2·5
1878	...	20·8	...	6·1
1879	...	21·9	...	10·9
1880	...	25·7	...	18·3*
1881	...	26·9	...	5·1
1882	...	25·2	...	3·3
1883	...	25·9	...	14·8

* Part of these sums were distributed over subsequent years.

	Trade of United Kingdom with Australasia.		Loans raised in England by Australasia.	
	Imports. £ Millions.	Exports. £ Millions.	Imports. £ Millions.	Exports. £ Millions.
1884	28'3	26'8	16'6	21'8
1885	23'3	28'1	21'5	6'4
1886	20'9	25'0	9'7	7'2
1887	23'3	22'3		
1888	25'5	28'6		
1889	26'8	25'5		

QUINQUENNIAL ABSTRACT OF ABOVE TABLE.

Periods.	Annual average.		Proportion of Loans to Exports.	
	Imports. £ Millions.	Exports. £ Millions.	Loans. £ Millions.	per cent.
1869 to 1873	14'7	14'2	3'1	22'1
1874 .. 1878	20'7	20'9	4'0	20'0
1879 .. 1883	25'1	23'2	10'5	45'2
1884 .. 1888	24'3	26'1	13'4	51'2
Year 1889 ...	26'8	25'5	7'2	28'3

This table, and an examination of similar returns of trade with other countries which have been large borrowers in the London money market, suggest the inquiry whether the rate of consumption of British goods in such countries, Colonial and foreign alike, is not in a great measure dependent upon the means provided by England herself.

7th August, 1890.

RAWSON W. RAWSON.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—I have been reading with much pleasure Sir Charles Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain," and the most striking feature it possesses to a Canadian is the marvellous change that appears to have come over the author's mind with regard to Imperial Federation, and more particularly to Canada's share in it—how the contemptuous references to Canada in "Greater Britain," as fit only to be handed over to the United States, have been succeeded in the present work by a highly appreciative, accurate, and statesmanlike review of our situation considered as part of the Empire. I may have the opportunity of referring to other points later, but there are one or two points that have suggested criticism, and though there is so much to praise, perhaps the discussion may be better advanced by touching on these alone. The first is this: After giving a very fair and accurate summary of the bearings of the trade policy of unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States—involving, as it does, discrimination against the rest of our Empire—he comes to the conclusion that, inasmuch as Canada is not in a position to defend her frontier from invasion by the United States, she cannot be defended; and, therefore, if she decides to adopt a policy of Free Trade with the United States and discrimination against Britain, England will just have to submit. Now, Sir, that was not the tone either of Mr. Chamberlain or of Lord Lansdowne, and should not be the tone used by any British statesman. Lord Lansdowne said that such a policy would be regarded as a moral affront by the people of England. And Mr. Chamberlain very pointedly and sensibly intimated, that while Canada might do as she liked about the matter, if she chose to adopt that policy she must be prepared to bid good-bye to the Mother Country. To adopt any other tone than that is simply to encourage the agitation. I think all Imperial Federationists here are opposed to the adoption of any tariff discrimination against the Mother Country. But they have to fight very unscrupulous opponents, who may be able to obtain large American subscriptions to their election funds. Friends of the Empire should not show any weakness or indecision. It should be made clear to all Canadians that if they propose to adopt a tariff discriminating against the other countries of the Empire, they must be prepared to haul down the flag and quit the Empire. I hope, indeed, that Canada has more self-respect than to expect England to fight her battles while she excludes English goods and admits those of a foreign country.

Another point that has come up in connection with some of the statements in Sir Charles Dilke's book, and in a discussion between him and Mr. Goldwin Smith, is on a question of fact—as to the proportion of English and Scotch emigrants that have gone to the United States and to the Colonies respectively. Sir Charles asserts—and the assertion is partially, though not completely borne out by the emigration returns—that in recent years a larger proportion than formerly of these, and especially of the English emigrants, have gone to the United States. Now on this subject, if I am not mistaken, the returns are in a serious degree delusive. They contain details regarding all the emigrants that leave the shores of the United Kingdom, distinguishing the English, Scotch, Irish, &c. This information, however, I believe, relates to every passenger leaving a British port for places out of Europe. They appear to include all that go simply on a visit, and those that go year after year as commercial travellers, whether as buyers or sellers. This being the case, it is hardly surprising that the number mentioned as going to the United States should appear much larger than the number going to the Colonies. For every one that goes to the Colonies, there is a large number that go to the

United States as mere visitors. Many even of those whose destination is Canada frequently go by the larger and faster vessels that sail to New York. If every passenger sailing from Liverpool to New York appears every time he crosses as an emigrant, we shall find many who figure nearly every year, and sometimes more than once a year.

I have under my hand at the moment only fragmentary returns, the last complete ones being for 1883. In that year the emigration to the United States of English and Scotch alone was 108,724. The immigration from the United States of English, Scotch, and Irish combined was 46,703. Now if it was possible to know what proportion of these were English and Scotch, it probably would be found that it comprised nearly the whole. I have not the returns for 1887, but in that year I see by Mr. Giffen's report, published in the Statistical Society's Journal, that the immigration into the United Kingdom of English, Irish, and Scotch was 85,473. What proportion of these were English and Scotch? It is clear at all events that the numbers are large enough to seriously affect the results.

Indeed I am not sure if the gross returns, on which alone the complete classification into nationalities is made, may not include visitors from this side of the ocean when they sail from Liverpool on their return home to Canada or the United States. A few years ago, when I visited England, there sailed from New York, on the same day as I sailed from Quebec, a single ship of the Cunard Line that carried, if I remember right, 732 cabin passengers, many of whom were no doubt Canadians and many others of English or Scotch birth. Nearly all of these would return in a few months, and then would appear as emigrants.

If we look at the census returns of the United States, Canada, and Australasia, we find that, however true it may be that the bulk of the Irish prefer the United States, an absolute majority of the English and Scotch "follow the flag." Thus, of persons born in England, the last census returns show that there were—

In the United States	...	...	747,000
In Canada	...	...	169,000
In Australasia	...	...	500,000
Together—	...	...	669,000

Of persons born in Scotland, there were—

In the United States	...	...	170,000
In Canada	...	...	115,000
In Australasia	...	...	151,000
Together—	...	...	266,000

Or, taking both nationalities together, there were—

In the United States	...	...	917,000
In Canada and Australasia	...	...	935,000

Steps should therefore be taken in the Emigration Department to make a correct classification—either by ascertaining what passengers leaving the Mother Country are *bonâ fide* emigrants, and in what countries they are bound to settle—or else, detailed information as to actual residence, or home, should be exacted from every passenger arriving in the Mother Country from places out of Europe; and the tables of nationality should be prepared after these facts have been taken into consideration. The present tables, where they are not false, are suggestive of false impressions.

I mentioned this point to the late Dr. Leone Levi, who said he thought I was right in believing that all passengers were included; but he himself, at first sight, thought the number would be so slight as not to affect the general correctness of the returns, but, after we had talked it over, he admitted it might be a somewhat serious item, and in any event it was important to have the returns correct. He promised, if I would send him a memorandum on the subject, that he would bring it to the attention of the proper authorities. Unfortunately, he died very shortly afterwards, and I never sent the memo.

The present, perhaps, might be an opportune time to have the matter looked into, so as to ascertain whether the apparent emigration, and especially English and Scotch emigration, to the United States has not been greatly exaggerated by the inclusion of many thousands every year who are merely transient visitors, who are not deducted on their return home, and many others, possibly of English or Scotch birth, who are resident in the United States or Canada and are simply returning after a trip to the Old Country.

MANU FORTI.

"A PROTEST FROM CANADA."

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I have to thank you for inserting my former letter in the May number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and for your kind reference to my services to the cause, but must crave space to point out that in some respects you evidently misunderstand my position. You apparently suppose that I took the position that Canada should not contribute any more than she now does to the defence of the Empire; you do not even recognise that she

contributes anything at present, and therefore commend to my perusal the speech delivered by Colonel Denison at Guelph.

Now, although I admire Colonel Denison's oratorical powers, I must beg leave to say that it is quite unnecessary for me to sit at his feet to learn of Imperial Federation, for though much younger in years than the Colonel, I was an Imperial Federationist ten or twelve years before he was.

What I said was, that Canada contributes quite as much as, if not more, than she should be expected to do *under the Constitution as it at present exists*. Canada contributes something, but has absolutely no representation.

I quite agree with the position taken by some ardent Federationists that no further privileges, such as placing the securities of the Colonies on the Chancery List, should be conceded until the Colonies are prepared to give proof of their determination to remain in the Empire by assuming the privileges and burdens of full citizenship; and therefore I hold, on the other side, that the Colonies should not contribute to the support of the Imperial services until Great Britain is prepared to accord them an adequate voice in the direction of Imperial policy.

As to what you say about the amount of importance to be attached to threats of secession by Colonists, I would reply that it altogether depends upon the view taken by the British public of the binding nature of the present relationship. If Great Britain is prepared to say, as I believe she should, that the unity of the Empire must be preserved at all costs, and that while she is willing to concede all reasonable demands for modification of the relationship in the direction of more complete incorporation of the Colonies, she is prepared to resist secession by force should that unhappily be necessary, then very little importance need be attached to such threats; but if the doctrine so often preached, that Great Britain will never again coerce a Colony, and that any discontented Colony is free to go, is accepted, then the situation is fraught with danger.

As to the nature of the American aggressions in Behring Sea, I would say that the United States went to war with Great Britain in 1812 on no greater provocation, and I know of no other nation, weak or strong, which has so presumed on the sleepiness of the British Lion.

I very much wish that Germany would proclaim the German Ocean a *mare clausum*, and proceed to seize all British fishing vessels found pursuing their calling in those waters. We should then see how long the British Government would be "in communication with" the Government at Berlin.—Yours truly,

Montreal, July 13th, 1890. H. H. LYMAN.

A Radical Creed.—After a resolution relating to the Newfoundland difficulty, the Hampstead Liberal and Radical Association passed a resolution expressing in the following terms the hope that "means may soon be devised for conferring upon our Colonies their due share in the decision of those questions of foreign policy by which their interests are vitally affected."

An Empire Song.—We have received a poem under the above title from the pen of a South African Colonist, who describes himself as an Anglo-African. Considerations of space forbid us to print the whole; but in the penultimate stanza, which we quote below, readers will hear a true note:—

"Such heritage is ours,
A royal lineage, a knightly trust,
A world-enthraling name:
She that so richly dowers
Her children, bids them but be just
And true and steadfast to the parent's fame,
Keeping enshrined, whatever chance betide,
Old England's glory in her children's pride."

The Cape and the Anglo-German Agreement.—Discussing the motion by Mr. Cecil Rhodes to the effect that the House regrets that it was not consulted with regard to the Anglo-German agreement as far as it concerns the territory south of the Zambesi River, and that the Cape thinks it should have a voice in any subsequent agreement regarding such territory—which has been passed by the Cape Parliament—the *Saturday Review* says:—"We have not only to consider the African Colonies in this matter, but Germany also, and our relations to her. We have to act, not only as a Colonial, but as a European Power. If the Colonists were to choose to put us in a dilemma by compelling us either to disappoint them or quarrel with Germany, they would have small serious ground to complain if they were disappointed. We do not suppose they are going to do this; but they could, and the language they occasionally use implies that they are capable of doing it. If they were to take this course, they would commit a very signal act of folly; for the general interests of the Empire cannot be sacrificed even for the real, still less for the hypothetical, interests of a part. The South African Colonists would do well to ask themselves what their position would be if they had to look after their interests, not only uncontrolled but unprotected by the power of England. It would certainly not be easier for them to regulate the fate of countries to the south of the Zambesi or in any other region if they stood alone in face of a Power which has a naval force, and both means and men to attack them by land. They are protected from such risks; but they must understand that all protection implies control. They must take the fat with the lean, as the rest of the world does."

THE FORSTER MEMORIAL.

ON August 1st Viscount Cranbrook, President of the Council, unveiled the monument which has been erected to the memory of the late Mr. Forster on the Victoria Embankment, close to the Temple Station, and in the same enclosure with the statue of John Stuart Mill. No more suitable position could have been chosen, as the memorial stands directly in front of the offices of the London School Board, of which, as of our whole modern system of public elementary education, the deceased statesman may be regarded as the founder. The statue, which is in bronze and about 9 ft. high, is a full-length standing figure, and must be pronounced to be a singularly faithful likeness. The attitude, with the right arm bent and open hand behind the back, the poise of the head, the homely cut of the clothes—all of which contributed to make the late Mr. Forster so striking a personality—have been felicitously caught and reproduced, and will vividly recall the man as he was to the mind of anyone who ever heard him address the House of Commons. In the face also, with its rugged features and kindly expression, the work is no less successful, though naturally in some points of view the likeness is not so fully realised as in others. The work was entrusted to Mr. H. R. Pinker, who is responsible also for the medallion to Mr. Forster in Westminster Abbey.

The following is the inscription in front of the pedestal:—

WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER.
Born July 11, 1818.
Died April 5, 1886.
To his wisdom and courage
England owes
the establishment
throughout the land
of a National System of
Elementary Education.

On the sides are engraved the words:—

WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER,
for twenty-five years
Member of Parliament
for Bradford, 1861—1886.

At the ceremony were present, among many ladies and gentlemen, Earl Granville, Lord and Lady Knutsford, Mr. Goschen, M.P., Sir Lyon Playfair, M.P., Sir Richard Temple, M.P., Mr. Mundella, M.P., Mr. S. Buxton, M.P., Sir Charles Dalrymple, M.P., Mr. Childers, M.P., Sir R. Fowler, M.P., Sir J. Colomb, M.P., Mr. Kimber, M.P., Sir H. Doulton, Mr. R. G. Webster, M.P., Lady Frere, the Dowager Lady Orde, General Laurie of the Canadian Parliament, Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. F. S. Powell, M.P., Professor Rice of the United States, Lord R. Nevill, Sir George Bowen, Mr. Rathbone, M.P., Mr. Mark Stewart, M.P., Mr. Pinker, Mr. Bevan Braithwaite, Mr. Wemyss Reid, Mr. E. N. Buxton, Mr. Humphry Ward, Mr. Diggle, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Helby, the Rev. G. B. Ryley, and Dr. A. H. Loring, secretary of the committee.

Mrs. Forster was present, with a full view of the proceedings, in the offices of the School Board. Letters of apology for absence were received from His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Marquis of Ripon, the Earl of Ducie, the Countess of Harewood, Viscount Powerscourt, the Bishop of London, Sir John Lubbock, M.P., Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Mr. G. O. Morgan, M.P., Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada, Sir Henry Barkly, Sir Mountstuart and Lady Grant-Duff, the Dean of Westminster, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr. J. Parker Smith, M.P., and Mr. James Cropper.

LORD KNUTSFORD, as chairman of the executive committee, in opening the proceedings, said: "My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, at the close of 1886 an executive committee was formed to consider and report how they could best raise a permanent memorial of the great services rendered by the late Mr. Forster to this country. The executive committee decided that there should be a Forster Memorial Fund, and that the proceeds of that fund should be dedicated to the erection of a statue to the memory of Mr. Forster. But the money flowed in so rapidly, so many people were anxious to subscribe and to show their sympathy with Mr. Forster's work, that we found it possible, besides erecting a statue, to raise a memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey. By the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter the memorial tablet was placed, in July, 1888, in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of a large number of Mr. Forster's friends and admirers. Both the erection of the memorial tablet and the execution of the statue were entrusted to the care of Mr. Pinker. He has performed that work to the entire satisfaction of the executive committee, and I believe it will be found to the satisfaction of all those who value the memory of the deceased statesman. My lord, the executive committee have now concluded their labours, and it only remains for me to ask your lordship to unveil this statue, on a site which, I cannot help thinking, is most appropriate to the statue and to the services rendered by Mr. Forster, because we are in front of the great London School Board offices, where their deliberations are carried on. My lord, I would also venture to say that there is no person more fitted to unveil this statue than the President of the great Department in which

Mr. Forster, as Vice-President, devoted his whole energy and his great ability, his tact and judgment, in promoting to the best of his power the great cause of elementary education in England. (Cheers.) I need not now speak of the success with which he administered that great Department. I will now conclude by asking your lordship kindly to unveil the statue."

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK spoke as follows: "My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, I owe to the office which I hold that I am allowed this day to pay a tribute to the memory of a man with whom during the last portion of his life I was well acquainted, both privately and publicly. Perhaps it would not be uninteresting for me to mention that on my first effort to obtain a seat in Parliament I believe it was mainly owing to the vigour and exertions of Mr. Forster that I was unsuccessful. (Laughter.) But at the same time I found in him an open and manly foe, and whenever we met afterwards I always found that he was ready to co-operate in any good work, whatever our political differences might be. With regard to Mr. Forster, there was no great occasion for many years in this country in which he did not take a prominent part; and men of all classes, of all religious opinions, and of widely-differing political views, knew that in him they had a man of true British heart, who was deeply interested in the prosperity of his country, and who looked for that prosperity not merely within the narrow limits of Great Britain, but to the Greater Britain which he hoped to see so thoroughly united, while each portion retained its internal independence, as to enable it to become a mighty instrument of religion and civilisation. (Cheers.) Mr. Forster was not a man who lightly took up any cause, national or international; but having taken it up, he never lightly laid it down, and was ever ready to defend and advocate it, both in his individual capacity and as a politician. He inherited the abhorrence of slavery, which he knew to the depths of all its iniquities, and which was always pressing upon his heart. Besides, I may say that as a great employer of labour he showed the utmost anxiety for the welfare of those whom he employed, and he was deeply interested in the Factory Acts, by the operation of which enormous benefits were conferred on women and children—(hear, hear)—who up to that time had been sorely oppressed. But that to which I have to call attention, and which calls us here to-day to the statue standing opposite the School Board offices of London, is the great work which he did in the passing of the Education Act in 1870. Whatever his theories of education might have been, he was a man who looked at the subject in a practical aspect, and was always ready to acknowledge and utilise that which had been done by others to encourage education. It may be remarked that whether in Board schools or voluntary schools, since the period when that Act passed, there has been an enormous and unprecedented increase. Only twenty years have elapsed since that Act was passed, and we all know what has been done in this great Metropolis and throughout the country, especially in many of our large towns. I think that if those who admired Mr. Forster could look back now upon his work, they would see that he looked forward, not unreasonably, to the fulfilment of the great mission which he felt he had in hand when he occupied the position of Vice-President, and he looked forward to a time when the education of this country would spread with a rapidity which was not known before, and would effect some of the objects which he had in view, and which I believe will be accomplished. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Forster's great wish was that the people of this country should not only be, as they have always been, one of the most industrious nations on earth, but that they should be an intelligent and understanding people, and that, having in their hands an Empire which scarcely knows any limits, they should understand the responsibilities of that Empire, and should be prepared nobly to discharge the duties which are imposed upon them. I believe myself in the cause of education, but I will not enter into the controversies respecting what may be considered to be a full education of man. I look forward to the time when all English-speaking people will be united in one bond, understanding each other, peaceable, patient, loyal, honouring one another, respecting one another's independence, not seeking quarrels with other nations of the earth, while at the same time they are firm to uphold that which belongs to them. (Cheers.) It would be waste of time if I were to occupy you further. Let us hope that the fruits which Mr. Forster anticipated may be fully reaped when the people of this country shall completely enjoy the advantages which he intended them to possess."

Sir John Thompson (Minister of Justice in Canada), responding with others to the toast of the Army and Navy at the recent Ministerial banquet at the Mansion House, said he was proud as a Colonist that the day had come when friends and foes alike in considering the strength of the Empire had to take into account the strength of the Colonists across the sea. The desire for Federation between the Colonists and the Mother Country was on the increase daily. (Hear, hear.)

NEWFOUNDLAND: SOME NEEDFUL CORRECTIONS.

A SPECIAL correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald* sojourned in Newfoundland in the months of June and July, and his letters place the general condition of affairs in the island in a remarkably clear light, and at the same time dispel, for those to whom such a process may have been necessary, the erroneous impressions of recent events conveyed by the mendacious reports telegraphed all over the world to serve interested ends. Writing from St. John's under date July 9th, the correspondent says:—"The future of Newfoundland is to be summed up in the words Annexation or Confederation. That the Colony must go either to the United States or Canada is positive. . . . Under these circumstances what will be her choice? America offers advantages that cannot be overlooked. In the first place, there is the erroneous, but none the less deeply-rooted, opinion that by the island going to the United States the French shore question would be settled at once and for ever. Forgetting the adage that '*la plus belle fille au monde ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a*,' the Newfoundlanders conceive that by transferring their allegiance and their island to the States they would, at the same time, transfer the treaty rights in dispute, without considering that it is Great Britain alone that bears the responsibility in connection with these. France, they blindly argue, has always entertained most friendly feelings for her sister republic across the Atlantic, and would be glad to come to an amicable settlement of the question, and even strain a point to please her; or if she did not 'the Yankees,' as they put it here, 'would soon make her.' But there is a further material side to the question, long since described by some of the wirepullers, with whom the control of public opinion in a great measure rests, and now, thanks to their efforts, pretty well realised throughout the island. There is no doubt that a section of the merchant party will leave no stone unturned to carry the Colony to the United States. America sends pork and flour, the staple foods of the Colony, the ships' canvas, sails, paint, oil, varnishes, and other articles needed for the equipment of the fishing fleets; to say nothing of tools, locks, wooden ware, fleecy cottons, &c. These goods on annexation would come in free of duty, and, most powerful argument of all, the Newfoundland fish, at present excluded from American consumption by a protection duty of a cent a pound, would also go in free, and so find a market to replace that usurped by the French in Southern Europe. With such a market open the leaders of the movement admit that they would no longer fear even the French bounty. Although this desire for annexation is far from universal, there is no doubt of it being fairly widespread, and of those who favour it taking every advantage of the alleged apathy and indifference of Great Britain in the matter of the French shore to foster it. The advantage of getting his staple articles of food without having to pay the present duty of 25 per cent. is a strong argument with which to work on the poorer voter. In connection with this feeling, however, I wish to correct a statement published on the day on which I left London. It ran as follows:—"Advices received at St. John's, Newfoundland, from Burin on Placentia Bay, state that the inhabitants have announced that they no longer owe allegiance to the British flag, which they claim is powerless to protect them. The stars and stripes float over the principal shops and hotels, and all the fishing boats are flying the United States' flag." Strict inquiry at St. John's failed to discover any one who had ever heard of such occurrences being even rumoured in the town, and telegraphic communication with Burin exposed the groundlessness of the story. Still, there is an undoubted feeling in favour of annexation, all the more dangerous as being prompted by material interests. As one of a group of gentlemen interested in commercial matters remarked in my hearing: 'I am as loyal an Englishman as any one, but when it comes to a question of dollars and cents it is a sore strain on one's patriotism.'"

In a letter published in a subsequent issue of the same paper, headed "French Outrages and British Apathy," the same correspondent writes as follows:—"I have purposely delayed dealing with the question of French outrages and so-called man-of-war tyranny till the close of my sojourn in Newfoundland, with a view of acquiring as much information as lay in my power before committing myself to a line on the subject. During the months of May and June a series of telegrams of a highly-sensational character appeared in several British newspapers. Of the events professedly recorded in some of these despatches I found the residents of St. John's wholly unaware. As regards messages actually despatched from the island, some turn out to have been based on mere rumours of events of a startling character having taken place at various points, whilst others have been marked by most unfortunate exaggerations. The evil effect of all this is most serious. So repeatedly has the cry of 'wolf' been raised, that in future all accounts whatever of French outrages or of errors of judgment on the part of commanders of British men-of-war will be received with marked suspicion, if not absolute incredulity. We have an example of this in the St. George's Bay incident of May 23 or thereabouts. On

that occasion no doubt the French were guilty of a violation of the integrity of British territorial waters. But the reported landing of an armed force, and reading of a proclamation, shrink wonderfully upon investigation. Two separate inquiries have been made respecting this incident—the one by Captain Sir Baldwin Walker, of H.M.S. *Emerald*, the senior naval officer on the station, and the other by Mr. M. H. Carty, who represents St. George's Bay in the local Legislature. Sir Baldwin Walker states that a French officer, wearing his side-arms as an indication of his being on duty, landed from a boat pulled by a single seaman, and approaching a group of fishermen asked them if they understood French. Finding they did, he referred to a paper in his hand containing his instructions, and then pointing with this told them they must take up their nets from certain spots which he indicated, and which it would appear were not those usually fished. Mr. Carty has collected the affidavits of several of the fishermen, which are rather tame reading after all. . . . The story of the people of Burin formally renouncing their allegiance to Great Britain and hoisting the American flag has already been indicated as wholly mythical. So is that of a Frenchman burning down a hut on the West Coast. So is that of the Newfoundlanders buying arms at Halifax, and of troops being held in readiness at that town to embark for Newfoundland. So are the effective little fables of the inhabitants of Las-cie, on the north-east shore, setting fire to French fishing boats, sheds, drying-flakes, and other property in the absence of their owners, and of a similar occurrence in White Bay. Akin to these was the report current in St. John's one day that the *Emerald* was either firing on French fishing boats, or engaged with a French man-of-war, because she happened to have been heard expending her customary allowance of ammunition in target practice along the coast."

THE CANADIAN ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN.

A PARLIAMENTARY paper (C. 6,114) has been issued containing a recent despatch from Lord Stanley of Preston, Governor-General of Canada, forwarding the address to the Queen unanimously voted in the House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament on the 29th of January last, together with Lord Knutsford's reply, stating that he had laid the address before the Queen, and that Her Majesty was pleased to receive it very graciously. Lord Stanley of Preston's despatch is as follows:—

CITADEL, QUEBEC, June 9, 1890.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit by this mail a copy of a loyal address unanimously voted in the House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament in the month of January last, which I have just received from the Speaker of the House, with the request that it may be laid at the foot of the throne in the manner which you may deem proper.

2. I also enclose a copy of the House of Commons reports of the 29th of January containing an account of the debate.

3. The address was moved by Mr. Mulock, Member of Parliament for North York, Ontario, a Liberal in politics, and therefore at the present time a member of the Opposition. When first placed on the notice paper the resolution was by some persons thought to be unnecessary, but after the explanation of the mover an interesting debate ensued, during which members of both parties vied in expressing their loyalty to the Crown.

4. Mr. Mulock, in submitting the motion, stated that, whatever party differences there might be, he believed that there was one common bond of union—the great principle of British connection. He did not move the address on account of any circumstances which had occurred, or which were occurring then, within the borders of Canada, but for the purpose of removing misapprehensions and of contradicting statements which, if allowed to remain longer unchallenged, were calculated to be injurious to the best interests of the Dominion.

5. He went on to say that it had been asserted in the Press of the United States, and especially so during the past few months, that political institutions in Canada were being broken up, that the people were divided, race against race, creed against creed, Province against Province, and the Dominion against the Empire, and that this (it was alleged) had created a feeling in favour of independence or of annexation to the States which was only awaiting the opportunity to take practical form and shape. He added that the United States Congress had appointed a committee of the Senate ostensibly to inquire into the relations of Canada with the United States, but that the principal anxiety of the Commission was apparently to discover satisfactory evidence that Canada was in a frame of mind to be annexed to the United States. He believed that Canada was full of people who rejoiced by reason of their connection with the British Empire, and that nothing had more aided it than "the events of the Victorian era in which we now live." He moved the resolution believing that it was expedient that a candid declaration should be made in public of what were the sentiments of the people.

6. Mr. Mulock was seconded by Mr. Amyot, who commenced by saying that he spoke as a British subject of French descent. He quoted numerous extracts to show that the loyalty of the French-Canadians had been often and fully recognised. He went on to say that they enjoyed a constitution which they admired, and that they are proud of being British subjects because under that constitution they find freedom, justice, and peace. In conclusion, he repeated the words of the celebrated Sir Étienne Taché, "That the last gun which would be fired in defence of the British flag on this continent might very well be fired by a French-Canadian."

7. Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister, and the Hon. Mr. Laurier (a French-Canadian, and formerly a member of Mr. Mackenzie's Government), now leader of the Opposition, in following the mover and seconder, stated that though they had, perhaps, thought in the first instance that the resolution was unnecessary, they were now of opinion, after hearing what had been said, that it thoroughly expressed the sentiments of the representatives of the people of the Dominion. Their speeches were followed by those of some other members, and the House finally—according to the custom here—divided, the yeas being 161 and the nays none.

8. A subsequent motion was made for an address to the Governor-General praying that the address which had been the subject of the motion should be laid at the foot of the throne.

9. In pursuance of which I have the honour to address these remarks to your lordship.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) STANLEY OF PRESTON.

The Right Hon. Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G., &c.

The text of the address, forwarded with the above despatch, was published in the March number of this Journal.

The Secretary of State's reply is as follows:—

DOWNING STREET, July 9.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch of the 9th ult., and to acquaint you that I have laid before the Queen the loyal address, unanimously voted in the House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament which accompanied it.

Her Majesty was pleased to receive this address very graciously, and to command me to convey to the Speaker through your lordship, an expression of her pleasure at receiving this renewed proof of the loyalty and devotion of the Canadian House of Commons and of her subjects generally in the Dominion.—I have, &c.,

KNUTSFORD.

Lord Stanley of Preston, G.C.B.

Why it took the Dominion Government nearly five months to get off the despatch conveying the address to the Queen we are unable to divine. It was passed on the 29th of January, and it was the 23rd of August before persons who depend for their information on the English Press had more than a brief telegraphic account of the matter. On the day of publication the *Times* devoted a leading article to the subject, some portions of which will be useful reading in many quarters—the following for example:—

"So much and so often do we hear of the political aspirations of the Canadians from others, that it is a novelty as well as pleasure to learn from their own lips what they really desire. Any one who reads the recent despatch of the Governor-General, forwarding a loyal address to the Queen, will find therein sentiments widely different from those which are attributed to Canadians by a certain part of the American Press supported by Mr. Goldwin Smith. Every murmur against England, every word of dissatisfaction uttered in Toronto or Quebec, every casual expression favouring a preconceived idea of the existence of an annexation party, is carefully recorded. To England and all parts of the United States is telegraphed every sentence appearing to support this theory; whether it is uttered in the Dominion Parliament or in a Provincial Legislature, by a responsible Minister or any angry member of the Opposition, matters little. Of the deliberate expressions of unshaken and unshakable loyalty and the rebukes to agitation against British rule, we hear little, and even the formal loyal address to Her Majesty by the House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament, is slurred over as if of no more consequence than the random words of a nameless politician or a sensational journalist. What tells for this preconceived theory counts twice, if not more; all that is against it is ignored.

"It is well known that it has been of late the tactics of a portion of the Press in the United States to push this question into a prominence which it does not possess in Canada. . . . We recommend those diligent collectors of evidence of disaffection to study the debate, and to note the indignant denials that there exists any general dissatisfaction with English rule, or any desire to seek repose from internal troubles in closer connection with the United States. . . ."

NOTICES.

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The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1890.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

THE FORSTER Memorial on the Embankment, unveiled on August 1 in the presence of a gathering representative of all parties and creeds, was initiated by members of the Imperial Federation League in honour of their first President. But his countrymen were unwilling to allow one side only of the deceased statesman's work to be thus commemorated, and the memorial grew to be a national tribute. Though not given great prominence, the Imperial instincts of the man and the Imperial character of the work he did in the formation of the League were nevertheless not lost sight of either by LORD CRANBROOK, who unveiled the memorial, or in the press. The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL referred to the range of his views beyond the narrow limits of Great Britain to that Greater Britain which he hoped to see so thoroughly united, while each portion retained its internal independence, as to enable it to become a mighty instrument of religion and civilisation. And he added this confession of his own faith: "I look forward to the time when all English-speaking people will be united in one bond, understanding each other, peaceable, patient, loyal, honouring one another, respecting one another's independence, not seeking quarrels with other nations of the earth, while at the same time they are firm to uphold that which belongs to them." The *St. James's Gazette*, writing on the occasion, said: "It is quite possible that future generations will remember MR. FORSTER not so much as the founder of a national system of education, but as one of the pioneers of Imperial Federation."

THE August Reviews have some interesting articles which we can commend to our readers for perusal. In the *Nineteenth Century*, MR. EDWARD DICEY writes on "MR. CECIL RHODES as Premier," and recognises the large scope of his policy, and the probable effect of his leadership upon the extension of British influence and predominance throughout South Africa. In the same Review, MR. R. H. BAKEWELL, who dates from Auckland,

New Zealand, gives an imaginary—at least, we trust it is an imaginary—conversation between a globe-trotter and a Colonist on "The Loyalty of the Colonies," in which the views of the latter are stated with an almost brutal frankness. SIR C. GAVAN-DUFFY contributes to the *Contemporary* a second part to his paper previously noticed, entitled "How the British Colonies got Responsible Government." The methods he advocates for the retention of the Colonies in the Empire are substantially those advocated by the League. In the *New Review*, the effect of the Anglo-German agreement on British South Africa, and the position of affairs generally in the vast territories included in that term, are clearly set forth with the aid of a most intelligible map by MR. RALPH C. WILLIAMS, who writes with intimate local knowledge. The forthcoming (September) issue of the *United Service Magazine* contains an admirable answer from Tasmania to MR. GOSSIP's paper, from the able pen of MR. H. R. NICHOLLS, of Hobart. With some of these articles we hope to deal more fully in our next number, "space" forbidding us to do so this month.

THE right of Cape Colony to be consulted in relation to all the affairs of South Africa in the widest sense was asserted in very uncompromising terms in connection with the motion introduced into the Cape Parliament by SIR THOMAS UPINGTON. His motion ran:—"That any proposal to interfere with the direct control by the Parliament of this Colony over Walfisch Bay territory, will be deeply resented by the people of this Colony," and more to like effect; and MR. RHODES moved an addition, expressing the regret of the House that the Cape Government was not directly represented in the recent arrangements, and expressing further the opinion that the Colony should in future have a voice in any future proposed re-arrangement of boundaries south of the Zambesi. Putting aside the remarkably wide sweep of the "sphere of influence" thus claimed by the Colony that holds Cape Town, does not the whole claim rather anticipate the good time when Imperial Federation shall have been brought about—a consummation as devoutly wished by MR. RHODES as by any one else? As a London contemporary says of these pretensions, the politicians of the Cape should remember that England has to look after the general interests of the whole Empire, and not of one part only; and that, moreover, he who pays the piper is entitled to call the tune: or, as another writer has it,—"They are protected from risks, but must understand that protection implies control. They must take the fat with the lean, as the rest of the world does."

THE Western Australia debates produced some instances of that haze that surrounds constitutional questions to hide them from the view of the "average member of Parliament." LORD NORTON, in the Upper House, deplored the ignorance displayed by members in the Commons of the fact that the Colony was not a Crown Colony, but already had "representative" Government which the Bill made "responsible." The Bill passed by the Colonial Legislature, and forming a schedule to the Imperial measure, was a stumbling-block to many. Some members complained of the electoral franchise and wanted to amend the schedule; and it took all the constitutional learning of MR. BRYCE, SIR J. GORST, and MR. MORLEY, to persuade them that it was for the Colony and not the Imperial Parliament to settle the franchise, and that the scheduled Bill was not open to amendment by the House of Commons. As MR. MUNRO FERGUSON said, the discussion went to show the unfitness of the House of Commons to deal with Australian affairs—or, we might add, Colonial affairs generally.

MR. H. D'ESTERRE TAYLOR contributes to the June number of *Young Australia* an article to which his name is attached on "The Democratic Aspect of Federation." Addressing himself as he does to the ultra-democratic peoples of the Australian Colonies, he does well to keep this aspect of the case before them; though, in the succeeding issue of the same journal, "An Old Conservative" harks back upon first principles, and questions the democratic basis of society altogether. MR. TAYLOR insists upon "Unity" as the basis of democratic strength; and claims

that Imperial Federation is based on the principles common to all federations, the principles on which all democracies have achieved their successes. "It appeals with equal force to democratic instincts and sympathies, and should nowhere be received with warmer welcome than in that Australia which we love to call the freest democracy in the world. Here," he concludes, "we find the true and only meaning of the word Imperial in this connection. Any other meanings attached to it are erroneous ones, and any arguments based upon them rest upon foundations which are neither well nor truly laid."

THE unofficial delegates of "the people" of Newfoundland managed to get their case put before the English public through the columns of the press, though the importance of their mission was necessarily overshadowed by the impending arrival of official representatives of the Colony. SIR J. WINTER and his colleagues were present at the meeting of the League, and subsequently SIR J. WINTER said to a press representative: "We appreciate very highly, as we are sure the people of Newfoundland will do, the reference to our case in the report of the Imperial Federation League, and there can be no doubt that this dispute does, as the League says, accentuate the question of the relations of the various parts of the Empire to its foreign policy. We also appreciate the references to our cause in the last report of the Royal Colonial Institute, and the efforts of the press on our behalf." And MR. MORINE added: "And you may rest assured that when the time comes for more definite discussion on the subject of Imperial Unity Newfoundland will not be behind." Under all the circumstances of the case these expressions are satisfactory.

It may have struck some of our readers as curious that they should have seen no mention in the "usual channels of information" of the very important correspondence on the Australasian cable question published by us last month. Upon this "conspiracy of silence" the *Leeds Mercury* had the following passage:—"It seems hardly credible, and yet is unquestionably a fact, that several of the London morning papers refused to publish a very important communication on this subject, deprecating the subsidy to the Eastern Telegraphic Companies, which was laid before LORD KNUTSFORD by MR. SANDFORD FLEMING, a Canadian gentleman of distinction, who was one of the representatives of the Dominion at the Colonial Conference in 1887. Whatever may have been the motives for this extraordinary 'boycott' on the part of our metropolitan contemporaries, we cannot think that the incident is one which reflects any credit upon British journalism, and we shall certainly do what lies in our power to inform the British public of the facts with regard to a very serious question of inter-Imperial communication." The press is no doubt much indebted to existing companies, and entertains that sentiment called gratitude which consists of a lively sense of favours to come. But we agree with the *Leeds Mercury* that the incident is not creditable to British journalism.

SIR HENRY NORMAN, the Governor of Queensland, reported some months ago to the Secretary of State on the "separation" movement, but the tenor of the report only became public here last month, though it was known months ago on the spot. The result of the Governor's northern tour was to convince him of the *bonâ fide* nature of the movement in the north for separation from the southern portion of the Colony, and that opposition there was due to divided opinion as to the site of the capital. The Separationists being in a Parliamentary minority, they are well advised, SIR H. NORMAN says, in applying to the Home Government; and His Excellency sees no valid objection to the movement from an Imperial point of view. It will nevertheless be strongly opposed in the south. Speaking on the Address-in-reply in June, SIR THOMAS M'ILWRAITH said the Governor had been carefully led, during his northern tour, where only one sort of talk would reach his ear, and went on to accuse MR. BLACK and MR. MACROSSAN of using their positions in the Ministry for the purpose of furthering the interests of separation and black labour; and SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH spoke to the same effect.

THEREIN, in the black labour question, lies the whole crux of the question; and it is a question that will have to be reckoned with in the northern portions of what is now called South Australia, and of Western Australia, as well as in Queensland. After the debate in the Queensland Assembly referred to above, the Morehead Government was turned out, and SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH and SIR THOMAS M'ILWRAITH have formed a coalition, under the premiership of the former. This rather curious arrangement, of which at present we know nothing but the bare fact as telegraphed, seems to us likely to have been brought about a good deal by circumstances connected with the separation movement. The coalition will clearly strengthen the hands of the Queensland Government enormously in its resistance to the proposed severance. In that resistance it is probable it will also have the support of the southern Colonies. In view of Federation, all are interested in the black labour question of the northern portion of the future Dominion. Australians dread—and no wonder—having a "nigger" question of their own; but unless they are prepared to let the whole of tropical Australia lie idle, it is difficult to see how they are to avoid having "the nigger" himself in some shape or form. Still we can readily understand their anxiety to prevent any steps that would bring the difficulty upon them at present. It is one that should be kept out of until a Federal Parliament is constituted to deal with it. The acceptance of office by SIR THOMAS M'ILWRAITH under SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH's leadership, we may note, by the way, is likely to have a chastening effect upon him. We may confidently expect that SIR SAMUEL will keep him—and Queensland—straight.

SOUTH AFRICA, a paper for which we have at other times an unfeigned respect, publishes the following tirade on the letter headed "The Navy of the Orange Free State" in our August issue:—"Imperial Federation publishes a nonsensical letter from a correspondent who signs himself 'Do Si Des' complaining that a naval officer in the course of the one-third of an after-dinner speech, which is, by recognised rule, devoted to platitude, observed that 'the service to which he belonged was the Navy not only of England, South Africa, and Australia, but also of the Free State.' This statement is considered 'misleading and therefore mischievous.' It is rather difficult to imagine who is likely to be misled, as it is generally known that the Free State Navy consists of the *Homeward Bound*, which was exhibited a short time back at the Crystal Palace." We are afraid the writer of this paragraph rather missed the joke of the heading, to say nothing of the general purport of our correspondent's letter. Perhaps he is Scotch.

THE Colonial Office, it appears, has been in recent communication with the Colonies on the standing question of a uniform patent law, asking whether the Governments are prepared to notify to the Imperial authorities and other Colonial Governments all patents and trade-marks registered within their respective jurisdictions, and to record, free of charge, the patents, designs, and trade-marks notified to them by the Imperial and by other Colonial Governments. Such is the form in which the matter reaches us, but it seems somewhat confused. The question of Copyright finds no place. These are all matters leading directly up to Imperial Federation; but, without Imperial Conferences, how many years are likely to elapse before even the least of them are successfully arranged throughout the whole Empire?

THE *Hobart Mercury*, which always writes well on the subject of Federation, has an article in June anent the *Spectator* and LORD ROSEBURY's speech at the People's Palace. The writer takes LORD ROSEBURY's allusions to the "title-deeds of the Anglo-Saxon race" in a non-political sense exclusively, and not as meaning that the centre of power could never be shifted from its historic home. If he did mean that, he was, the *Mercury* thinks, rash and ill-advised. Probably the President did not cast his prescient vision so far into those "years to come" when "one of the great Colonies, then having an overwhelming population," might be regarded as the true centre. What LORD ROSEBURY

did mean, as we understood him, we endeavoured to express in our own way, writing in June, after he had reiterated his opinions at the annual meeting "under the shadow of Westminster Abbey." The writer in the *Mercury*, while he would have the people of the Mother Country purge their mind of the idea of permanent leadership, on the other hand expresses the fervent hope that the Colonies will reverence and strive to imitate in word and deed the great ones who made Britain great, and so "get rid of the self-sufficient ignorance which seems to be developing in some of the Colonies."

THE QUEEN'S Speech on the prorogation of Parliament contains, among twelve paragraphs dealing with specific matters other than finance, no less than six directly concerned with what may, it seems, interchangeably be called Foreign, Imperial, or Colonial affairs. These are the Anglo German and the Anglo-French agreements relating to Africa, the Behring Sea dispute, the Newfoundland difficulty, the Western Australia Bill, and the Swaziland Convention. *Punch* represents some of these and the domestic subjects dealt with in the Session respectively, as two rows of grouse in MR. SALISBURY'S game-shop, and JOHN BULL remarks that "the foreign birds seem the best." Now, the significance of this—and it is so significant that we should like to say, "Colonial papers, please copy" what we are about to remark—lies in this: that it shows how completely the Foreign Policy of the Empire is a Colonial Policy. Every one of the points at which we touch foreign Powers is in respect of some matter affecting the rights or interests of one or other of the Colonies, while not one is more than incidentally of any importance whatever to the people of the United Kingdom. And yet there are people in the Colonies who fight shy of Imperial Federation, or the maintenance of their connection with the Mother Country in any form, because they are afraid of being dragged into "Imperial complications" and "old-world entanglements"! There are other morals too; but we refrain from insisting upon them here.

YET another aspirant to the honour of creating a scheme of Imperial Federation—this time a, for the present, anonymous one. We lately received the following communication:—"Sir,—I am quite with SIR HENRY PARKES in the matter of the Federation of England, her Colonies, &c. But, as I am not sending my name and address with this note, you will, as a matter of course, consult your own opinion as to whether (*sic*) it may give any satisfaction to your readers. However, I here beg respectfully to inform SIR HENRY PARKES and the Imperial Federation League that I some years since framed a scheme of Imperial Federation on equal terms, and am only waiting for a favourable opportunity (*sic*) to bring it forward.—I am, yours, &c., T. P. C." Having duly "consulted our own opinion," we have come to the conclusion that, as a relief in the midst of more weighty reading, "this note" *would* "give some satisfaction" to our readers. Nor must SIR HENRY PARKES be left without a copy, since we are made the trustee, as it were, of "T. P. C.'s" sentiments for him also. Is it possible, by the way, that "T. P. C." ought to have been written T. P. O'C.?

THERE is a wonderful family likeness between papers such as *Truth* in London, the *Bulletin* in Sydney, and the *Boomerang* in Brisbane. No doubt they are on each other's "Exchange" lists; but we cannot help suspecting some even closer relationship. Compare these two cuttings, the first from the Brisbane paper:—

"Now let us put ourselves in Newfoundland's place, and we might very well be in her place were we not too hot-blooded to be offended by the bullies of Downing Street, who jump on little Portugal with both feet, but scrape and crawl to Germany in un-British fashion! Would we like to know that the men-of-war sent to subjugate and overawe us were kept up by our own money, and nominally afloat for our 'defence'? Would we not be wishing then that instead of paying tribute to a foreign Power, which used our tribute-ships against us, and our 'rights,' we had taken our money and spent it in manning Australian ships with Australian seamen, who in time of need would have stood by their own country, against Imperialism as against the world?"

The next is from *Truth*:—

"I have received a long letter from a Sydney journalist, the following passage of which is worth the attention of the Imperial Federation faddists:—'The severity of the sentence passed on Petty Officer Allen has disgusted the whole community. A sentence of three months' imprisonment would have amply sufficed. These courts-martial are rendering Imperial Federation an impossibility so far as Australia is concerned. Understand that there is to be an inquiry into the conduct of the captain of the *Egria*. Should this prove a mere formality, it is by no means improbable that the Australian people will refuse to have anything more to do with the naval forces of the Mother Country, unless courts-martial can be conducted more in accordance with their notions of justice and equity.'

The Australian people "refusing to have anything more to do" with the British navy is very funny.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

I.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE debate upon the Federation Resolutions in the Parliament of New South Wales has been very protracted. We have given in our two preceding numbers a summary of Sir Henry Parkes' speech in introducing the Resolutions, and copious extracts from the speech of Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, who followed the Premier after a week's interval. We gave also two or three extracts from the speeches of other Members bearing upon the question of the maintenance of the British connection or separation. We now continue these extracts from the speeches of Members of both Houses of the Legislature. Such declarations of opinion made on such an occasion cannot but be of the highest interest; though allowance, no doubt, ought to be made for the varying degrees of position and influence enjoyed by different speakers—an allowance that can, perhaps, only be duly made by persons possessing personal knowledge of the political life of the Colony.

In the Legislative Assembly:—

MR. O'SULLIVAN thought the only form of Government possible in the future was Republicanism. Although they would federate under the Crown, it should prove to be the stepping-stone to enable them to achieve their ultimate destiny. He contended that the Federal Government should be a strong one. It was useless to govern any nation unless they placed sufficient power in the hands of those who formed the Government. They wanted to see a Government strong enough to enforce their own laws. We should be on our guard against this scheme of Imperial Federation, and that is why he took exception to some of the names in the proposal submitted by Sir Henry Parkes. He did not hold with the belief which some of these men held. Sir Patrick Jennings, for instance, was a strong Imperialist. What sort of Federation should we get from men like Sir Patrick? He did not know the views of Mr. Garvan; he did not recollect a speech in which that gentleman had expressed himself upon the question of Imperial Federation; but he would not vote for any man who would identify us with a scheme which he believed would prove detrimental to the best interests of Australia. Some reference had been made to the possibility of a Chinese invasion. If we were to have Imperial Federation and a war should be threatened between Great Britain and Russia, the British Ministers would only be doing their duty by conciliating the Chinese, and therefore the time might come when our interests would clash with those of China, and we might have to suffer in order to secure the British Possessions in India.

MR. CARRUTHERS said: Now they heard of this question of separation from the old country. They were told that they were to have a federal union, but not under the Crown whose protection they had had up to the present time. They might talk to them of the dangers of the alliance; the dangers had been less real than apparent; the dangers in the future would be more apparent than real. A union at the present time was of greater benefit than all the dangers which were held up. We must be a commercial nation. . . . They were unable to protect their commerce at the present time, and was it within the realm of possibility that this nation, with all its great resources, could sustain a navy strong enough to protect our Australian commerce in all parts of the world? Wherever an Australian ship went now, it had the protection of the British flag; wherever a resident of New South Wales went, he had the protection of the British flag. They had drawn their belief, their institutions, all that was good and holy in their lives, from that great country; its traditions, its literature, its best institutions. They had not seen anything that would make them drift away, but he hoped to see the day when Australia would stand on equal terms with the old country. He hoped to see a great Australian nationality, not dependent on the old country, but linked to it with a stronger bond of alliance. He was not a believer in Imperial Federation; he was a believer in the grand Federation in which all that was holy and pure was bound up, in which there would be freedom of national life.

MR. COPELAND was prepared to vote for the Resolutions. They would have to prepare themselves for separation from the Mother Country, for independence might, perhaps, at no distant date, be found beneficial, not merely so far as the Colonies were concerned, but England also; and it were better to federate now, when a scheme could be well thought out, than to delay, only to find it necessary to federate hurriedly. . . . Federation was a question in which he was greatly interested. He might be in favour of Imperial Federation if he thought the separation would be beneficial to this country, and do

no harm to the Mother Country; but he thought it would do no harm to both. He would favour the Resolution of the Premier for a Federation under the Crown.

MR. A'BECKETT thought they should, at all events, federate for the purposes of national defence; they could federate for as few or as many purposes as they liked, and he thought it would be very wise to federate for defence purposes. Australia had nothing to complain of the treatment she had received at the hands of the British Government, and it was not well to take everything from her, and because she had behaved badly to some other country, cast her off. He was an Australian, and would be ashamed of his countrymen who held that opinion. He hoped that Australia would be an independent nation, but that when she separated from the Mother Country, she would maintain that loyal feeling which she at present exhibits. (Hear, hear.)

MR. TRAILL said: There was an impression on the part of some members of the House, and on the part of members of the community at large, that the privileges enjoyed under the present constitution were such that any attempt to improve the constitution might be fraught with misfortune. New South Wales had been endowed by the Government of Great Britain with autonomous institutions. The Colonists had been endowed with power to legislate for themselves upon well-nigh every matter that affected their well-being. They were subject to hardly any interference, and what little there had been was exercised in a thoroughly benevolent spirit. There existed outside Colonial boundaries, far from all petty quarrel and jealousy, a supreme power, which exercised a benignant effect, and in a way that left little room for complaint. This was but a young community, but in time it would grow and increase in strength, and although the position of dependence might be fraught with great advantages, the conditions would come upon them when such a position would become intolerable to men of high spirit. At the present time they were a dependent people; they did not enjoy all the political advantages and rights which had been held to be the boast of Britons. . . . Up to the present time no serious conflict of interests had taken place between the Britons residing in this part of the world and those in the Mother Country, but at any time such a thing might arise. Some subject of vital interest—for instance, the waste lands of North-Western Australia—might arise, upon which the people of England and those in the Colonies might be at variance. We were distinctly a community subject to the will of a community elsewhere. . . .

This condition of affairs must, as population increased and as the community grew in magnitude and in wealth, be in conflict with the people. The Colonies must collect their powers, they must gather themselves together and impress their weight and importance on the people of Great Britain. . . . There were two ways of federating: One was Imperial Federation, with or without Intercolonial Federation; but he did not intend to speak of this at all. The other alternative was independence of Great Britain. It appeared to him that it was impossible to shut their eyes to what was the manifest destiny of the Australian Colonies. Independence from the Mother Country must be looked forward to as the goal of their aspirations—(hear, hear)—as a consequence of the growth of the community: while working towards that goal they could work in a friendly spirit towards the Mother Country. Should independence be achieved, what should the form of Government be like? One or two hon. members were bold enough to state that they were out-and-out Republicans. He was a Republican himself. . . . Republicanism would probably be the form of Government when independence was achieved, and that it would be achieved he did not believe any one in Australia would doubt. (Hear, hear.) . . . Sir Henry Parkes tried to prove that Mr. Dibbs opposed Federation, but he failed. Then he brought forward another reason why Mr. Dibbs should not be a representative at the Convention, and that was that Mr. Dibbs had expressed an opinion favourable to the independence of the Colonies. If that was a reason why he should not go to the Convention, it was also a reason why they should have no Federation at all. If it be held that these Colonies were to be dependent on the Mother Country always, then what was the absolute necessity for Federation? The question of defence was the prime question put before the country to show the necessity for Federation. If these Colonies were for ever to be dependent on the Mother Country, then there was no cause for this feverish excitement for defending themselves. It was because they might have to arm in the future to protect themselves that they should be prepared to defend themselves. His reason for favouring a combination of the Colonies was because independence was inevitable. If they were to remain subject to Great Britain, and under her power, one of the main reasons why they should be welded together disappeared. Unless they took into contemplation the possibility or probability of the territory of Australia becoming an autonomous State, the question of disagreements between the Colonies evaporated entirely. As an abstract proposition, he thought a friendly severance could be arranged if Federation were accomplished. He did not say it would be the best thing for Great Britain, but he said, with every friendship and consideration for the old country, that it would be the best thing for Australia. While connected with the Empire, we would probably have to share her evils and afflictions in respect of war without any voice in its repression. Separation without Federation would be one of the most dismal calamities that could fall upon this country—(hear, hear)—and he had no sympathy with the man who would precipitate an unfriendly separation from the Mother Country. (Mr. DIBBS: "Hear, hear.") He would like to see the severance come, but under natural development, and by the mutual consent of both sides. The evils inflicted by violent severance would tell upon both sides of the community with severe force.

MR. BRUCE SMITH said: They had everything to gain and nothing to lose by their connection with England. He would like to know what those gentlemen who spoke of Federation wanted. They would not claim that under a republic they would have more independence, because the whole testimony was that under a monarchy there was more freedom. They were reminded by the

leader of the Opposition, in one of his speeches, of the trammels. He would like to know what they were. England protected us without any cost; they were protected by the army and navy of England, and England never asked them to contribute as she contributed to ours.

MR. VIVIAN said there had been an objection made that if they federated, they would weaken the tie between themselves and the Mother Country; but he thought instead of weakening the tie it would be strengthened. They wanted a union of hearts, and if this Federation were brought about, they would still have the sympathy, the love, and the friendship of the Mother Country. He was not in favour of a republic; he did not believe in the word as applied to Australia. They were absolutely a republic now except in name. They were better off than a republic. No country was more loyally governed; no country had wiser and better laws; no country had less despotism than this country. He believed the republic enjoyed now was better than any other republic. . . . Some mention was made about Imperial Federation; but what he wished to see was a Federation under the Crown, not under the Empire. What did Imperial Federation mean? It meant that delegates from the whole of the Colonial Empire would form a high court of Parliament in order to discuss the fate of a country 14,000 miles away. He was opposed to Imperial Federation; it was a public absurdity. With a union under the Crown they would merely form an Empire within an Empire. . . . Perhaps the foremost reason why we should federate was to have a system of defence. Australia was absolutely isolated, and its wealth per head was greater than that of any other country under the sun. What a magnificent prize this country would be to Germany, France, or any other country imbued with a lust of conquest! War must break out sooner or later, and then England would say that defence, like charity, began at home, and proceed to defend her own shores.

MR. B. B. NICOLL said it was only right of him, since he occupied the position of president of the Natives' Association of New South Wales, to say that Australian Federation was the principal plank in the platform of the association. The Australian Natives' Society numbered upwards of 20,000 members, and during the past 20 years had done much towards the advancing of the matter the House was debating. . . . He would like to see the words "under the Crown" omitted from the Resolutions, for he considered and thought it would be a foolish step to separate from the old country at the present time, yet he felt that with the march of years separation would be looked upon as a necessity. To Imperial Federation he was strongly opposed, and he would also oppose the admission of New Zealand into the federal union as being too distant from Australia to federate with advantage. . . . The question of defence would be at once decided by Federation, and he hoped to see an Australian navy brought into existence. At the present time we paid a large sum under the Australian Defences Bill without retaining any control over those defences. . . . A great future lay before Australia. We had advantages which the United States did not possess. We were away from all the troubles of the older countries, but with the development which must come he did not desire to see the federated Colonies cut away from the Mother Country. It was the wish of every true Australian to see the Colonies federated, and he hoped the consummation of their wishes would not long be delayed. (Hear, hear.)

MR. MOLESWORTH said: As to the defence of our waters, he did not think they could have the matter better looked after than by the British Government. The time might come when they could take the matter out of the hands of the British Government, but that time had not come yet. There was not only the guarding of our shores, but our commerce. No union except a union under the Crown would be of any benefit to this country. We had all the rights belonging to a republic except the name. The Colonies practically governed themselves; excepting in one or two small matters they had had all their own way from the start. If they were united, Australia could make her voice heard with no uncertain sound.

MR. WALL was desirous to see Australia federated, but not on lines which would create a feeling of discord where none at present existed. The Federation he desired to see would have to proceed upon national lines. And so far as union with the old country was concerned, he thought it would be well to inquire whether the advantages Australia reaped by her connection with England were such as would compensate her for lack of independence. And coupled with this consideration was the question, "Why should Australia be dragged into wars in the making or declaration of which she had neither voice nor share?" Federation, he was persuaded, must ultimately lead to separation, though there was not the slightest reason for assuming that with separation the affection existing between the Mother Land and her Colonies would come to an end. Rather, he thought, that England no less than the Colonies would benefit by separation. His opinion was that the existing constitution was sufficient for the requirements of this Colony. The time might arrive when it would be well to hoist an Australian flag, and enter into a bond of Australian unity, but it would not come until there was more evidence for a union of interests.

In the Legislative Council:—

MR. SALOMONS said that upon careful reflection and examination of history he had arrived at the conclusion that not only was the time not ripe, but that so long at least as we remained a Colony, a Federal Government would be a vital mistake. (Hear, hear.) It might happen, he hardly expected to live long enough to see it, that the course of events would bring about a fundamental alteration in our relations with the old country. He hoped not; but if it did, his inclination was that even then a Federal Government, by reason of its inherent dangers, would be a mistake. Those dangers need not now be discussed; we must take things as they were. If he shared the views of Sir Henry Parkes as to the superior position which the people of this country occupied as regarded wealth, intelligence, and public and private virtues, he might, of course, come

to a different opinion upon a minor point, that was to say, if we were the people Sir Henry Parkes painted us to be, he might admit that we were injured by connection with a country so inferior as Great Britain. (Laughter.) That, however, was a view he declined to entertain in any serious mood. (Hear, hear.) He firmly believed that in this step which was proposed to be taken lay the one great stride towards separation from the old country. (Hear, hear.) We heard much of the phrase, "the crimson thread of kinship," from those who for years had abused the Protectionists, and who now were prepared to band with that party, and for what? To protect themselves against the outside world. Was it not better to have protection against Western Australia and against Queensland, rather than against England? (Hear, hear.) . . . With those who thought we should be in a better position if we were to declare our independence, the arguments he would adduce would have no weight. He took it for granted there was no one in this Assembly who was not clear upon this point—we had everything to lose and nothing to gain by parting from Great Britain. (Cheers.) He did not think that the form of Government under which we happily and peacefully lived could last for ever. It was, however, a waste of time to commence a step in the direction of legislation intended to affect a set of circumstances that would not come into existence for a hundred years; and so in regard to the matter of separation. At the present time nothing could be more suicidal to his mind than to do anything to separate us from the old country. (Hear, hear.)

MR. O'CONNOR said: The time was coming when the interests of England, and the interests of these Colonies in the Pacific might clash. Come it must some of these days, and we must be prepared for that contingency, and when it came, be prepared to unite in representing our views to the different countries occupying those islands in order that our interests and British interests might be protected. There was a question of very great magnitude as affecting the whole of these Colonies altogether. They heard this Federation was the outcome of military spirit. Those who looked forward to the time when the islands in the Pacific were likely to be occupied in a way that would be a menace to the Colonies were seeking to make preparation. Could any one say that when the population of Australia was 21 millions that the islands in the Pacific could not be controlled by nationalities other than that of Great Britain. If that was the case it behoved this country not to trust its interests to Great Britain, but to act separately in regard to its interests.

MR. SIMPSON said: He was unaware that Mr. Dibbs had very much supported Federation, and he was not very certain as to what Mr. Dibbs's views were. Mr. Traill was a supporter of Australasian Federation, but he did not know whether he was a supporter of Imperial Federation. Whether or not one or two members were in favour of separation from the Mother Country, there was nothing in the Resolution or in the proposal of the Government to sanction the belief that they would separate from the Mother Country. Sir Henry Parkes, who was undoubtedly the father of the movement, to whom would belong when Federation became an accomplished fact the principal credit of having initiated the movement, was one of the strongest and most loyal supporters of the Crown. He who was a supporter of the movement was an earnest and strong supporter of adherence to the Mother Country. It would be a sad day, a day to be for ever regretted, should it ever come for the Colonies to be separated from the Mother Country. Even, as Dr. Garvan pointed out, England now was viewing with the greatest interest and with the strongest feelings of encouragement this movement on their part to form a federated Australia. He scattered to the winds the assertion—the invented assertion—that the adherents and supporters of the movement were advocating separation from the Mother Country. It was proposed that there should be a union under the Crown, and it was asserted that their best interests would be promoted by an early union.

SIR WILLIAM MANNING said he hoped no one would suppose that because he advocated Federation he was in favour of separation. No one would bewail more than he a separation from the Mother Country. At the present time the rein was so lightly held by the Mother Country that it was hardly felt. To a great extent they were independent, but in some things they had not all their own way.

MR. HEYDON said they had heard a good deal about sentiment, and he was not one to deny the importance of sentiment. The sentiment he valued, however, was that of the union of the whole Empire—the union of the whole race. His idea of the unification of the British race was a grander sentiment than that of those who simply advocated an Australian unity. It was the fact of the United States having unfortunately left the Mother Country that put the notion into the heads of Australians that they must follow necessarily in the track. If Australia did take that step, then the dream of all enthusiastic members of the race would be at an end. The Empire that remained would not be large enough to command the respect of the remaining fragments.

II.

VICTORIA.

THE Federation resolutions were moved and carried in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria on June 10th. Mr. Gillies, the Premier, moved the resolutions (which were of course identical with those moved in the Legislature of New South Wales, set out in our July issue) in a full House. His speech, which lasted upwards of an hour, was listened to on both sides of the House with marked attention.

MR. GILLIES sketched the various steps that had been taken since 1857 to bring about a federal union of the Colonies, pointing out how previous efforts had failed, this being the first occasion on which properly authorised delegates had arrived at a determination on the subject. He pointed out that the Federal Council marked the nearest

approach to unity of action, but owing to the want of unanimity amongst the Colonies, and the absence of Colonies which had promised to join very limited results were obtained. Whilst regretting that some of the other Colonies had not joined the Council, he did not desire to attach any blame, but the absence of an important colony like New South Wales, the oldest of the group, and so rich in resources, could not be ignored. He dwelt on the ineffectual attempts which had been made to secure the adherence of New South Wales, and the negotiations with Sir Henry Parkes, which had resulted in the recent Conference. He maintained that the delegates to the Conference were justified in meeting. He referred to the Conference of the Australian Natives' Association as an indication of the interest felt in the subject; and pointed out that when the Conference met it had the hearty sympathy of the Press and the people, and the present Parliament had the advantage of having the matter very fully discussed. He impressed upon the House the importance of not allowing time to pass away without dealing with the subject. He believed the delegates to the Convention would best serve the interests of Australia. He should be extremely sorry if the delegates were not free to go to the Convention to determine that which was best for the interests of all. This would be preferable to going with their hands tied and their mouths shut. Discussion would be useless at the Convention if the delegates were to be bound by the instructions of Parliament. It had been suggested that Parliament should frame a constitution and go to the country, but if so no conference was required. If the delegates went quite free their action would not bind Parliament. The subjects which would be submitted to Parliament would be numerous and full of difficulty. A Federal Council to do good must be a real power. There must be no mistake about it, and the powers granted to it must be clearly defined. It would be a great pity to give up the local Parliaments; but he was convinced that people would be prepared for a greater good to give up a considerable portion of the powers exercised by the local Parliaments if they could be better exercised by a federal tribunal. They were prepared to say first of all we shall be a united people, and they would pass to a united people the exercise of such powers as was thought wise in the interests of all Australia. He had no fear of any great conflict of opinion. He believed Federation would place them on a vantage ground from which they would speak unitedly. The delegates would be free to act, and that freedom would be all the better for legislation, because the delegates would feel a greater responsibility, seeing that they were not impelled to act by the pressure of circumstances. In view of all these considerations, he thought there was a grand future before the Colonies; but he did not believe that that future would come unless they obtained a Federation Parliament on lines just to all the Colonies. (Applause.)

MR. MUNRO, leader of the Opposition, seconded the motion.

SIR BRYAN O'LOGHLEN moved as an amendment that the House, before it concurs in any of the resolutions of the Federation Conference, demands to have laid before it a definite outline of the proposed Federation, since this House cannot, without express authority from the electors of the Colony, entertain any proposals for Federation unless the proposals are limited to such a federal union of the Colonies as will leave to the Legislature of each Colony the sole right to impose taxation within its own territory. He said the question was whether the protective policy of the country was to be maintained or subverted. He considered that the Federation as proposed would lead to no other result than the destruction of the protective system. He favoured Federation, but did not wish to see the rights of the Colony given up. He maintained that the Government, in the manner they had appointed the delegates, had ignored the House, and had come to resolutions which they were not authorised. The action amounted to contempt of Parliament. In New South Wales it was contended that the Central Parliament must have power to regulate the Customs, and must be supreme, for they saw that if intercolonial free trade were carried out, the probability was that the Victorian manufacturers, being transferred to the coal-fields of New South Wales, would prefer Imperial to intercolonial free trade. He thought that if the fiscal policy was to be attacked, the tocsin of alarm should be sounded throughout the Colony.

MR. MUNRO intimated that the Opposition had determined not to debate the matter at the present stage, but to pass the resolutions, appoint delegates, and let them go straight to business, untrammelled by Parliament.

MR. MCLEAN was of opinion that a discussion should take place at this stage. He foresaw in the establishment of a Central Government a menace to the connection with the Mother Country, though he did not attribute any disloyalty to the delegates to the Conference. He believed the establishment of a Central Government would create conditions enabling us to separate if occasion should arise. The Central Government would find it impossible to take over the debt, and the Colonies would have to pay higher for their loans. He feared that with intercolonial free trade would come an influx of New South Wales' produce to the detriment of this Colony. The Colony would not be able to control the Central Government, because it would be in an insignificant minority. He thought they should go step by step, and let Federation grow with the growth of the Colonies. He preferred this to the bold, reckless, and dazzling proposals of Sir Henry Parkes, which were attractive to the ambitious statesmen who wished to link their names with some great event in the history of the Colonies, but he had no hesitation in saying that the safety and security of the people would be best served by a policy of prudence, caution, and self-denial on the part of the representatives.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. Deakin) pointed out that the delegates would be powerless to bind any individual, and said the Imperial Government, so far from seeing danger to a connection in Federation, believed it would bind the bonds closer. He denied that the central Parliament would be other than liberal, seeing that it would be elected on the same franchise as members of the local Parliaments. Regarding Protection in the other Colonies, he believed that the union would be a protective one. He denied that a parallel could be drawn from what had occurred in the American War of Independence, seeing that these

were free peoples, whilst the American Colonists were taxed by men in London who knew nothing of them. He contended that the interests of the Colonies were the same. He hoped the Federated Government would be more democratic than the present ones, and it could suffer from nothing of which it had not the remedy in its own hands. The central Parliament would deal with great national questions. He would be no party to the abolition of the existing Parliament, and thought that many of the best men would prefer a local to a national Parliament. Federation would result in making protection stable.

Sir Bryan O'Loughlen's amendment was negatived without division, and the resolutions were unanimously agreed to amid cheers.

The delegates nominated from the Assembly to represent the Colony were Mr. Gillies, Mr. Deakin, Mr. Wrixon, Mr. Munro, and Colonel Smith, to act with two members of the Legislative Council (Mr. Service and Mr. Cuthbert).

Passages bearing most directly on the effects of Federation in the maintenance of the connection with the Mother Country, occurred in the speeches of Mr. McLean and of Mr. Deakin, Chief Secretary.

MR. McLEAN said: Now I will point out to hon. members some of the considerations that have induced me to regard with considerable apprehension the proposals of Sir Henry Parkes for a complete amalgamation of the Colonies under one central Government. In the first place, I believe it would probably, although I admit not necessarily, endanger our connection with the Mother Country. In making this statement I don't wish to be misunderstood. I wish it to be distinctly understood that I don't desire to impute any want of loyalty or affection to the Old Land to my fellow-colonists. (Hear, hear.) But what I do say is that the union of the whole of the Colonies under one central Government would create conditions which would enable us to separate if any occasion should arise—and hon. members know that popular waves of opinion will arise, and sometimes from very small causes—that will influence a general election, and that will be all that is necessary to cause separation. I need only refer to one instance that occurred within the last few weeks, when some of the most powerful political organisations in these Colonies passed resolutions censuring the sentences passed by Imperial officers upon men in the Imperial navy, and they requested that these resolutions should be sent to the Mother Country. One reply might be to mind our own business. Might not such a thing as that influence an election? Therefore I say that I can see a possibility of a complete union of the Colonies affecting our relations with the Mother Country. I would be sorry to say that Australia cannot paddle her own canoe among the nations of the earth, but I have no hesitation whatever in saying that a separation under any such conditions as these, at any rate, would be a matter for profound regret. (Cheers.) For certainly, if ever a people on the face of the earth were treated with generous and unselfish consideration, the young Australian peoples were so treated by Great Britain. (Cheers.)

MR. DEAKIN said: The question as to whether the establishment of a national Legislature would further the cause of those who aim at the separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country is one which had been considered very carefully even before the initiation of the present movement, and which had not been overlooked during its progress. Setting aside the opinion of Australians on that point, and taking the opinion of those in the Mother Country who have watched the movement, and have taken an interest in it, we find no fear entertained on the matter at the present moment. The public men of Great Britain all coincide in the view that this Federation of the Colonies would serve to draw the ties which exist between them and the Mother Country closer together. (Cheers.) It would lead, they said, to a better and more perfect understanding, and greater cordiality between Great Britain and the Colonies in the future. In addition to this it would also lead to a better understanding between the Colonies themselves, as there was scarcely a question affecting the whole of the Colonies, but it was found that some of them had been very much embarrassed by some action of one of the other Colonies. Dissension between the Local Government and the Imperial Government was much less likely to arise when all the communications to the Mother Country from the Colonies passed through one channel, because no communication would be sent which had not first of all met with the approval of the united representatives of Australia. (Hear, hear.) In that way ill-feeling between the Colonies themselves and with the Mother Country was much less likely to arise, as all matters would be the outcome of the judgment of the representative Parliament of Australia.

Dominion Day.—Last April we referred to the permission given by the Canadian Minister of Education for "hoisting the flag" on school buildings on public holidays. Last Dominion Day (July 1st) this ceremony took place at London, Ontario. The invitation card of the Demonstration Committee of the Board of Education bore for device the Red Ensign with Canadian badge in the fly, and, for legend, the words "The hoisting of the flag."

The Heligoland.—We are glad to learn that some success is attending the efforts made to bring the advantages of Canada as a field for settlement before the people of Heligoland. A few of the islanders have already decided to make Canada their future home; and if the British Government would only heed Lord Rosebery's excellent suggestion that assistance should be given to such as desire to remain under the British flag, we have no doubt that many more would gladly transfer their energies to the Dominion. Unless something of this kind be done, the cession of the island to Germany, with so light a disregard of all the people's feelings, is not, as Mr. William George Black says, likely to promote the Federation of the Empire, or to encourage the loyalty of our smaller Colonies elsewhere.—*Canadian Gazette.*

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE improvement exhibited in the Board of Trade returns for June has not been maintained during the past month. There has been a *decrease* in the quantity, value, and price of imports, but that is less surprising, considering the very large increase of imports in the corresponding month of last year. The exports show a smaller, but still a satisfactory, increase in quantity and value, without any increase in price.

JULY, 1890, COMPARED WITH JUNE, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has decreased from—
2,878,000 ... to ... 2,813,000 = 2·2 per cent.
2. Value of imports has decreased from—
£35,903,000 ... to ... £33,083,000 = 8·0 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£12 8s. ... to ... £11 16s. = 5·0 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,962,000 ... to ... 3,136,000 = 5·8 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£28,303,000 ... to ... £29,765,000 = 4·9 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased slightly from—
£9 10s. 6d. ... to ... £9 10s. = 0·5 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,694,000 ... to ... 2,894,000 tons = 7·4 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. 3d. ... to ... 12s. 5d. = 21 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 4·9 per cent.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,166,000 ... to ... 1,207,000 = 3·5 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£26,952,000 ... to ... £27,962,000 = 3·7 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has remained stationary at £23 2s.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF JULY, 1890.

1. *Imports.*—In the same way that the large increase in quantity and value noticed last month may have been partly attributable to an exceptionally small importation in June, 1889, so the decrease in July of this year may be partly attributable to the exceptionally large importation in the corresponding month of last year, which showed an increase of 9 per cent. in quantity, and 16·8 per cent. in value. The chief decrease has been in raw materials of almost all kinds, except raw cotton; but it has extended to most classes, the exceptions being, animals living, for food, tobacco, metals, and the Parcels Post. The decrease in the value of raw materials for textiles—flax, hemp, jute, silk, and wool—has amounted to 43·8 per cent. The quantity of raw cotton has decreased somewhat less than 2 per cent., and the value has increased at about the same rate, showing consequently an increase in price of 3·8 per cent., which is also the rate of increase over the price in July, 1888.

2. *Exports.*—These show a more satisfactory result. The increase in quantity (5·8 per cent.) and in value (4·9 per cent.) exceeds that shown in 1889, and the decrease in price (0·5 per cent.) is less than that of 1889, which was 1·0 per cent. The increase in value is maintained throughout every category of British produce and manufactures, except live animals and Parcels Post. The average increase on British goods is 9·9 per cent., but a fall of 11·9 per cent. on Foreign and Colonial merchandise reduces the average of the whole to an increase of 5·1 per cent. Last year, in July, the increase of British was only 6·2 per cent., and the decrease of Foreign and Colonial 5·1 per cent., making the average total increase 3·5 per cent.

3. The chief increase in the value of exports is in metals (24·6 per cent.), raw materials, chiefly coal (30 per cent.), chemicals (19·3 per cent.), and miscellaneous articles (14·2 per cent.). Yarns and textile fabrics increased only 2·2 per cent.

4. It may be noticed that during the last three months there has been a continuous decrease in the value of live animals, chiefly horses, exported: that there has been an unbroken increase in the exportation of articles of food and coal during the present year; and the same of metals and machinery, with one exception in March; of chemicals, with one exception in May; and of miscellaneous articles, with two exceptions in March and April.

5. With regard to the export of metals and machinery it is noteworthy that during the last five months, dating from March, when a large rate of increase was suddenly changed into a decrease, the average monthly rate of increase compared with that of the previous five months, shows a decrease in metals from 29·0 to 15·3 per cent., a difference of 44 per cent., and in machinery and millwork a decrease from 25·4 to 9·2 per cent., a difference of 64 per cent. On the other hand, a comparison of the exportation of iron and steel wares in the first five months of this year with the same period in 1888 and 1889 shows the following satisfactory results:—

	Increase in quantity.	Increase in price.
Seven months of 1889 ...	1·6 per cent.	3·4 per cent.
" " 1890 ...	2·9 "	13·5 "

A comparison of July, 1890, with July, 1889, is still more satisfactory as regards quantity, which shows an increase of 11·9 per cent., while the price shows an increase of 12·8 per cent. A comparison with the previous month of June 1890 shows an increase of 13·8 per cent. in quantity, with a decrease of 1·2 per cent. in price.

Loyalty to the Flag.—In the appendix to a novel called "The Mysterious Stranger," with a copy of which we are favoured by the author, Mr. C. H. Thorburn, testimony is borne to the strong martial spirit of the Canadian people and their "fond, proud attachment to the Union Jack."

AN INSTRUCTIVE LESSON.

WE speak in all seriousness when we say that we have found a passage in the *Queensland Boomerang* that deserves to be quoted for another purpose than that of showing the seamy side of Australian journalism. The *Boomerang* is not an influential paper, far from it: no doubt it is a matter of very small moment what writers in its pages say or what they think. Nevertheless, just as it is a matter for thankfulness among right-thinking persons when the most hardened of sinners shows signs of moral reformation, so it is gratifying to find that even in such a paper as the *Boomerang* there can be at times some glimmerings of intellectual awakening. The text of the remarks we are about to quote is furnished by the "Miserable Musterings" of the Local Defence Forces. After a considerable display of erudition in connection with the overrunning of Europe by the Hun and the Goth, the writer goes on to say:—"Australasia is indeed the outpost of the Western civilisation, of the European development of democracy, of the Caucasian ideals of sex-equality and of citizenhood and of the dignity of labour. We are cut off by thousands of miles of ocean from our kinsmen in Europe and from our brothers in Britain and from our cousins in America. We have planted ourselves under the shadow of that swarming Asia whose civilisations are opposed to ours and whose racial characteristics have as far diverged from those which stamp us as our colour has from theirs. And therein is the danger. Germany, France, America, might possibly overthrow our independence but could not destroy us, for our blood is their blood and our thoughts their thoughts, and it is not in them to root us from the soil and make our living but a memory, a tradition, a myth. But China, if she brought us to our knees and blew open our ports to her immigrant ships as England blew her ports open to the opium-traders, would surely sweep us away before the monstrous influx of a countless horde with which we could not mix and against which we could not possibly compete. This is a danger that draws nearer to us year by year and day by day. Unless we can hold Australasia by the strong arm, as our European kin held Vienna against the Turk and Tours against the Saracen, Asia will overwhelm us as it threatened to overwhelm them then. This is as sure as the dawning of the sun to-morrow. Yet we remain content with encampment musterings of a miserable handful of men."

Here, there is a perception of what is, however exaggerated some may think the mode of stating it, a real danger of the future. "It will be said," the writer goes on, "by the Imperialists that for this reason we should remain under the Union Jack and trust to the watch-dogs of the Empire the guardianship of the ocean-roads. What folly! What disregard of the teaching of history! In the days that are coming the Imperial Government will be taxed to hold its own nearer home just as the Roman empire was taxed when the eagles no longer led always to victory and, if we are still disarmed, then will come China's opportunity as our Saxon forefathers' opportunity came when the Roman legions were withdrawn from peace-rotted Britain. Already the Imperial military authorities look to the 'Colonies' for assistance in such an hour; and much assistance we shall be able to give if China pounces upon us over the waterways that the withdrawal of Imperial warships to the Atlantic have left undefended! What shall we be able to do even to defend ourselves? It is well enough to talk of our historic courage, but what is unorganised courage against scientific battalions, how will ignorant patriotism stand against ably handled revenge? If any think that the few scores of volunteers which muster at our encampments are going to make head against an invading army such as could easily be poured upon us, and that a mob of recruits are going to afford valuable assistance, they must have the faith which moves mountains and casts rocks into the sea."

There is an undoubted truth in the main argument of this paragraph, always allowing for the purely selfish point of view naturally taken by a writer sunk in the very *nadir* of provincialism. Of course it is open to the obvious criticism that, even in the circumstances supposed, Great Britain and Australia would at least have a better rather than a worse chance of a common salvation if they were in a position, by remaining united, to help each other. And this would be doubly true, under an organised federal system of Imperial defence, on the grounds set forth by Admiral Colomb, writing on Imperial naval defence in an article noticed in our issue for July. The safety of Australia lies in command of the sea. But this is getting beyond our text. We must not stifle the nascent germ of intelligence by a criticism that takes it for more than it is worth. We pass on to note the remarkable tone of the last part of the paragraph just quoted. What! A Queensland Chauvinist asking, "What shall we be able to do to defend ourselves?" Queensland, that has so often and so valiantly cried, "Come on!" to its neighbours, to the Mother Country, nay, to a whole world in arms? Well, well! We wrote only a month or two ago that we should soon have only the *Boomerang* against us; and now, so swift are the changes in this whirling world, we can almost foresee the day when even that, too, will be with us, if this sort of thing is to go on. We hope, however,

it will, metaphorically speaking, wash its face and hands—eschew mud, and learn to live cleanly—before it does us the honour of ranging itself on our side of the question. But to proceed.

The conclusion of the whole matter is the most curious part of all. This is the moral drawn:—"What we want is the armed nation, every man a citizen-soldier, every child trained from the cradle to defend the land in which it must live and die. We must be ready to face any invader with a fleet for which every vessel that trades on the Australian coast is built and for which every Australian sailor has been enrolled and drilled in time of peace; to front any invader in extremity with a disciplined army which cannot be conquered till every Australian had been slain. We should be able to put 20,000 patriot seamen and 500,000 patriot soldiers into the field, not as gallant mobs marching to certain death but as organised battalions marching to sure victory." So—so! Extremes meet indeed! Here are the people—and they say the same thing in other Colonies besides Queensland—who think that if they were only freed from the "entanglements" of the Mother Country and the rest of the Empire, they would be able peacefully to follow their own devices in a kind of Austral Eden, beginning to see that they would *not* be left alone—that they would be incapable of self-defence—and that the only remedy is a recourse to those very "bloated armaments" and that same "crushing weight of militarism" that they denounce so roundly in the "imperialistic despotisms of Europe"; and even advocating the hated system of universal military service, from which the Mother Country, from whose "entanglements" they are so anxious to dis sever themselves, is free. We have got, in fact, to the *reductio ad absurdum* of Australian Separatism.

THE BEHRING SEA CORRESPONDENCE.

THE following is a summary of the more recent and important portions of the official correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States on the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries Question:—

In August of last year, the British Chargé d'Affaires requested that United States cruisers should discontinue the seizures of sealing vessels in Behring Sea. Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, in reply, stated that it was too late to give effect to Mr. Edwards' request, as the United States revenue vessels had already sailed. A despatch from Lord Salisbury suggested the renewal of the negotiations with a view to an international agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, and protested against the seizures of sealing vessels as both unjustifiable and inexplicable, after the unofficial assurance given by Mr. Bayard, the late Secretary of State, that they should cease pending the conclusion of the negotiations. Mr. Blaine, in reply, pointed out that Canadian vessels were inflicting serious injury upon the absolute rights to the seal fisheries, which were undisturbed and unquestioned until the inroads of the Canadians and the extirpation of seals by them in 1886. The Secretary of State at the same time expressed his surprise that Great Britain should seek to defend them, and asked what would be done if an attempt were made to interfere with the Ceylon pearl fisheries, or to destroy fish on the banks of Newfoundland by means of dynamite, acts which would form a fitting parallel to the proceedings of the Canadian fishermen, which were the next steps to piracy. Mr. Blaine concluded by requesting some proposition on the subject from the British Government. To this despatch Sir Julian Pauncefoot was directed to reply suggesting the appointment of a mixed commission, and that meanwhile a close season should be temporarily established.

Lord Salisbury subsequently wrote to Sir Julian Pauncefoot, denying that sea sealing was internationally immoral, or justified the seizure of vessels so engaged by a friendly nation, and reasserting the right of free commerce on the high seas, adding that the United States Government insisted upon its rights against Russia's Alaskan claims.

To a further communication from Sir Julian Pauncefoot, the Secretary of State replied by protesting against Great Britain interfering with American rights. At the same time he pointed out that Lord Salisbury had previously agreed to adopt the regulations, and had practically settled the question, but had subordinated the negotiations to Canadian wishes, thus making all the direct negotiations mere loss of time. The close season proposed by Lord Salisbury would, Mr. Blaine considered, be ill-timed and ineffective, and he proceeded to contrast it with his lordship's original proposal, which, he asserted, was changed at the wish of Canada. Mr. Blaine asked if the agreement with England should be broken in regard to California, which would be a similar case, and proposed that British vessels should be excluded from Behring Sea for this season, so as to give time for negotiations, or that Lord Salisbury should apply his original proposal for the same time.

Sir Julian Pauncefoot replied by declining these proposals, and Mr. Blaine retorted that the suggestion came from Lord Salisbury himself. The British Premier, replying to this assertion, declared that he had no power to exclude vessels from the high seas without legislation, and denied making use of the language attributed to him. Mr. Blaine thereupon suggested the issue of a proclamation to this effect. Sir Julian Pauncefoot then presented a formal protest (the text of which is given below in full), denying the right of the United States to seize vessels, and declaring that Great Britain must hold the United States responsible for the consequences of acts contrary to the established principles of international law. Sir Julian, in a subsequent despatch, agreed to the issue of a proclamation on condition that the question of the legality of the seizures should be referred to arbitration, and

that, meanwhile, all interference with British sealers should cease, and that the United States should compensate British subjects for losses if the decision of the arbitrators should be adverse to the United States. Lord Salisbury declared the political situation in the United States, and not the Canadian interference, to be the cause of the suspension of the negotiations. Lord Salisbury quotes Mr. John Quincy Adams, when, as Secretary of State, he protested against the exclusive claim made by Russia.

Mr. Blaine, in reply to this, declares that the quotation is unfortunately most defective, erroneous, and misleading. The letter then gives the quotation in the corrected form, which shows that Mr. Adams conceded the Russian rights to the islands north of 55 deg. N. lat., and says that upon these words the United States founded its argument in this case, and that conclusions or inferences resting upon the paragraph, with material parts omitted, are, of course, valueless. An extensive review of Alaskan history follows, intended to demonstrate that, from the Russian Exclusion Ukase of 1799 down through all the subsequent treaties made between Great Britain and Russia, there was a distinct recognition of the exclusive right of the latter country to jurisdiction in the Behring Sea for a distance of a hundred miles from the coast, and the protest made by the United States early in this century was not against this right, but against the territorial claims on the north-west coast. Whatever duty England owed Alaska as a Russian province was not changed by the transfer of the country to the United States. Mr. Blaine then asks whence Canadian vessels derive the right to do what they refrained from doing for ninety years, how Great Britain defends her conduct, and how she concludes that an act may be committed with impunity against the rights of the United States, which was never attempted against the same rights when held by Russia. The Secretary of State, in conclusion, states that the interposition of the wishes of the British Province against the conclusion of a Convention between the two nations, which, according to Mr. Phelps, the late United States Minister in London, had been virtually agreed upon, except as to details, was, in the opinion of the President, a grave injustice to the United States.

The following is the text of the formal protest which Sir Julian Pauncefote, having failed to obtain the assurance that, pending negotiations, British sealing vessels would not be interfered with, and having heard that the United States revenue cruisers *Rush* and *Corwin* were about to be despatched to Behring Sea, delivered on the 14th June of the present year:—

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, has the honour, by instructions of his Government, to make to the Honourable J. G. Blaine, Secretary of State of the United States, the following communication:—

Her Britannic Majesty's Government have learnt with great concern, from notices which have appeared in the Press, and the general accuracy of which has been confirmed by Mr. Blaine's statements to the undersigned, that the Government of the United States have issued instructions to their revenue cruisers about to be despatched to Behring Sea, under which the vessels of British subjects will again be exposed, in the prosecution of their legitimate industry on the high seas, to unlawful interference at the hands of American officers.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government are anxious to co-operate to the fullest extent of their power with the Government of the United States in such measures as may be found to be expedient for the protection of the seal fisheries. They are at the present moment engaged in examining, in concert with the Government of the United States, the best method of arriving at an agreement upon this point. But they cannot admit the right of the United States of their own sole motion to restrict for this purpose the freedom of Behring Sea, which the United States have themselves in former years convincingly and successfully vindicated, nor to enforce their municipal legislation against British vessels on the high seas beyond the limits of their territorial jurisdiction.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government are, therefore, unable to pass over without notice the public announcement of an intention on the part of the Government of the United States to renew the acts of interference with British vessels navigating outside the territorial waters of the United States, of which they have previously had to complain.

The undersigned is in consequence instructed formally to protest against such interference, and to declare that Her Britannic Majesty's Government must hold the Government of the United States responsible for the consequences which may ensue from acts which are contrary to the principles of international law.

In his final despatch of 2nd August, Lord Salisbury reviews the history of the north-western possessions in North America. The Emperor Paul I., in 1799, granted by charter to the Russian American Company the exclusive right to hunt, trade, &c., from Behring Strait to 55 deg. N. lat., and even further south; and in 1821 a Russian ukase was issued granting exclusively to Russian subjects "the pursuits of commerce, whaling, and fishing, and of all other industry on all islands, ports, and gulfs, including the whole of the north-western coast of America, from Behring Sea to 51 deg. N. lat.," and prohibiting all foreign vessels, not only from landing, but from approaching within 100 Italian miles under pain of confiscation of vessel and cargo. Against this ukase the British and United States Governments, at once objected, and a long correspondence ensued between the Russian and American Governments, Mr. Adams going so far as to assert that "the United States can admit no part of these claims." On this declaration Lord Salisbury lays especial stress. He adds that Mr. Adams "clearly meant to deny that the Russian settlements or dis-

coveries gave Russia any claim as of right to exclude the navigation or fishing of other nations from any part of the seas on the coast of America, and that her rights in this respect were limited to the territorial waters of certain islands of which she was in permanent and complete occupation." After a discussion of the claim to exclude vessels for 100 miles from the coasts, and quotation from various international jurists as to the limit of territorial waters, Lord Salisbury concludes:—

These extracts show conclusively:—(1) That England refused to admit any part of the Russian claim asserted by the Ukase of 1821 to a maritime jurisdiction and exclusive right of fishing throughout the whole extent of that claim, from Behring Straits to the 51st parallel; (2) that the Convention of 1825 was regarded on both sides as a renunciation on the part of Russia of that claim in its entirety; and (3) that though Behring Straits was known and specifically provided for, Behring Sea was not known by that name, but was regarded as part of the Pacific Ocean.

The answer, therefore, to the questions with which Mr. Blaine concludes his despatch is that Her Majesty's Government have always claimed the freedom of navigation and fishing in the waters of Behring Sea outside the usual territorial limit of one marine league from the coast; that it is impossible to admit that a public right to fish, catch seals, or pursue any other lawful occupation on the high seas can be held to be abandoned by a nation from the mere fact that for a certain number of years it has not suited the subjects of that nation to exercise it.

It must be remembered that British Columbia has come into existence as a Colony at a comparatively recent date, and that the first considerable influx of population, some thirty years ago, was due to the discovery of gold, and did not tend to an immediate development of the shipping interest.

I have to request that you will communicate a copy of this despatch, and of its enclosures, to Mr. Blaine. You will state that Her Majesty's Government have no desire whatever to refuse to the United States any jurisdiction in Behring Sea which was conceded by Great Britain to Russia, and which properly accrues to the present possessors of Alaska in virtue of treaties or the law of nations; and that if the United States Government, after examination of the evidence and arguments which I have produced, still differ from them as to the legality of the recent captures in that sea, they are ready to agree that the question, with the issues that depend upon it, should be referred to impartial arbitration. You will in that case be authorised to consider, in concert with Mr. Blaine, the method of procedure to be followed.

LORD CARRINGTON ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

(SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CHRONICLE.)

WHEN such a man as Lord Carrington speaks on such a subject as Imperial Federation it is usually good to listen, even though we may not agree with all he says. The Governor of New South Wales has seen both sides of the question. His experience in the Colonial Office has been supplemented by his official connection with an important Colony, and with his comprehensive knowledge there is joined much sympathy with Australian aspirations. It has been said of him that "the public utterances of no man here or in England, who has undertaken to hold forth on the future prospects and policy of Australia, have better hit the happy medium between abject subservience to everything emanating from Downing Street, and bumptious contempt of everything English because it is English." He likes to take such an occasion as that afforded by the recent University Commemoration in Sydney to express his views on the more important public questions to which he can refer without infringing the unwritten laws that affect viceregal utterances, and he always says what he has to say in a finished and pleasing manner. His parallel between the constitution of a University and that of an Empire was happily conceived. In both cases there are apparent complexities that are really simple, and a bond that is really strong though seemingly loose and flexible. A public speaker, however, should always remember that illustrations are not arguments, and be on his guard against the danger of being led away by analogies into assuming what are really untenable positions. With all respect to Lord Carrington we venture to think that he fell into this mistake when he allowed himself to represent that, because the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies has been of mutual advantage in the past, it cannot be beneficially altered, and that closer union is among the things to be indefinitely postponed. We do not mean that he said this in so many words, but the whole tenor of his speech was in that direction. The gist of it is to be found in a single sentence. Lord Carrington quoted the pious aspiration of Lord Wolseley that "Heaven will send us a statesman wise enough to federate into one united Empire all the lands which acknowledge Victoria as their sovereign." Instead of joining the "the only General" in his devout wish, Lord Carrington asked the question whether we are not much better off as we are. This was followed by another question that conveys an innuendo scarcely worthy of the speaker—"Are we not overdone with good-meaning people who with their fads, theories, and nostrums, are much more likely to break us all up, and who by their interference with our common individuality, which is

our common strength, may ruin us all?" This is cheap sarcasm, but not argument. It is a little too bad of Lord Carrington to attempt in this manner to discount the efforts of those who are seeking to develop an idea of which he is the living representative.

One fact which seems to be forgotten by speakers who adopt the line of which this is an example, is that things cannot remain as they are. Lord Carrington himself is proof to the contrary. Under the old *regime*, the Colonial Office would never have thought of sending out anyone with his position and record at home to take the post he occupies. His is one of a series of appointments that indicate how "the old order changeth, giving place to new." And this is but one of a number of tokens equally clear. As the Australian Colonies increase in numerical strength, in productive capacity, and in accumulated wealth, their relations to the Mother Country must necessarily change. It must be impossible for them to remain in a condition of tutelage, and subordination is out of the question. As his lordship said, "the Colonists make their own laws, and when they please they protect their own manufactures against British trade without the slightest interference." Thus far they have gone on working out their destiny, till they have attained a condition of semi-independence, and the next step is fraught with momentous issues. A few other remarks may be quoted for their suggestiveness:—"There are many who hope to see them go further still; to see all privileges and honours accorded to Englishmen all over the world, to see Australian judges on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Australian barristers and solicitors free to practise in courts of law in England, and medical men educated in our University schools able to follow their profession in England, and leading statesmen members of the Privy Council. In fact so long as our happy connection lasts they would gladly see the highest distinction open to all parts of the English-speaking confederation." The audience cheered these observations to the echo, and no wonder. They express the best side of Australian ambition, and describe a condition of things to which we may very properly look forward. For such ideas to be realised, however, the notion must be utterly abolished that Queen Victoria reigns over three classes of subjects—Englishmen, colonists, and niggers. It must be obvious to the meanest intellect that, as a prelude to such a change, a condition of political equality will have to be reached, towards which no progress is possible if we are content to believe that "we are better as we are."

We need not delude ourselves into the belief that the greater regard for colonial feelings and the cultivation of colonial friendship at home are due to any sentimental awakening. As little should we credit the idea that the missions sent into savage countries, of which Lord Carrington spoke so approvingly, are despatched because of a humanising tendency or a charitable impulse. In both cases there is a solid foundation of practical business shrewdness. The goodwill of uncivilised potentates and people is sought for strictly commercial reasons, and the Colonies are valued because they are valuable. There was a time, not so very long ago, when a large and influential section of British politicians regarded the Colonies as more plague than profit, and were cheerfully willing for them to cut the painter whenever they liked. That class is not yet extinct, but it has been greatly diminished by the discovery that trade follows the flag, and that what were once deemed incumbrances are now sources of both strength and wealth. The growth of the Colonies in these respects necessarily involves larger demands based on positive rights. The case is something like that of sons who have not only grown up under their father's roof, but have been engaged in his business. For a length of time they are perfectly docile, and both receive benefits and give services quite as a matter of course, but a time comes when their individuality and natural rights assert themselves. It is recognised as essential for them to have a voice in the management of affairs and a share in the profits, or else to look out for themselves. The alternative is either a partnership or independence. The successive stages through which the component parts of the Empire have passed are not entirely dissimilar. Though we are mindful of the defectiveness of analogies in general, it may be claimed that this one is quite as sound as those on which Lord Carrington dwelt. The Colonies are assuredly drifting towards the parting of the ways, and it is not necessary for us to indicate which path is the most attractive and the best.

From America.—A correspondent who dates from Winchester, Massachusetts, U.S.A., writing to the Secretary of the League, says:—"The two circulars, 'What is Imperial Federation?' (the leaflet recently issued) and 'A Charter of National Unity,' are just what was needed. If you could spare me a few copies, I would place them where they would do good." He also sends the following extract from the *New York Nation*, which, he says, seems to express in a very clear way the end and aim of Imperial Federation:—"Regarding the British Empire as one great commercial enterprise, the project of Imperial Federation is to raise the Colonies from the position of dependents to that of partners in the concern."

WILL ENGLAND DISCRIMINATE?

A SIGNED article on the question whether England would in any case discriminate in favour of her Colonies, from the pen of Mr. M. J. O'Farrell, appears in the June number of *Young Australia*. We transcribe the concluding portion of the article:—

"I maintain, as I have said, that British Reciprocity is not a question of Free Trade or Protection as commonly understood. Free Traders hold that any artificial restriction on free exchange must be harmful. They say that if certain things can be produced in a foreign country of better quality, or more economically than at home, it is foolish to exclude them and compel their production locally; they urge that this is a waste of energy, and that it would be far better to exchange for such things others for the production of which local circumstances are favourable. Protectionists, on the other hand, say we must guard our workmen against the competition of the cheap labour of other lands; and urge that if they permit the products of such cheap foreign labour to be imported without restriction, they will be simply providing employment for foreigners at the expense of their own people.

"I think this is a fair statement of the case, and am not going to discuss which is right. I do not propose that the existing tariffs of any portion of the Empire shall be interfered with, I merely suggest that where import taxes are charged, an additional special tax shall be levied on non-British goods, and where no import taxes are levied that such a tax shall be imposed. The tax I advocate would not be established to protect labour or keep up wages, but as a bond of union, and a means of raising funds for the National Defence, so that it would not be a Protectionist tax in the ordinary sense. And when it is urged by Free Traders, as of course it will be, that if the people of the Empire throw any difficulties in the way of the importation of things they require, and which can be best produced in foreign countries, they are inconveniencing themselves, I reply that to a certain extent this is true, but that if from the proceeds of such a tax the fleets for the protection of the Commerce of the Empire are maintained, they will be nothing out of pocket; it will be simply a case of indirect taxation; besides, it is often necessary to inconvenience that we may be able to defend ourselves. And if British Federation is desirable, is it not worth inconveniencing ourselves a little to bring it about, and hold it together? That such a tariff as I advocate would help to bring it about and hold it together, there can be no question—at any rate, from a Colonial point of view—and it is from the position of a Colonist that I am discussing it. It may be that restriction on free interchange cannot logically be defended, but neither can war be defended. War is utterly brutal, wasteful, and horrible; yet we prepare for it, and engage in it, because human nature is so constituted that we have no choice in the matter. Constant warfare is the common lot of all living things; competition is but warfare, under another name.

"We are, I think, quite justified in adopting a policy of British Reciprocity, not because we fail to see all the advantages of unrestricted trade, not to protect our own industries or hurt those of our neighbours, but because it will be a strong bond of union."

In the succeeding (July) number of the same journal, Mr. David Bellhouse, the energetic secretary of the Christchurch (New Zealand) branch of the League, writes to express his agreement with Mr. O'Farrell's views. The subject receives considerable attention in that number. A long leader is devoted to it, and Mr. O'Farrell writes to explain his position in relation to our own article on "Imperial Reciprocity," in the May number of this Journal.

Side by side with these Australian views may be placed a Memorandum addressed by Mr. W. Farrer Ecroyd to Professor Ransome, the fifth article of whose "Charter" ran, it will be remembered, "That every effort should be used to create the closest and most favourable trade relations within the British Empire." Both writers, it will be observed, follow on the lines of the Hofmeyr scheme. This is, as we have before remarked, the most hopeful direction which any such propositions can take. Mr. Ecroyd's Memorandum is as follows:—

"The fiscal circumstances of the Dominion of Canada—and the coercive commercial policy of the United States towards her—show us very plainly that Political Union hangs on Commercial Union, and that your fifth point really comprehends, and would carry in its train, all the others. The Imperial Federation League appears to me a mere sentimental association, which is likely to evaporate in talk and empty aspiration. "*Qui veut la fin, veut les moyens*," is the first lesson to be learnt by those who would do anything real towards the promotion of Imperial Unity. Could the Commercial Federation of the Empire be agreed upon, all other points would easily be arranged—indeed, would naturally and inevitably follow. But England can never make one step towards Commercial Union whilst she adheres rigidly to the pedantic and insular system misnamed 'Free Trade.' Not a single foreign nation follows her lead in it, nor will any of her Colonies. It is, indeed,

utterly unsuited to the conditions of new and sparsely peopled communities. Premising that she cannot, under any circumstances, impose an import duty on the direct raw materials of her industries (*i.e.*, on articles which she buys to sell again under the condition of international competition), the only terms of Commercial Federation she could propose, with any prospect of success, would appear to be the following:—(1) That, except in the case of the direct raw materials of their competitive industries, each member of the Imperial Federation shall give an advantage of at least 10 per cent. to the productions and manufactures of all other members of the Federation, as against those of foreign nations. (2) That, subject to the above condition, each member shall be at liberty to adopt either the system of free imports, or of such import duties as it may deem advisable. For example: should Victoria impose an import duty of 25 per cent. upon British textiles, she must impose one of 35 per cent. on foreign textiles. Should Great Britain admit foreign wheat duty free, she must give a bounty of 10 per cent. on Indian and Colonial wheat; or, should she admit Indian and Colonial wheat duty free, she must impose a duty of 10 per cent. on foreign; or, should she admit foreign wheat under a duty of 5 per cent., she must then give a bounty of 5 per cent. on Indian and Colonial wheat. Should New South Wales admit English iron free, she must impose a duty of 10 per cent. on foreign iron; and so on. (3) The produce of all special duties—imposed for the purpose of giving this mutual preference of 10 per cent. to the various members of the Empire (and this would constitute a strong reason why that should be effected in all cases by duties rather than bounties)—should be divided into two moieties: the first to be retained by each member for the support of local militia, coast defences, &c.; and the second to form a common fund for Imperial defences. Such a scheme would leave almost perfect freedom and flexibility to the fiscal arrangements of the various members of the Empire, whilst it would link their industrial and commercial interests more closely by the tie of mutual preference, and so would inevitably direct the investment of British capital more to our own Dependencies rather than to foreign States. It would also provide a large and certain fund for Imperial defence—free from the perpetual difficulty of demands for special taxation and contributions.”

GENERAL JOUBERT AND THE SWAZI CONVENTION.

GENERAL JOUBERT, who represented the Transvaal on the Swazi Commission with Sir Francis de Winton, and lately arrived in this country, is in a position (says the *Times*) to express something more than an ordinary Dutch view of the Convention. His attitude towards it is one of strong disapprobation. His view of the situation is very briefly stated more or less as follows. . . . The dual Governments of the white population will not endure any more than the sovereignty of the native chiefs. Its elements are such that it must fail. . . . Let the administration of European Swaziland form a part of either the Cape Government or the Government of the Republic, and it has at least a solid basis. To suspend it, as it were, between them is to blow a bubble into the air, and before long it will be found that it has burst. Misrule will begin what anarchy will end. The conditions of the problem being what they are, especially in regard to the geographical position of Swaziland, the Transvaal is the power which will suffer most from disorder in Swaziland, and it has the greatest interest in seeing that it is properly ruled. The success of independence being impossible, and of dual government improbable, the Transvaal considers that Swaziland ought to have been openly and frankly handed over to the administration of the Boers. That this has not been done is, in General Joubert's opinion, due almost entirely to an unfounded prejudice nourished, not by public opinion in Africa, but by home opinion in England against the Boers.

It is not surprising that, taking this view of the Convention, the Transvaal should examine closely the price which it has been asked to pay for it. The right of passage to the sea is the only clause which General Joubert regards with hearty satisfaction. In exchange for this, however, a customs union is to be granted with the Cape, which will have the effect of considerably raising the already high tariff paid by the Dutch consumer. As the tariff now stands, the Transvaal charges a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* import duty upon all goods. A large proportion of her imports come from Natal, where the duty is 6 per cent. This brings the duty paid by an inhabitant of Johannesburg to 11 per cent. The Portuguese duty at Delagoa Bay is 3 per cent., goods coming *via* Delagoa therefore pay altogether 8 per cent. From the Cape the duty has been 15 *plus* 5 on the Transvaal frontier—in all, 20 per cent. According to the agreement of the customs union, 15 per cent. will henceforth be charged all round. This is very hard treatment of Natal, and prejudicial to the interests of the Dutch public. It is, in General Joubert's opinion, eminently undesirable that a customs union should be entered into with one South African Power to the exclusion of the others. He looks confidently forward to a union and

federation of the whole, and considers that every step taken should be taken with this end in view. The Dutch and English peoples of South Africa are ready and willing to work together. Their fusion he considers to be merely and inevitably a question of time, and the removal of the misapprehension which exists, not between the races where they have had the opportunity of knowing each other, but between the two central Governments. The Dutch people have the sincerest admiration for the English people. Their feeling is that there is no better Power and no better law in the world than the English. More than this, they are confident that their friendly feeling is reciprocated by all the best Englishmen who have had the opportunity of forming a personal opinion, and the union of the Dutch and English populations for the general welfare of South Africa is rapidly coming to be looked upon in the Transvaal as an essential condition of future progress. This being so, all that tends, as, in General Joubert's opinion, this Convention does, to give evidence of distrust on one side, and to produce friction on the other, is to be sincerely regretted.

THE BRITANNIC EMPIRE.

MR. J. CASTELL HOPKINS has been contributing to the *Dominion Illustrated* a series of signed articles under the above heading, in which the development and destiny of the various states of the Empire are passed in review. From the fifth of the series, which deals especially with Great Britain herself, we make the following extracts. After speaking of the material, moral, and political greatness of the United Kingdom the writer proceeds:—

“But will this greatness last? No living political organism can remain stationary, and within the British realm there are two widely divergent lines of thought and action—one being Imperialism or the feeling of a common nationality; the other—localism or a sentiment of geographical narrowness. Mr. Gladstone has said that—‘The sentiment of empire may be called innate in every Briton. It is part of our patrimony, born with our birth, dying only with our death, incorporating itself in the first elements of our knowledge, and interwoven with all our habits of mental action upon public affairs. . . . The dominant passion of England is extended Empire.’

“It may, I think, be taken for granted that the greatness of Britain to-day is wrapped up to a very considerable extent in the retention of her external Empire. The secession of Canada or Australia, or both, would mean, not only the loss of two-thirds of her territorial Empire, but a destruction of prestige sufficient to arouse the keenest fear as to the future of India. Reputation for power, not force, rules India and keeps her hundreds of millions in peace and quietness, and the inevitable result of such secession would be Russian aggression, internal rebellion, and the ultimate loss of the Eastern Empire. Sir Charles Dilke estimates a total of £800,000,000 sterling as the amount that England has invested in her dependencies, and when we consider that separation means lower credit, and, perhaps, fatal financial consequences for the Colonies, we may conclude that in view of this and many considerations, other than those already mentioned, Great Britain will not permit, let alone encourage, Colonial Independence. That is one tendency of the day, the other has been referred to elsewhere, namely, the feeling in Canada and Australia that it is absolutely essential for them in the future to obtain the full rights of national existence—if possible, under the British flag. How, then, can this be done, and how will it affect Great Britain?

“Earl Russell, in his celebrated ‘Recollections,’ remarks: ‘Great changes have been made, great changes are impending. Amid these changes there is no greater benefit to mankind than a statesman can propose for himself than the consolidation of the British Empire.’

“Imperial Federation is then the solution of the difficulty and the only solution which will carry these two apparently diverse currents into the same channel and enable them to flow calmly and surely into the same great sea of national life.

“From a British standpoint, the most important matter which requires to be dealt with is that of defence. There can be no question of the fact that Matthew Arnold's pen-picture of the ‘Weary Titan’ has some degree of force in it, and that the English artisan and farm labourer, not in many cases as well off as his brethren in the Colonies, has indeed a tremendous burden of Empire upon his shoulders. India, it is true, pays for her own defence; but what would happen were war really to break out with Russia? Who paid the £11,000,000 sterling voted to Mr. Gladstone's Government at the time of the Penjdeh incident? The British taxpayer. Australia has more than once practically asked England to go to war with Germany over the New Guinea question, and France over the New Hebrides. Canada has not been far behind with regard to her fisheries and the United States, and Newfoundland is just now to the front.”

Later on he says: “The British Government is pledged not only in honour, but from a just sentiment of national pride, to defend her Empire. To quote Mr. Gladstone once more: ‘She would never suffer her Colonies to be torn from her, and would no more grudge the cost of defending them against such

a consummation than the father of a family grudges the expense of the food necessary to maintain his children.' This does not, however, involve the obligation to adopt the dread alternative of war on account of every small aggression or trifling misunderstanding which may affect the relations of a Colony with any great nation with whom it comes in contact; while, on the other hand, the Colonies are not in a position to demand such vigorous action as they may desire, because they contribute not one iota to the general defence of the Empire—except in certain cases—and cannot ask as a right what may only be given as a favour, and at the cost of the citizens within the British Isles.

"These considerations must prove the unsatisfactory nature of the existing Imperial system, and to Great Britain itself the anomalies of the present relationship with great countries like Canada and Australia must be evident. Of course, while the Mother Country has all the responsibility and cost of controlling the foreign affairs of the Empire, she must have the sole executive authority; but it is becoming necessary to consider whether the surrender of a certain portion of that power to the self-governing States of the realm in return for a corresponding assumption of responsibility on their part is not rapidly assuming the proportions of a great national problem which must be solved. The other alternative of permitting future separation is one which could never commend itself to the approval of any sensible or patriotic Briton. With the loss of Canada and Australia would go the control of the seas in time of war. The laws of neutrality would prevent the use of the coaling stations on the Atlantic and Pacific, and the great harbours on the coasts of Canada and Australasia."

"RECKLESS EXAGGERATION."

THE observations we made in June on Mr. Gossip's late paper in the *United Service Magazine* are echoed in stronger tones than we ventured to use by the *Western Mail* (Perth, Western Australia). That paper says in an article under the heading "Imperial Federation":—"The much discussed question of Imperial Federation occupies a prominent place in the English magazines for the month of May. The *United Service* and *Blackwood's* both devote articles to it, and each is eminently useful of its kind. In the *United Service*, under the heading 'Obstacles to Imperial Federation,' we are given, from the pen of a Mr. G. H. D. Gossip, what purports to be an Australian's view. The description is perhaps to a certain degree correct, but though Mr. Gossip may claim to give the opinions of an Australian, his views cannot be described as generally Australian. A writer who describes the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* as 'the leading journal of New South Wales,' who goes for all his press quotations to its columns, and to those of the *Australian Star*, who relies on the *Dubbo Liberal*, the *Sydney Bulletin*, the *Republican*, and the *Northern Miner* to support his case, and never once mentions the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Argus*, the *Age*, the *Brisbane Courier*, the *South Australian Register*, all journals which hold the first place in their respective Colonies,—a writer capable of all this can scarcely be considered impartial or reliable. He is, however, a vigorous exponent of the Separatist view, and if reckless exaggerations will awaken the British public from their condition of habitual torpidity on Colonial questions—well, it is excusable."

The writer then discusses the article in *Blackwood*, and concludes with the following:—"This would necessitate the creation of a new Parliament, an Imperial Parliament in the true sense of the word. The difficulties in the way of a change like this are, of course, neither slight nor few. But there is a tendency if anything to exaggerate the obstacles and to avoid a resolute grappling with them. By comparison, a legislative union for Imperial purposes between England and her Colonies, scarcely seems a more formidable undertaking than the legislative union of Scotland and England in the time of Queen Anne. So far as attendance is concerned, it certainly would be as easy, if not easier, for Australian members to travel to London, than it was in the days of the Scotch Union for the Scottish representatives to reach St. Stephen's. One great obstacle to Imperial Federation is that on neither side of the water has it evoked any general enthusiasm. When the separation cloud looms darker, Federation of the Empire may raise to the dignity of a Cause, and then objections will perhaps vanish a good deal quicker than many people now expect. But there will, it is to be feared, still be the difficulty of preserving a balance of power between the United Kingdom and the confederating Colonies."

Behring Sea.—The paper from which the following extract is taken is entirely loyal to the British connection, which makes this expression of opinion worth recording:—"To permit the United States Government to rule the open sea with a high hand, in defiance of international law, and to capture and plunder Canadian vessels at its own sweet will, as hitherto, would certainly go far to convince Canadians of the uselessness of expecting protection from the Mother Country against any aggressive action it may please her powerful and capricious neighbour to take.—*The Week* (Toronto).

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

1 JULY—31 JULY.

JULY 1.

IN the House of Commons—

CAPE COLONY AND WALFISCH BAY.

MR. BUCHANAN asked whether the Government would undertake not to make any cession of territory at Walfisch Bay without the consent of the Cape Colony.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said there was no question of cession of territory.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL.

In Committee—

The remaining clauses having been agreed to without discussion,

MR. RATHBONE moved the following new clause:—

"Any act of the Legislature of Western Australia authorising the imposition of restrictions on the immigration of British subjects into Western Australia, other than persons who have been convicted of crime, shall be void."

BARON H. DE WORMS opposed the clause on behalf of the Government. He pointed out that the course proposed was entirely without precedent. The other Australian Colonies had received responsible government, but no such regulation was ever imposed on them, and if Western Australia was entitled to responsible government the House would not be justified in imposing on her restrictions that were entirely foreign to those imposed on the other Australian Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

SIR G. CAMPBELL thought it would be of no use to impose on Western Australia terms different from those imposed on the other Australian Colonies. He certainly thought that some such regulation should be imposed on all the Colonies, but he doubted whether Her Majesty's Government would have the courage to do so. The question was whether the white subjects of Her Majesty should be allowed to emigrate to the Colonies. The Government ought not to submit to be tyrannised over by the Colonies; for if Great Britain extended to them her protection they should be made to understand that they could not deny her reasonable demands. The terms of the present connection between the Colonies and Great Britain were unfair and humiliating to this country.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL pointed out that no Australian Legislature had yet imposed restrictions on the immigration of British subjects.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON moved a new clause to the effect that Western Australia should not have control over extra-territorial waters. This was necessary because the Federal Council of Australasia had passed an Act delegating the power to deal with those matters to Western Australia.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said the schedule of the Bill did not touch the question at all. The Federal Council of Australasia had dealt with the matter and settled it in an Act which had been approved by Her Majesty, and it would be quite inconsistent with anything in the Bill, which did not propose to deal with fishery regulations. He did not admit that the House had before it any facts upon which they could come to the conclusion that the Federal Council had delegated their power, or done anything which they had not a right to do. But even if it were so, that was not a matter which had to do with this Bill.

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON thought that they had a right, in connection with these new powers, to demand that this Act, which prejudiced Englishmen fishing in these waters, should be withdrawn.

The clause was negatived, and the Bill reported to the House.

JULY 3.

IN the House of Commons

BERMUDA.

SIR J. COLOMB asked the Secretary of State for War whether he could state what was the aggregate number of members of the seven committees which, without a common link between them, had at different times advised the Secretary of State with regard to the defences of Bermuda, referred to in paragraph 65, page xxii., Report of the Royal Commission on the Naval and Military Departments; and what was the aggregate number of naval, military, and civilian members respectively who served on those committees.

MR. E. STANHOPE: Twenty-seven military, five naval officers, and fourteen civilians at one time or another have been consulted as to some part of this question. The case referred to could not occur under the organisation now in force.

GUNS FOR TABLE BAY.

MR. HANBURY asked the Secretary of State for War whether his attention had been called to complaints in the Cape Parliament that the Imperial Government had not carried out their part of the contract in regard to the armament of Table Bay forts, whereas the Cape Government had fulfilled their part of the agreement in the construction of earthworks, and otherwise—what was the cause of the delay?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Out of 40 guns for these forts, 31 have been issued, and of the remainder all that are practically important should be issued by September, and the whole by the end of the year.

THE CAPE GOVERNMENT AND DAMARALAND.

In reply to MR. S. LEIGHTON,

BARON H. DE WORMS said: Some confidential communications have passed with the Cape Ministers on the subject of German influence over the immense territories of Damaraland and Namaqualand lying adjacent to British territory in South Africa; but it would not be desirable to state the effect of them, as negotiations are going on.

NAVAL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

In Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates—

MR. STANHOPE explained the views of the Government upon the report of the Commission presided over by the Marquess of Hartington. With regard to the recommendation that a Naval and Military Council should be established for the purpose of considering questions affecting the War Office and the Admiralty, it was proposed to form a Naval and Military Council within the Cabinet, under the presidency of the Prime Minister. Matters affecting the Colonies entered into these questions, and MR. STANHOPE was understood to imply that the Secretary of State for the Colonies would be a member of such Council.

JULY 4.

IN the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND.

CAPTAIN VERNER asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Her Majesty's Government recognised any treaty rights with the

French to catch lobsters on the coasts of Newfoundland, or to establish lobster factories on any part of the shores.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The answer is that Her Majesty's Government do not recognise such a right. Their view is stated at length in Lord Salisbury's Note to M. Waddington of March 28, 1889, page 231 of the Blue Book.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL.

On the third reading of this Bill,

SIR J. COLOMB asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to state what was the nature of the reservation made by the Government in respect of the region of King George's Sound.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that on this subject, which was one of considerable importance, the Committee upstairs heard evidence, and decided that the Secretary of State ought to communicate without delay with the Government of Western Australia, with the object of reserving in the region of King George's Sound certain lands for purposes of defence. The reservation was not to take the character of land garrisoned by English troops, but was to be in the nature of a reserve for Colonial defence, fortified by the Colony itself, the armament being supplied by Her Majesty's Government. All the lands in the immediate neighbourhood of King George's Sound which were at all likely to be required in connection with the defence of the port had been reserved. As long as the reservation should exist, it would not be possible to sell the lands or apply them to other purposes.

The Bill was read a third time.

JULY 7.

In the House of Commons—

BECHUANALAND.

In answer to MR. BAUMANN,

BARON H. DE WORMS said: The construction of the telegraph line in question was under consideration by Her Majesty's Government in the early part of last year as a Government work, but it was arranged that its construction should be undertaken by the British South Africa Company. The line is practically a Government concern; and as it is essential to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, it will be carried on with or without the chiefs' consent. Sir Sidney Shippard has recently been in the Protectorate with the view of obtaining their willing assent to the work, and it is not anticipated that they will ultimately oppose it. As regards the second and third paragraphs of the question, the duties of the Administrator in relation to the Company are prescribed in Clause 30 of the Charter. His recent conduct is not inconsistent with Clause 2 of the Charter. In answer to the last paragraph, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government intend to give effect to the terms of the Charter.

WALFISCH BAY.

In answer to MR. LEIGHTON,

MR. W. H. SMITH said: The question of the hon. member is based on a misapprehension of the facts. The southern boundary of the Walfisch Bay territory has, unfortunately, not been accurately defined. Discussions have consequently arisen between the authorities of the Cape and the German authorities in Damaraland, as to whether it includes certain land which, as a water station, is of importance to the road from the coast to the interior. Her Majesty's Government have invariably supported the view of the Cape Government, and have never proposed a settlement in favour of Germany. An attempt to settle the difference by a joint commission failed, as Colonel Phillips, the British Commissioner, and his German colleague could not agree. Provisions for referring the matter to arbitration are inserted in the Anglo-German Agreement. No such map as is indicated can be furnished, as no joint delimitation has ever been made. The views of the Commissioners were hopelessly divergent.

JULY 10.

In the House of Lords—

HELIGOLAND.

LORD SALISBURY moved the second reading of the Anglo-German Agreement Bill. Having explained that the object of the measure was to confirm that portion of the Agreement signed at Berlin on the 1st inst., which provided for the cession of Heligoland to Germany, he described the circumstances under which this country acquired Heligoland during the great war with Napoleon. The value of the island for any strategical purposes was, he alleged, now small: it was entirely unfortified, and it had no harbour. Lying, moreover, within a few hours' sail of the great arsenals of Germany, if the island remained in our possession it could easily be taken by that Power in war before the arrival of a relieving force, thus exposing us to considerable humiliation. On the other hand, if we were at war with any other Power, the island could only be defended by the locking up there of a force which could be ill spared amid the pressing demands of our extended and increasing Empire. The Government had therefore come to the conclusion that Heligoland was a possession with which, for an adequate consideration, it would be well to part. He did not believe that the inhabitants were opposed to the transfer, but the case was one in which Imperial considerations must be held paramount. He then went on to describe the consideration which had been obtained for the cession.

LORD ROSEBERY urged that, with regard to the cession of Heligoland, we ought to be sure that we were not giving away any naval or military advantage which was essential to us; and he held that the opinions of the islanders, who appeared to be averse to the transfer, ought not to be absolutely disregarded. He also twitted Lord Knutsford with changing his mind in respect to that particular cession. He intimated, in conclusion, that he would not oppose the second reading of the Bill, being unwilling to see the foreign policy of this country drawn into the vortex of party strife.

LORD KNUTSFORD having briefly vindicated his own consistency in regard to Heligoland,

LORD GRANVILLE generally endorsed the views expressed by Lord Rosebery.

LORD SALISBURY having replied, the Bill was read a second time.

JULY 11.

In the House of Commons—

INDIAN AND COLONIAL POSTAGE.

MR. J. M. CAMERON asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the reduction in the rates of Indian and Colonial postage, as stated in his Budget speech, would take effect.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am informed that a majority of the Australian Colonies have agreed to the reduction, while New Zealand and the Cape are prepared to assent under certain conditions. Some important points have been raised by the Indian

Government, which are still under discussion. It is impossible to say when the negotiations will be finally arranged, and the date fixed for the reduction to take effect.

JULY 14.

In the House of Lords—

WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION BILL.

LORD KNUTSFORD moved the second reading of this Bill, which, he explained, was the same measure as the one which their lordships passed last year, with this exception—that the two clauses restricting the powers of the Colonial Legislature in respect to the Colonial lands and to emigration were omitted from the Bill as it now came up from the Commons, where it had been carefully examined by a strong Select Committee, who received valuable evidence from important witnesses.

LORD KIMBERLEY strongly approved of the alterations made in the Bill by the other House; and LORD NORTON heartily congratulated the Colonial Secretary on his successful conduct of the measure.

The Bill was read a second time.

JULY 17.

In the House of Commons—

COLONIAL DEFENCE.

In reply to SIR G. CAMPBELL—

BARON H. DE WORMS said: Her Majesty's Government have given much consideration to this subject, and have determined that the military contributions of the Colonies must be increased where such contributions are inadequate. No demand, except for the present year, has yet been made upon Ceylon or Mauritius, the amount to be claimed being under discussion. No question has been raised as to Natal. An increased contribution has been demanded from the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong.

JULY 24.

In the House of Commons—

CESSION OF HELIGOLAND.

SIR J. FERGUSSON, in moving the second reading of the Anglo-German Agreement Bill, defended the cession of Heligoland, on the ground that it was of no material or strategical importance to us, whilst in return for it Germany had made large concessions in regard to our sphere of influence in Africa, which seemed likely to be fraught with important results to British enterprise and trade. The Heligolandians had at first been deceived with regard to the terms of the cession; but when it became known that all their immunities would be secured to them, and that they would have the option of electing to remain British subjects, they were entirely satisfied. The children of those remaining British subjects would be exempt from military service.

MR. GLADSTONE, as regarded the cession of Heligoland, raised no objection to it in principle, and, in the absence of any expression of dissent from the Heligolandians, he thought it was the duty of the country to accept the assurance of the Government that it was not objectionable to the people of Heligoland, and especially he approved the provision that the children of Heligolandians exercising the option given them to continue British subjects would also become British subjects. He next entered upon an elaborate argument with reference to our constitutional practice in regard to treaties involving the cession of territory, and he contended that treaties ought to be effected by the Crown on the responsibility of Ministers, and not by legislation, which he pointed out would have the effect of halving with the House of Lords a control which, he maintained, had always devolved on the House of Commons; and he declined, he said, to take part in setting up a new precedent in so important a particular without more consideration.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, SIR W. HARCOURT, MR. A. G. BALFOUR, SIR H. DAVEY, and other Members having spoken,

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, dealing with the constitutional aspect of the question, maintained that the Government were not setting a precedent in asking Parliament to sanction a treaty, and he referred especially to a *dictum* of MR. GLADSTONE in reference to the proposed cession of the Gambia to France in 1870, in which he expressly declared that territory could not be given up by the Crown without the consent of Parliament.

JULY 25.

In the House of Commons—

CESSION OF HELIGOLAND.

The debate on this Bill was resumed, and the second reading was ultimately carried upon a division by 209 to 61.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

In reply to SIR G. CAMPBELL—

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: If the hon. member refers to Act 28 Geo. III., c. 35, that Act was repealed by the Statute Law Revision Act, 1871. It has long ceased to be operative, for it only purported to give effect to the treaty of 1783, which was terminated by the subsequent war. French fishing rights are now derived from the treaty of 1814, which replaced them on the same footing as they stood on in 1792. An Act of 5 Geo. IV., c. 51, was afterwards passed, giving effect to any treaties respecting Newfoundland which were then in force. This was a temporary Act, but was continued by 2 and 3 William IV., c. 79, until December 3, 1834, when it lapsed.

Her Majesty's Government do not find themselves unable to enforce the *modus vivendi*.

JULY 28.

CESSION OF HELIGOLAND.

This Bill was passed through Committee and read a third time.

JULY 31.

CAPE COLONY AND THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

In answer to MR. CHANNING—

BARON H. DE WORMS said: Her Majesty's Government have seen the report of Mr. Rhodes' notice of motion in the newspapers. Communications in respect of Walfisch Bay and Damaraland passed with the Cape Ministers before the Anglo-German Agreement was signed. The High Commissioner also made various communications to Her Majesty's Government relating to the retention of Lake Ngami and the keeping open of the route northwards. Her Majesty's Government can give no such general pledge, as to taking the opinion of the Colonial authorities in future negotiations, as the hon. member for East Northampton proposes in the third paragraph of his question; but it may be affirmed that every opportunity which is possible will be given to Colonies directly affected by international negotiations to lay their views before Her Majesty's Government.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE, LONDON, W.

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SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., G.C.S.I., M.P.
SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B.
(High Commissioner for Canada).
ALEX. TURNBULL (West Indies).
THE RIGHT HON. SIR HARRY VERNEY, BART.
C. E. HOWARD VINCENT, C.B., M.P.
SIR FREDERICK A. WELD, G.C.M.G.
H. F. WILSON.
JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. (Vice-Pre-
sident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION

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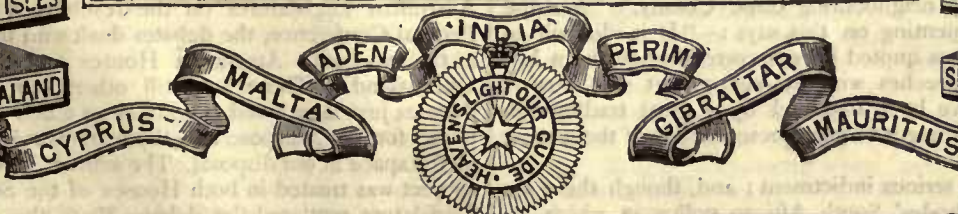
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Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER 1, 1890.

MR. RHODES AND SOUTH AFRICA.

IF one of Mr. Rhodes' objects in talking be to get talked about, he has no cause to feel disappointed. Since the debate in the Cape Parliament on the effect of the Anglo-German agreement upon the territories surrounding Walfisch Bay, a few words from an after-dinner speech delivered by the new Premier at Kimberley early in September have been telegraphed home, and have attracted a good deal of attention. We have already referred briefly to the motion proposed by Sir Thomas Upington, and carried, as amended by Mr. Rhodes, in the Cape Parliament, by which a practical claim was asserted on the part of the Colony to a dominant voice in all South African matters up to the Zambesi. In his later utterance at Kimberley Mr. Rhodes is reported, in referring to northern extension, to have expressed the conviction that within the lifetime of those present "Cape Colony would be stretched to the Zambesi;" while Sir Thomas Upington, who kindly acted as "bonnet" to the Premier in the debate before alluded to, is reported to have said that "the interior of Africa was being opened up for and by this Colony." And again Mr. Rhodes himself, speaking of the opposition offered to the extension of the Imperial position in Bechuanaland, said in his place in Parliament:—"I interfered in the interior because I wished the movement to the interior to be conducted as an expansion of the Cape Colony. I interfered in the case of Bechuanaland, and the result is that that Colony will in the end belong to the Cape Colony. When there was a suspicion that the Imperial officers wished to make it a native reserve, or a reserve governed by a peculiar characteristic, namely, that no Dutchmen need apply, I interfered, and claimed that Bechuanaland should be an inheritance of the Cape Colony; and it was only a development of that feeling which led me to act as I did in regard to the north." Side by side with these only too plain utterances may be placed the following words, addressed by Mr. Rhodes as long ago as last May to his constituents at Barkly. Referring to the advance as far as Mafeking, and his own part in the events leading to it, he said on that occasion:—"I look upon the Imperial Government as a good, kind mother who prepares the way for us in this country, and when we are fitted to take it over she hands it on to us."

Such and such-like utterances of Mr. Rhodes, since and shortly before his assumption of the Premiership of Cape Colony, go far to justify those who questioned the expediency from an Imperial standpoint of the combination in his person of that office with the direction of the affairs of the South Africa Company. Nor will Mr. Rhodes be greatly surprised if, in the face of some of these frank avowals of his policy and intentions, as made to the people of the Cape, writers should be found to compare them with the views of South African policy enunciated by him when in England obtaining support for his chartered company. A correspondent of an influential paper in the north of England says:—"Mr. Rhodes' policy is, without disguise, that what cost the British Government over a million of money should become 'the inheritance' of one of the local South African Governments—that of the Cape Colony; that Bechuanaland, instead of being held by the British Government for all South Africa and for Britain, should become the property of the Cape Colony; and that the policy pursued there should be dictated, not by Britain in the first instance, and till local government could be established, but by the Parliament of the neighbouring Cape Colony." And the same paper, commenting on this, says:—"It is difficult to read the expressions quoted by our correspondent from Mr. Rhodes' recent speeches without feeling that vast powers and privileges have been obtained by a great trading corporation on the strength of misrepresentations of the gravest character."

Now this is a serious indictment; and, though there are points in Mr. Rhodes' South African policy in which we are and must evidently remain at variance with him, we

should be sorry to think that he will be unable to clear himself of the charge of double-facedness—of having one voice for England and another for Cape Colony. Meanwhile there are at hand other passages in the same speeches from which it is possible to draw more satisfactory inferences. On the Walfisch Bay question his amendment, it will be remembered, which was in reality rather a rider or addition to the resolution, asserted the right of the Colony to be consulted on all matters affecting territories up to the Zambesi; and he said in moving it:—"His policy was asserted in his amendment: the right of the country to have its voice heard in matters relating to it. That was not at all incompatible with the relations that existed between Cape Colony and the Mother Country. The policy he meant was a South African policy, but one that would be conducive to the retention of our sentiments and our ties to the Mother Country." That the Cape as well as any other Colony ought to be consulted, even under existing arrangements, "in matters relating to it" is a proposition that no friend of the Colonies will be inclined to dispute. But the question is, what does "relate to" the Cape Colony in South Africa? When Mr. Rhodes goes on to say, as he does, that it is "the dominant state, and negotiations with reference to these territories should come from the Cape itself," we feel bound to withhold our assent, both in the interests of all the rest of South Africa itself and of the whole Empire. Mr. Dicey, some of whose remarks in a recent *Nineteenth Century* are quoted elsewhere, expresses a doubt whether Mr. Rhodes, any more than himself, is a believer in Imperial Federation as a practical scheme of working politics. Nevertheless, we trust he still retains sufficient faith in its principles, to which he expressed such warm attachment in England, to see that it is not until it has been made "a practical scheme of working politics," and the Cape has undertaken her share of some of the burdens and responsibilities of the Empire, that she can claim "to make her voice heard" in what are really Imperial concerns. As to the question of "dominance" in South Africa itself, that is one for the future to settle. However, we are glad to score up to Mr. Rhodes' credit so much of the above as makes for union. We can also, we believe, absolve him in advance from the charge of doubtful loyalty laid at his door by several English papers on account of a certain sentence in the telegraphic extracts from his Kimberley speech. He defined a South African union (and South African unity is another part of his general policy to be placed on the right side of his account) as consisting of a Customs Union and complete internal railway connection; and then, in the telegraphic summary, he is reported to have added, "The question of the flag may be settled in the future." This has been interpreted to mean that it is an open question whether the British or some other flag shall continue to float over South Africa. We do not believe, for a moment, Mr. Rhodes meant anything of the kind. What he doubtless meant, and probably said, was that such a union as he described was possible whether the Transvaal and Free State came under the flag of the Empire or not. And here we must take leave of Mr. Rhodes for the present, trusting and believing that fuller reports of this, at present, rather enigmatical speech of his at Kimberley, and still more his future utterances, whether parliamentary or post-prandial, will confirm and justify the good opinion we are anxious to retain of his soundness as a statesman of the Empire.

FEDERATION DEBATES IN AUSTRALIA.

WE continue the series of extracts from the debates in the Australian Legislatures on the resolutions passed by the Federal Conference, the debates dealt with this month being in the two South Australian Houses and the Assembly in Queensland. There are still others to come, but the debates just mentioned contained so much that was to the point for our purpose that the extracts made from them fill all the space at our disposal. The manner in which the whole subject was treated in both Houses of the South Australian Legislature rendered the debates there the most solid and valuable contribution made to the discussion of the resolutions

by any of the Colonies. The debates in New South Wales were protracted and discursive, not to say frothy, and were moreover conducted so much on party lines as to detract greatly from the interest or weight of the speeches from an outside point of view. In Victoria the matter was only perfunctorily discussed, the feeling there being apparently that, as no one opposed the principle of the proposed Convention, the delegates should attend it with their liberty unfettered, all matters except the fundamental principles laid down by the resolutions of the Conference being left to be dealt with in the Colonial Legislature, after seeing what course the Convention itself should have taken upon them; and then of course will come the tug of war. In Queensland, too, there were good debates, and many speeches delivered of considerable interest; whilst in Tasmania, though some difference of opinion displayed itself, the main fight was over an internal dispute between the two Houses upon the appointment of delegates. The debates in South Australia alone were of a thoroughly practical and serviceable character. The speeches, which were entirely aloof from party, showed in many instances the results of considerable thought and study. Federation had evidently been considered both on its abstract and historical side and from the practical standpoint of its application to Australia, and in particular from that of the speakers' own Colony. And although there exists without doubt much anxiety in that Colony as to the effect of Victorian competition, under intercolonial free trade, upon her own less mature industries, the debates most completely vindicated South Australia, as Mr. Kingston claimed, from the charge of being unfavourable to Australasian Federation.

On another ground too it is as agreeable as it is reassuring to turn from the so-called nationalism of Mr. Dibbs, and the cheap clap-trap of some of his supporters in Sydney, to the utterances of the late and present Premiers and other prominent members of the South Australian Legislature, on the all-important subject of the relation between Australian Federation and the maintenance of National Unity. Dr. Cockburn, who, as Premier, moved the resolutions in the Lower House, said, "There was not a member of that House who would not be sorry to see Federation lead to any lessening of their loyalty." And when he went on to say that "they could not, however, shut their eyes to the fact that, in one of the Colonies at least, a number of persons were advocating Federation on no other ground but that of separation," this reference to Mr. Dibbs and his following elicited from a member the interpolation "A very small number." Dr. Cockburn, however, expressed his own opinion that, though the Governor-General of Australia would, after Federation, be the only visible bond of union left, there was no room to fear any weakening of the real ties with the Old Country. The then leader of the Opposition, Mr. Playford, since again become Premier, referring to Dr. Cockburn's remarks on Separatism in Sydney, said "He knew that the Sydney *Bulletin*, and possibly one or two other papers, advanced the idea, but he had not met with it anywhere else, and he was confident that the general view taken of the matter tended in an opposite direction. (Cheers.) Federation would not loosen the ties that bound us to the British Empire, but must strengthen those bonds, and eventually they would see the Empire consisting of a Confederation in which they should form one part, Canada and possibly the United States forming another, for the purpose of protecting themselves against foreign aggression." This last passage, too, and more to the same effect, was greeted with the cheers of the Assembly. We commend the whole of the extracts we have made from the debate to the careful perusal of our readers.

The debate in the Queensland Assembly, dealing as most of the speakers did with large generalities, lacked the useful and practical character of the ones we have just been referring to; nor perhaps was it to be expected that the northern Colony would afford examples of the same thorough-going ideas of union with the Mother Country, and even of actual Federation with her, as those expressed by the leaders of South Australian opinion. At the same time the voice of disloyalty was scarcely heard, and separation only spoken of as a question of the distant future. Perhaps the most

curious incident in the debate was the rôle assumed by Sir Samuel Griffith, who felt bound, we suppose, to play a little to "the people." He was, he said, "beginning to grow tired of being called a Colonist." That is intelligible enough, no doubt, when one comes to think of it, though some people may wonder that such case-hardened people as lawyers and politicians should fidget about a name. He went on to say that "the time had quite arrived when the name of Australians should be considered as no less honourable than that of Englishmen." No less honourable in one sense, no doubt; but most Australians would, we think, allow that as yet there has hardly been time enough for quite the same growth of honourable memories and traditions of greatness to centre round the name. Sir Samuel defines Federation, as he understands it, to mean "the establishment upon the Australian continent of an Australian nation, which should take its place as an equal and ally of the British nation, with the common bond of the Crown;" and with such a definition we have no fault to find, as it is not incompatible with what we too understand by Imperial Federation. But we have always regarded Sir Samuel Griffith's views as, in the main, sound. Mr. Macrossan made a great and very able speech, and said Federation did not mean separation from the Mother Country, though, like many others, he recognised that as the ultimate, if remote, destiny of Australia. Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, though he "did not want a little bit of the Imperial Federation fad," which he feared would have been introduced into the family pie by New Zealand—whose "graceful retirement" he therefore regarded with satisfaction—nevertheless avoided striking the note of separation or disloyalty to the Crown. He was very amusing, of course unconsciously, on the subject of China, which country, he said, "had never taken Australia in the past," and what chance then was there of her doing so now? But we have no space to quote this and other passages from other speeches both in the Queensland and South Australian Legislatures, some of which are really worth preserving. We must find a corner for them next month. It should be noted here that the New Zealand House of Representatives, after declining by a small majority to appoint delegates to the Convention at all, resolved a few days later to be represented by delegates not clothed with any power to commit the Colony. At present we have nothing but the barest telegraphic news of this. Apart from the general disinclination to throw in their lot with Australia, there is a strong party in New Zealand, of which Mr. Ballance, leader of the Opposition, is the head, with leanings to Imperial Federation, and, at any rate, fighting very shy of anything which might even remotely threaten the maintenance of the Imperial connection.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

No. IV.

By JEHU MATHEWS.

IN my third paper I have tried to prove the governmental institutions of the Empire to be already, to a large extent, federal in character, and capable of being utilised for definitely federal services at the cost of a small amount of innovation. If these conclusions be correct, the adaptation of Federalism to our Empire shrinks from the colossal task of Anti-Federalist imagination into another of the many modifications which have converted the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemote into the Imperial Parliament. The forthcoming change might be specially difficult; but it would be specially facilitated by the facts that legislators would clearly understand the *desideratum* aimed at; that they would find nearly all the administrative machinery already in order, and that they would be aided by the experience of a century, fruitful beyond precedent in constitution-making. Seeing that 100 years ago American delegates, denuded of these important aids to legislation, managed to devise a purely new constitution for the United States, I cannot see why British statesmen, when possessed of them, should now be unable to modify an old one for the British Empire.

It may possibly be replied that they might be able to modify it on paper, but would be unable to realise their

work in practice. Here, however, we may advantageously inquire how much of the required modification has already been actually realised in practice. Until within the last few years, the Imperial Government has had the control of diplomacy and questions of peace and war in its own hands exclusively; and at the same time it garrisoned each and every part of the Empire, supplying and controlling all the armaments needed for its defence. If I have succeeded in showing that a Pan-Britannic Federation could be effectively held together by united action on diplomacy, armaments, finance and commerce, it appears that the only new work for a federal Government would be the establishment and administration of a system of federal finance and commerce, for the old Imperial authority has already discharged the other half of the duties of the new one. Nay, this, too, it did satisfactorily, until Fatherland began to murmur at bearing the cost of armaments for ungrateful offspring; and offspring began to grumble at accepting treaties and policies in the adoption of which they had no voice, and in which their interests were alleged to be neglected. Federation, if honestly accepted, would silence these recriminations, as it would assign to each part a definite share in the control and sustenance of the Government. With loyal subjects content to share Imperial prerogatives and Imperial burdens, one central authority could certainly manage diplomacy and armaments, not merely as well as did the Imperial Government from 1783 to almost our own day, but even much better than ever it did. And this it could do from the facts that it would be assisted by counsellors from all quarters; would find distance practically reduced 75 per cent. for locomotion, and annihilated for communication; and would have to support it an active population double, to treble, that of the United Kingdom 50 to 100 years ago. That under these improved conditions, one central authority would prove competent to manage diplomacy and armaments, I regard as having been fully demonstrated by experience, and pass on to inquire as to its competence to establish and administer a system of federal finance and commerce.

The probable amount of the federal expenditure must be the first point of attention, and here we shall find very much light from the Imperial expenditure of to-day. The expenditure of the United Kingdom, like that of every national Government, includes the expenses which in a Federation are divided between the federal and local Governments. In the financial year 1887-8 its total expenditure was £87,423,000.¹ Under Federalism certain items of this amount would have fallen upon the Federation as constituting the federal expenditure to be defrayed by all, and certain others on the British Islands alone, as constituting their own local expenditure—like the Colonial expenditure of the present day. The manner of partition would depend upon the nature of the services on which the sums were expended. Here it will probably be agreed that, excepting the Civil List, all the items of the Consolidated Fund, consisting almost entirely of national debt charges, would be local items; and that all the grants for civil services, excepting the item for foreign and Colonial services, would also fall on the local Government. This partition, then, would give us the following local expenditure:—

Consolidated Fund	...	...	£27,971,995
Civil Services	...	...	£18,210,000
			£46,181,995
Deduct for Civil List and Foreign and Colonial Services	...	...	£1,027,338
Net Local Expenditure	...	...	£45,154,657

Following these there are three items which I would call doubtful, those for the Post Office, Telegraph, and Packet services. Charge of these might be assigned to either federal or local authority; but such assignment would be to the financial advantage of the authority securing it. It is true that the expenditure in 1888 was—Post Office, £5,403,438; Telegraphs, £1,940,012; and Packets, £697,900; making a total of £8,041,350. But the revenue accruing from these services was £12,007,055, leaving a balance of £3,965,705 of revenue without taxation, which would have gone into the coffers of whichever

Government had charge of them. The least favourable view for federal finance would consequently be to suppose that the local Governments would control these services, and this would leave federal expenditure, according to the rate in the above year, as follows:—

Civil List	...	...	£410,470
Foreign and Colonial Services	...	...	616,868
The Army	...	...	13,167,196
The Navy	...	...	12,325,357
Customs and Inland Revenue Collection	...	...	2,707,746
Total	...	...	£34,227,737

In defrayal of these expenses there would, however, have accrued £507,428 from the Crown Lands, and £243,253 from the Suez Canal shares, leaving the amount to have been raised by taxation all over the Federation £33,477,956, which would have been reduced to £29,512,251, with the Post Office, Telegraph, and Packet services under the control of the federal authority. A further decrease seems to me likely to have accrued in either case on the item for the cost of collection of customs and inland revenue, as the amount whose cost of collection it defrayed was about 33 per cent. larger than the total federal expenditure as above estimated. Should it be said that under Federation expenditure on the above services would be increased, I reply that I cannot here examine that point, but will increase my estimate by £1,500,000, and assume that about £35,000,000 would be needed for an annual peace expenditure in a Pan-Britannic Federation. This would be under 175 million dollars, against a federal expenditure of 311,637,000 dols. in the "Great Republic" during the same year.

Next, there rises before us the question of "Ways and Means." It is usually much easier to discover what we want than how to get it—and how to get it satisfactorily. In raising a revenue, the great point is to distribute the burden fairly amongst the ratepayers. This is generally done by making all subject to the same imposts; but in a Pan-Britannic Federation like liability would afford insufficient security, from the fact that the dissimilar condition of its members would render imposts the most productive in some countries the most unproductive in others. A uniform system of taxation throughout must, I think, be admitted to be impracticable; and if so the only security for equality of taxation would be the establishment of an actual proportion of revenue to be paid by each member. In fixing it, the prior establishment of some uniform basis of taxation would be indispensable. Assuming property to be the most equitable basis of taxation, it follows that the liability of each member should be identical with the proportion of the property held in it to that held in the whole Federation. These proportions, however, would be in a state of perpetual variation. This I would propose to meet by having the real property of the Federation assessed at each census, and each member's proportion of taxation for the ensuing decade adjusted at the same time as its proportion of representation. And by this means I should expect that abundant security against any permanently inequitable distribution of taxation would be provided.

To make this scheme of finance clearly understood, some illustration of it would appear to be needed. To furnish it I shall avail myself of Mr. Giffen's calculations on "Accumulation of Capital in the United Kingdom," as enunciated in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in December, 1889. In this paper Mr. Giffen estimates the approximate amount of capital, or property, held in the United Kingdom at £10,037,000,000 sterling. Of this sum I would take the following items as representative of real property:—

Lands	...	...	£1,691,313,000
Houses	...	...	1,926,885,000
Quarries	...	...	3,752,000
Mines	...	...	30,412,000
Ironworks	...	...	9,060,000
Gasworks	...	...	125,650,000
Waterworks	...	...	65,200,000
Canals	...	...	70,920,000
Railways in United Kingdom	...	...	931,561,000
Government and Local Property	...	...	500,000,000
			£5,354,753,000

These items I would take as showing the immovable

¹ Here I would say that all ensuing statistics in this letter are taken from "The Statesman's Year-Book for 1890"—unless where otherwise stated.

property of the United Kingdom in 1885, sure to yield an income so long as worked; but, of course, not undertaking to endorse all of Mr. Giffen's conclusions. That gentleman estimates the rate of increase on the total amount in the decade 1875-85 at $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. A growth of 8 per cent. on the above items during the ensuing five years would give us an increase of £428,380,000, making a total of £5,783,133,000 in 1890. It is nearly impossible to lay hands on any reliable statement of the value of like property in the Colonies. But I presume that Canada may be safely regarded as being no more wealthy than the United States; and it appears that "the assessed value of real property in the States was returned for 1880 at 13,036,000,000 dols., or £2,607,353,000."² This amount was about £52 per head on the then population. Supposing this rate to have increased to £65 per head in 1890 for both Union and Dominion, the then value of Canadian real property, on a population of 5,000,000, would be about £325,000,000. At the same rate Australasia, with a population of about three-fourths that of Canada, would own about £240,000,000. Like wealth in South Africa, or the West Indies, with a majority of their population of about 2,500,000, negro or savage, would be unlikely to exceed one-third that of the above Colonies, or about £22 per head. This would give a total Colonial property of somewhere about £620,000,000, and a total Imperial property of £6,400,000,000. This would leave Canada and Australasia liable to about 9 per cent. of the federal assessment, subject to about 9 per cent. of the federal expenditure, estimated at £35,000,000, or the sum of £3,150,000 on a population of about 8,750,000, or about 7s. per head. But of this sum, I think that about one-third would be saved in their local expenditure, by it being relieved from present charges for local armaments, packet services, and collection of revenue, and the federal revenue charged with their defrayal, leaving the net increase of taxation for the acquisition of Imperial prerogatives, the services of Imperial armaments, and the influence of Imperial potency—about 4s. 8d. per head. Lest these estimates of the probable weight of federal taxation should mislead anybody, I would here again explain that my idea is not the assessment of each province for any definite sum, either aggregate or per head, but its assessment for a *given percentage* of the total expenditure, be it large or small, adopted by the federal legislature, such percentage to be revised at each census, according to changes in the relative wealth of the several provinces of the Federation.

After these provisions to secure a fair distribution of taxation, there would still be needed a definite understanding as to the "ways and means" by which the expenditure should be met. Here I would suggest that the federal revenue should everywhere be made a first charge on the customs and excise duties; that federal officials should collect them; the Federal Government retain the amount voted for federal expenditure, and hand over the balance to the local authorities. The yield of these duties would be, at present, about 50 per cent. in excess of the contribution required from the United Kingdom; more than quintuple the net amount and treble the gross amount falling upon Canada, and still higher in Australasia. Hence it appears that in finance the only real work of the Federal Government would be to collect according to fixed rules the revenue voted to it. No doubt was entertained a century since that one authority could do this under circumstances much more difficult than those now ruling, in which case it is hard to see why any doubt should be felt as to its ability to do so at present.

It may, perhaps, be replied by some contentious Colonist that the Government would be unable to collect from unwillingness on the part of its Colonial subjects to pay. If so, there could be no Federation; and without that I believe—for reasons previously explained—that there must be disruption. But in the latter case, also, there would necessarily be increased expenditure; and Colonists would surely prefer the policy bringing the smallest increase. This is one of many points involved in the *expediency* of Federation—a question already explained to be outside my limits. It may, however, be remarked that in a purely financial aspect, the balance of Colonial advantages, accord-

ing to the above scheme, would be overwhelmingly in favour of Federation. Canadian customs and excise yielded 28,687,000 dollars in 1886-7. The sum of 4s. 8d. sterling is about equivalent to $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollars. Hence about 5,600,000 dollars would have sufficed to discharge the aggregate contribution falling on a population of about 5,000,000 at the above rate per head. But were Canada annexed, customs duties would have to be increased about 50 to 75 per cent., and the whole of them, and of excise duties, handed over to the States Federal Government—leaving the total contribution to Washington at least 40,000,000 dollars against less than 6,000,000 to London. And were Canada independent, it would have to meet some charges, for diplomatic and consular services and armaments, which could scarcely be reduced to the amount which I have supposed would be due to an Imperial revenue. Supposing 600,000 dollars to pay for diplomatic and consular charges—less than one-half of the amount expended on them by the States—there would remain only 5,000,000 dollars for armaments. This sum is less than one-seventh of the amount which a regular army of 28,300 men cost the States in 1887-8; and as troops would cost as much in Canada as across the line, the sum would scarcely suffice to pay for a Canadian army of 4,000 men, allowing for naval forces *nil*, and thus leaving the country practically defenceless, not only against even the existent States army and navy, but against any naval Power able to blockade the St. Lawrence and the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

There remains, however, the great question whether all Imperial claims on Colonial revenues under Federation might not be saved out of local expenditure? The total of Colonial debts is at present somewhere about £250,000,000; on only a fractional part is the interest below 4 per cent., and on some it is 5 and 6 per cent. The Imperial Government is now borrowing at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. If, in case of Federation, it would guarantee the Colonial debts on condition of their interest being charged on the customs and excise duties collectable by itself, its risk would be very small; the average saving in interest would probably reach 1 per cent.; and this, along with savings previously indicated in local expenditure, would probably discharge all claims from the federal revenue. I know that there is a difficulty in the way of this conversion, in the fact that in some cases present rates of interest have been guaranteed for a term of years. But I think that this difficulty might, perhaps, be overcome by taking up these stocks even at the premium for which they are now selling—a bond for £110 bearing interest at 3 per cent. would probably be as valuable a property as one for £100 bearing interest at 4 per cent. for ten to fifteen years, whilst the borrower's loss in principal would be compensated by the saving in interest within the same time. So even on these terms the gain would suffice to enable the Colonies to enter on Federation free of any new burden. Let our English leaders see if such conversion could be made an item in a Union Act; and if it could, they need not, I think, fear to move for a Parliamentary committee, or a Crown commission, to inquire into the feasibility of Imperial Federation in the next session. This, I would press upon them as the first practical move in our campaign.

Before concluding, I must warn my readers that statistics of the actual value of real property can be taken only as approximate. I suspect that another of Mr. Giffen's items—that for "other public companies"—also covers real property in the United Kingdom; and have omitted it from a desire to be on the safe side. Then, lest anybody should consider the statistics of both American and Colonial wealth as too low, I would remark that I should not expect railways to be included in assessed property in the States; and that whilst taking them as part of the real property of the United Kingdom, I would not do so in the Colonies. My reason for this difference of assessment is that, whilst railways often increase Colonial taxation, they scarcely ever increase Colonial incomes, as their profits go out of the Colonies to their owners elsewhere, which is not the case in England.

In my next I hope to conclude with some suggestions as to commercial unity.

Toronto, 1890.

² Statesman's Year-Book, 1889, p. 687.

FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY.

BY OSCAR BOULTON.

(Concluded.)

I now approach the third alternative scheme; the system, viz., of a delegation of the various Parliamentary bodies in the Empire, to constitute a Committee on Imperial Affairs. Now whether this or a Democratic Federal Parliament is to be regarded as the ultimate goal towards which our efforts should be directed, the former, in my opinion, is the only one of the two which could be carried into immediate and practical execution. It possesses also this advantage, in that it is capable of being transformed bodily at pleasure into its alternative scheme, by merely altering the conditions of election. It thus constitutes the required foundation upon which, in my opinion, we may safely begin to construct the edifice of Imperial unity. Before explaining at length the reasons why such a system fulfils, in my opinion, the necessary conditions, I had better briefly state what the scheme actually is which, founded upon it, I have endeavoured humbly to suggest as applicable roughly to the present needs of the British Empire. I propose, then, that an Imperial council or senate should be appointed, consisting of delegates chosen by the Parliaments of the chief States of the Empire, to deliberate annually upon such political affairs of Imperial concern, as the Government of the Empire may choose to submit to it, or they may themselves wish to discuss. The resolutions and recommendations of this assemblage upon certain specified subjects would, after receiving the royal assent, assume the validity of Imperial Acts of Parliaments. Upon other subjects not included in this category, its proposals would require the ratification of the various Parliaments, and would bind only those Colonies and countries whose ratification had been obtained. In the first category it would be desirable probably at first to include only a very few of the more pressing and important Imperial questions, such as naval and military defence, and Imperial expenditure upon such objects of common concern, as it may be deemed advisable to include therein. It would of course be necessary to preclude all interference with the fiscal arrangements of the various Colonies, and it would be necessary to provide that all grants of money voted by the Imperial delegations be levied in a fixed proportion by the respective Governments in whatever manner they may think fit. This proportion would of course be determined in accordance with the population of the different states of the Empire, and must provide for automatic readjustment, to correspond with the fluctuations of population. Thus suppose it be agreed that the United Kingdom and Canada, with populations roughly of 40 and 5 millions respectively, shall contribute at present in the proportion of 8 to 1, it could be arranged that for every increase of 5 millions in the population of either country, an extra unit should be added to the figure which represents its share. Thus supposing in twenty years time the populations became respectively 50 and 20 millions, they would contribute in the proportion of 10 to 4, i.e., 50 to 20.

The method of electing the delegates next claims our consideration. The first point to be decided is the proportion of representatives to each chamber of the Legislature. In the cases of Austria and Hungary the Lower Houses are allotted twice as many delegates as the Upper Houses of Parliament, and this is an arrangement which, perhaps, commends itself as on the whole reasonable and satisfactory. We now come to the question. How in each House are the delegates to be selected? It is obvious that if they are chosen by the House as a body, the party which has the majority at the time would be enabled, if it choose, to select none but its own members. To avert this, some scheme of proportional representation would probably be necessary. The difficulty might perhaps be solved by enacting that any group containing a fixed number of voters might combine to elect a representative. Thus, suppose that the present House of Commons numbering 670 members were allotted 60 representatives in the Imperial Delegations, it might be arranged that any 11 members of the House might elect their candidate. This would secure to all parties their due share of representation.

I come now to the problem of the number of repre-

sentatives to be allowed to each State of the Empire. In view of the fact that the population of the Colonies is likely to increase in a far higher ratio than that of the Mother Country, some provision will have to be made, similar to that which I suggested in the case of Imperial taxation, to readjust periodically the proportion between them. Either the number of Colonial delegates must be allowed to increase automatically with the accession of so many millions to the population of the various Colonies, or it must be fixed at first only for a certain term of years, at the end of which it must be readjusted according to a fresh agreement. According to the arrangement which I propose, and which I append below in tabular form, the representation granted to the Colonies is somewhat greater in proportion to population than that of the United Kingdom, and might therefore be allowed to remain as it stands for a term of ten years. The total number of delegates, including those of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies to be represented, I have fixed at 128, which renders, perhaps, sufficiently numerous an assembly which is intended, at any rate at first, to perform the functions rather of a Council than of a Parliament.

Proposed Imperial Senate, showing number of delegates from each State represented:—

UNITED KINGDOM.					
Lords	...	30	...	Commons	...
				60	...
					Total 90
CANADA.					
Upper House	5	...	Lower House	10	...
					" 15
NEWFOUNDLAND.					
Both Houses	...		...	1	...
					" 1
AUSTRALIA (if federated).					
Upper House	5	...	Lower House	10	...
					" 15
CAPE.					
Upper House	2	...	Lower House	4	...
					" 6
NATAL.					
Legislative Council	...		...	1	...
					" 1
Grand Total					128

With regard to the representation of India in the Imperial Council, I do not propose here to offer any suggestions. A military dependency, administered directly by the Imperial Government, is obviously in a different position to a European Colony with whom you are anxious to establish closer relations. The Government of India is indeed one of the great Imperial concerns of which the proposed delegations may be expected to take cognisance. Neither do I make any provision for the representation of the Crown Colonies, with the exception of Natal, which it is necessary to include as connected intimately with the Cape, and as occupying an important position upon the outposts of the Empire. With regard to the rest, it would be possible at any time to raise any one of them, if desirable, to the dignity of a State of the Empire, and to allot it representatives in the Senate. But the prime object is to federate these islands with the three great self-governing groups of Australasia, North America, and South Africa, with the two first of which, at any rate, the Imperial connection is now scarcely more than nominal. Let me now endeavour to indicate some of the advantages of the scheme which I have thus roughly outlined for consideration and discussion by members of the Federation League. Its chief merit, perhaps, consists in the fact that without altering or interfering with the rights at present enjoyed by the Legislatures of the Empire, it constitutes a body, which, differing at first scarcely from a mere Colonial Conference, may be developed at will into a potent engine for securing and maintaining the organic unity of the Empire. The Colonies are required not to sacrifice their existing rights, but on the contrary to augment them by taking part along with the United Kingdom in the discussion and ordinance of Imperial affairs. And the concession made by the Mother Country in extending to them this privilege is surely amply compensated by the enormous increase of support and prestige which it will derive from the operation. With regard to the Irish difficulty—the number of delegates from these kingdoms once fixed—it only remains, if the Irish Parliament becomes independent, to allot to it its fair share of the

whole number. Should the Imperial Parliament, even with Home Rule, remain intact, its Irish members would take part with their colleagues from Great Britain in the election of the sixty representatives allowed to the present House.

It only now remains for me to press earnestly upon the consideration of those interested in Federation the question, whether the system of Parliamentary delegations which I have here advocated is not the soundest or even at present the only possible sound basis upon which an edifice of Imperial unity could be constructed and preserved. And to urge once again, that whether this or some other system is judged finally to be the best, the members of the League should decide at once upon a scheme of some sort or another, and having once adopted it, should press it persistently by every process Parliamentary or otherwise upon the attention of the Imperial Government, endeavouring at the same time by every means in their power to enlist in its defence the support and the enthusiasm of the Colonial democracies.

**** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IMPERIAL GRANARY OF THE FUTURE.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—The wheat crop available for export which has been produced in the Canadian North-West this year is a most notable occurrence. In the whole of Manitoba and the Territories, according to the census of 1885-6 (the last taken), the total rural population amounted to 108,719, of whom 31,270 were engaged in agricultural pursuits. The total area under cultivation was 948,556 acres. The figures to-day are much about the same. This year the output of this part of the country, according to the official Government estimate, will be from eighteen to twenty millions of bushels. I would invite your readers and English people generally to consider what this means. In the first place, the average yield will be from nineteen to twenty bushels to the acre. In the next place, each individual engaged in agricultural pursuits will have produced from 560 to 625 bushels of the grain. Then again, the market price being 1 dol. a bushel, this means a corresponding amount to each farmer, and the benefit to this vast country of the influx of from eighteen to twenty millions of dollars in one year can scarcely be exaggerated. This country, too, has only just begun to be opened up. It is in its infancy as yet. But it has a cultivable area larger than the whole of the United States has. Its soil is more prolific than theirs is, their average yield being about thirteen bushels to the acre only. There are millions and millions of acres of the finest land in the world awaiting the plough in this great land of ours.

This means, then, that in the Canadian North-West lies the Imperial granary of the future, a heritage of which we are justly proud and which we hold in trust for our fellow Britons at home and elsewhere. Rest assured that we will be true to the trust reposed in us, and that nothing will lure us from the true path of duty or from the fulfilment of our lofty destiny as members of the great Imperial firm.

CASIMIR DICKSON.

Toronto, 11th September, 1890.

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY QUESTION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I beg to call your attention to the following action to be tried in November next in St. John's, Newfoundland, against the Commander of H. M. S. *Emerald*, for illegal trespass, in closing Mr. Baird's lobster factories on the so-called "French Shore" of Newfoundland.

Sir Baldwin Walker has filed his plea—"instructions from the Imperial Government." It is now admitted by the Imperial authorities that the Acts by which they enforced the *modus vivendi* were long ago "accidentally" repealed, consequently they had no power to enforce the orders given to the naval officers on the coast. I wish to call your attention to the following:—

- 1st. Newfoundland enjoys responsible Government.
- 2nd. No power can take it away from her but that of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain.
- 3rd. That her charter has not been suspended, and no coercion Act exists by which the British naval power is made superior to the Civil power of the Colony.

4th. That the local courts were the proper instruments to enforce the orders of the Imperial authorities, assuming that the powers conferred by the British Government had not been cancelled.

5th. That no order from the Admiralty or Foreign Office can over-ride the constitution of the colony.

6th. Had any loss of life ensued by resistance to Sir Baldwin Walker, he must have stood his trial for murder, or have been relieved by a special Act of the Imperial Parliament, an "Act of Indemnity."

Sir Baldwin Walker's plea may be accepted by the Colonial Courts, in that case an appeal will be taken to England.

I wish especially to call your attention to the grave importance this case is to all the Colonies. If the Imperial Government of the day can, without the authority of Parliament, order its naval officers to do what is clearly illegal, and those officers can successfully plead "instructions" from the Imperial authorities, what self-governing Colony is safe?

This matter calls for the earnest attention of all those who value the liberty of the subject guaranteed by the British constitution, and are desirous of preventing the priceless blessing of civil liberty falling under the militarism of the day.

Trusting you will use your powerful and watchful influence on behalf of Newfoundland in this matter, I am, yours sincerely,
G. ALLEN.

London, 8th September, 1890. (St. John's, Newfoundland.)

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—I must ask your permission to reply to the criticism by Mr. Henniker Heaton of my strictures upon his conception of Imperial Penny Postage. Whether Mr. Heaton, "I, who have awakened interest in the question," who has been "overwhelmed with praise for the manner in which I have conducted the campaign," and who modestly claims no greater honour than Rowland Hill did for originating the Penny Post, has or has not "posed as champion of the idea," may be put aside, and we shall try to get to rock bottom on the idea itself. Perhaps, then, Mr. Heaton may inform the public what conception is associated in his mind with the term Imperial, and where he obtains his warrant for dubbing with this title a scheme that ignores the limits of our Empire. I shall not concern myself to repudiate the adjectives by which he describes my sentiments towards the United States, because, although I have now and always had warm and intimate friends among the citizens of that country, I do not regard the nation as a friendly one, and I hope that the Queen's enemies may always be my enemies. But Mr. Heaton seems to be one of that large class of Englishmen who cannot understand the difference between love of their own Empire and hatred of a foreigner. A little healthy hatred of our country's enemies is perhaps better, and is certainly more congenial to the spirit of Americans themselves, than the cringing habit that seems to court the honour of being kicked by the great republic. One of the patriotic maxims that Lord Nelson impressed upon his midshipmen, one whose inner meaning should not be too easily forgotten, was to "hate a Frenchman as you hate the devil."

But having read Mr. Heaton's communication, perhaps I may now claim not to have mastered but to have sought to grasp the "elementary facts of the subject." And I repeat that by including the United States Mr. Heaton has sacrificed the Imperial character of the scheme. Mr. Heaton to the contrary notwithstanding, I venture to think (though I do not object to it on that score) that by lowering the postage to the United States we do benefit that country. As to the quibble about who saves each individual penny or halfpenny, it is above all the inhabitants of the United Kingdom we wish to educate into appreciating the value of countries under their own flag over all foreign countries.

If the penny post has developed the commerce, multiplied the wealth and intensified the happiness of the people of "the United Kingdom and Ireland," and has made the Irish so love their English and Scotch brothers, surely reduction of postage from the United Kingdom would benefit the people of the United States. I should certainly be very glad to benefit them, only I cannot see why it should be done at the expense of the British taxpayer. According to the Postmaster-General, there is already a loss of £32,000 on the North American service. If this be true, I do not see why, in order to benefit the United States or to encourage residents of the United Kingdom to increase their correspondence with that country, the Treasury should sustain any loss whatever. It is not difficult to understand how the official figures may be right, notwithstanding that Mr. Heaton, after deducting from the total revenue of £185,000 the sea payment alone of £95,000, makes out that there is a profit of £89,000. Even if the Postmaster-General be wrong, however, and Mr. Heaton be right on this point, still I cannot see why a tax of £89,000 should not be collected on correspondence with North America, when millions are collected on correspondence in London. Mr. Raikes' position is

perfectly sound that something should be collected in the Post Office department to maintain the lines of merchant ships, and the cruisers that protect them, which render the cheap and punctual carriage of mails possible. The Post Office is simply a branch of the public service, and can fairly be used to aid the revenue department of the same service. There is, however, some reason why the profits on correspondence in London should be utilised to cheapen postage to the Orkneys or Shetland; and considered as an Imperial Service, there is the same reason why it should be used to cheapen postage to New Zealand or British Columbia. But on what principle should it be applied to foster communication with foreign countries, and if with one, why not with all? Do not writers to outside countries get the benefit of the splendid mail lines established and maintained partly by the subsidies? Why should they be exempt from paying for them? On one principle alone, namely, that every branch of the public service ought to be utilised to strengthen the Empire, and if adopting penny post will effect this, it should be adopted.

As to the query whether I am ignorant that the mails sent from the United Kingdom to Canada are mostly landed at New York, and then forwarded to the Dominion, let me ask Mr. Heaton in reply if he is ignorant that the mails sent from the United Kingdom to Australia are mostly landed in France, sent thence to Italy, and afterwards many thousands of miles to their destination? Again, I am asked whether I really suggest that 2½d. should be charged for a letter sent to New York, and only 1d. for a letter sent by the same steamer to New York, to be forwarded then some thousands of miles to a Canadian address. That is a possible way of carrying out what I really suggest, namely, that letters carried on a British ship bound for a British country should be carried, even at a loss if necessary, as a means of promoting correspondence within the Empire, while correspondence for a foreign country carried by the same British ship should be made a source of revenue if possible. As to what becomes of the mails after they are landed at New York, that does not peculiarly concern the Mother Country. The Canadian Post Office department can receive and take charge of the Canadian mails at the ship's edge. Here again let me put Mr. Heaton's question in another way: Does he really suggest that the Post Office department is to charge an inhabitant of the United Kingdom 2½d. for a letter sent to, say, an Englishman spending his summer at Calais or Boulogne, and another inhabitant of the United Kingdom 1d. for a letter sent by the same steamer to the same French seaport, to be forwarded thence through France and through Italy, the most friendly nation in Europe, then thousands of miles further to Australia or New Zealand? "If so, he must suggest some plausible explanation that will satisfy the sender of the first letter." My answer is contained in the words Imperial Penny Postage. Any other answer, short of Universal Penny Postage, is nonsense. Nevertheless, I am not particularly anxious that Canadian letters should continue to go by way of New York. Just as it has been suggested by the champion of "Imperial" penny postage, that letters sent direct by a British mail steamship to the Antipodes (the all sea route) be charged 1d., while those going by the continental route be still charged 2½d., I can see no objection to letters for Canada by the Imperial Penny Post being sent only by the Canadian lines. We have three or four good weekly lines already, and hope soon to have one at least equal in speed to any of the New York lines.

The whole difficulty that I can see in this subject arises from the persistency with which some Englishmen fail to understand the difference between their own Empire and a foreign country. I do not want to treat the United States one whit worse than any other foreign country, but I cannot for the life of me see why we should treat them one whit better.

I may add regarding the views of Canadians generally, I believe not half of them care a button whether you include the United States or not. It is the few who are seeking means of binding Canada to the Empire by special ties that will come home to the hearts of the people who feel indignant at any one sailing under the Imperial banner seeking to render useless one of the agencies that was chiefly relied upon to effect this. You might as well subsidise the Australian Pacific cable to San Francisco as include the United States in your Imperial Penny Post.

Montreal, August, 1890.

MANU FORTI.

Mr. Jehu Mathews' Articles.—Imperial Federation is a question which ought not to be thrust into the background. Thoughtful citizens believe that in the change advocated resides the safety of the British Empire, and aliens are of the same opinion. . . . Mr. Mathews, writing in *Imperial Federation*, puts the subject plainly and forcibly before all classes.—*Belfast News Letter*.

Mr. G. Beetham, speaking in the New Zealand House of Representatives lately, said:—With respect to the Federation question, he trusted that delegates would be sent to the Conference, but he thought Captain Russell and Sir John Hall were quite right in not committing the Colony at the last Conference. His idea was that they should have one grand confederation of the whole British Empire, and he hoped they would never sever the connection between Great Britain and her Colonies.

A PACIFIC CABLE: FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from Sir John Pender to Mr. Sandford Fleming.

July 22nd, 1890.

DEAR MR. SANDFORD FLEMING,—I have read your circular letter of the 18th inst., together with the annexed correspondence with the Colonial Office on the subject of the recent unfortunate interruption of telegraphic communication with the Australian Colonies and the establishment of an alternative route *via* the Pacific; and if the various Governments interested are determined to have a line across the Pacific and are prepared to incur the requisite expenditure for the purpose, I am quite ready, as I have always told you, to co-operate in carrying out the work on fair and reasonable terms, and in this way the object might be attained more easily and economically than if third parties were employed. But if it should be decided to establish a Pacific communication as a separate and distinct undertaking from the existing lines, it must not be forgotten that two cables across the Pacific will be required, which, according to your own figures, would cost £3,600,000, or £108,000 per annum, as one line could no more be relied upon in the Pacific than in the Java seas, where all our three cables between Java and Australia were suddenly and simultaneously interrupted by earthquakes a few days ago.

Fortunately, however, this is a very rare occurrence, only one previous interruption of the kind having occurred on our system during a period of over twenty years. Moreover, the Java seas are mostly shallow, so that repairs can be easily and promptly made, as in the present instance; while the Pacific Ocean is not only subject, perhaps in a greater degree than the Java waters, to volcanic disturbances, but the depths are so great that repairs would be most difficult and costly when an interruption occurred.

The cost of maintaining the present system amounts to over £100,000 per annum.

I am looking forward, if spared, to visiting Hong Kong next year, travelling through Canada by the Canadian Pacific line, when I hope to inspect that wonderful undertaking in which you have played such a prominent part, and at the same time discuss with you the best means of establishing closer telegraphic communication between Canada and the Australian Colonies when the time is ripe for carrying out the work.—
Faithfully yours,
JOHN PENDER.

P.S.—Your letter to Lord Knutsford ignores the fact that there is at present an alternative line to India *via* the West and the East Coast of Africa, quite independent of the Red Sea route.

Letter from Mr. Sandford Fleming to Sir John Pender.

July 24th, 1890.

TO SIR JOHN PENDER, 50, Old Broad Street, London.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I received late last evening your favour of the 22nd inst., and desire to thank you for it. I am very glad to find you are coming to realise that it is absolutely necessary to have an alternative cable to Australia by way of Canada and the Pacific. I have always held and now hold that the means taken to establish the new telegraphic communication is entirely secondary, provided that the new line be secured. Its establishment by whatever means is the primary consideration, and it is for the Governments concerned to decide how it is to be done. In my humble judgment, if they consult economy and desire to secure cheap telegraphy, they will act wisely in making the work a public undertaking, and in retaining it in their own hands under an efficient management.

I notice what you say about having two cables across the Pacific on account of possible interruptions, but it seems to me this conclusion on your part is scarcely logical if, as you say, interruptions are so exceedingly rare. A breakdown once in 20 years would not of itself justify the laying of a second cable at an additional cost of £1,800,000.

Are you, however, quite accurate? Is it the case that interruptions on your cable are so infrequent? I have a list before me by which it would appear that the Eastern extension cables between India and Australia have broken down 36 times within the last 18 years, and of these 14 breaks were between Port Darwin and Banjowangie, the nearest section to Australia. I notice also that one of the 14 breakdowns referred to caused an interruption of four months, and another of three months and a half. The other interruptions were generally of much shorter period. It is quite true that you have more than one cable on that section, but I do not see that duplicating, even triplicating, the cables on the same route is an absolute security from interruptions, as shown by the simultaneous breaking down of all three cables for a period of ten days during the present month.

Be all that as it may, my contention is simply that a line from Australia to England by way of Canada would be a great advantage all round. To Australia and New Zealand it would be better than relying wholly on the one existing route. To those

Colonists it would give two strings to their bow, and that is commonly held to be an advantage. You say that under certain circumstances two cables across the Pacific will be required. In this I am not disposed to disagree with you, as I believe more than two will eventually be required, but let us have one at a time, and the sooner we get that one the better. In after years other cables can be laid as they are required to meet the demands of a wonderful development of commerce, which I am satisfied will come in the not distant future.

You suggest that repairs in the deep water of the Pacific would be most difficult and costly. Let me remind you of the fact established by experience on the line between Lisbon and Pernambuco, passing through water about the same depth as the Pacific, that no repairs of any consequence have been found necessary in the deep-water section of that line.

Referring to the postscript of your letter, there is indeed a cable laid round the West and the East Coast of Africa, in that way connecting England with Aden, but that line of cable passes through ten foreign ports, beginning with Lisbon and ending with Mozambique. You are aware, too, the existence of that line did not obviate the necessity, so recently as the month of May last, of sending Australian messages through Russia, Siberia, China, and French Cochin China, when two of your cables east of Aden broke down. I still think I was strictly correct in the statement to Lord Knutsford respecting the proposed Pacific cable: "It will indirectly give a new means of communication with India should the lines through Europe and the Red Sea become, through war or any other cause, unusable."

Receive my thanks for your friendly letter, and for the evidence it conveys to my mind that you are prepared to accept the conviction that Canada and Australia must be connected telegraphically. In this you merely evince your usual wise discernment; and few men have it in their power in a larger degree than you to hasten the advancement of a public undertaking fraught with so many advantages to the Colonies and the Empire.—Yours faithfully,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

REVIEW ARTICLES.

WE give now a *résumé* of some of the Articles referred to in our "Notes" last month. In the August *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Edward Dicey, who has been for six months in Africa, writes an Article on "Mr. Cecil Rhodes as Premier."

Mr. Dicey says:—"I should doubt Mr. Rhodes any more than myself being a believer in Imperial Federation as a practical scheme of working politics. I am by no means sure also that he attaches the same importance as I do personally to the political connection between Great Britain and her Colonies. But of this I am confident—he believes as strongly as any Imperialist or Federationist could believe in a manifest destiny of the British race. To implant English ideas, English culture, English language, English institutions, and English rule in all the outlying places of the globe, that is, as I take it, the manifest destiny of our race."

And this is what the Editor of the *Review of Reviews* has to say about it:—"Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who last month accepted the Premiership of the Cape, is, taking all things into consideration, the most notable of the coming men of our time. He is an Elizabethan Englishman, born in the Victorian age, who believes in England as did the great sea captains who defeated the Armada and swept the Spanish main. The arrival of such a man as Prime Minister of a British Colony is the most significant event that has happened within the British Empire this year; it is of Imperial, not merely of Colonial, importance."

... Of Mr. Dicey's estimate he says:—"His paper is slight and inadequate, but, considering how little Mr. Dicey knows of Mr. Rhodes' ideas and how much out of sympathy he is with Mr. Rhodes' ruling principle, which is that of Empire and Home Rule, it is perhaps surprising that he should have recognised, even grudgingly, that an Imperial statesman of the first rank has at last appeared in our midst." Elsewhere in the same *Review* the Editor says:—"Mr. Rhodes was sent for and the foremost Englishman in South Africa became Prime Minister of the Colony. To Mr. Rhodes' ambition, which is commensurate with his immense wealth and magnificent ideals, the Cape Premiership is but a stepping stone. He is a man far above mere Colonial aspirations; even the existing Empire is far too narrow and circumscribed a field for his energies."

In the September number he says:—"Our Imperial Elizabethan at the Cape has lost no time in warning the authorities at Westminster that South African Colonists intend to have their say in the direction of such Imperial affairs as concern their end of the continent. ... Mr. Rhodes has taken office at the Cape in order, among other things, to teach Downing Street that it must cease to act with its usual imbecility if the Colonies are to remain in the Empire."

Mr. Bakewell, of Auckland, New Zealand, contributes to the same *Review* a very interesting and instructive dialogue between a globe-trotter and a Colonist on the subject of the loyalty of the Colonies. Mr. Bakewell thinks that there is no loyalty to the Empire on the part of the working New Zealander. In case

of war New Zealand would declare itself independent at once, and issue a declaration of neutrality. Most of the people are oppressed by cares and anxiety in trying to keep up a position with no reserve of capital to fall back upon, and determined not to risk a farthing of their precarious livelihood for the sake of the Mother Country. As to Federation of the Empire, Mr. Bakewell says:—"I don't quite know whether, if a genuine scheme of Federation were proposed, with an Imperial Parliament sitting every fourth or fifth year at Ottawa and Melbourne or Sydney, with free trade between the Colonies, and differential duties on foreign products—if the Colonies were considered as integral parts of the Empire, and had a voice in the questions of peace and war—the Colonials might not prefer to be parts of such a great Empire to being independent. It would mean that our absurd panics about Russia and her designs on India must cease and determine. Of this you may rest assured, that on no possible plea will these Colonies allow themselves to be dragged into war for the sake of British India."

"Put the question to the Colonies fairly and squarely. Ask them whether they will contribute an adequate amount to the Imperial army and navy. But if you want to keep us from Republicanism you must let us see something of royalty."

"If you want us to join you in an Imperial Federation, get rid of the paltry questions that now turn out Ministries, and change the policy of the Empire, and turn them over to County Councils or Local Parliaments. Give us a fair share in the government of the Empire, and let us feel that we are not regarded as the poor relations whose consanguinity cannot be denied, but who must not presume to have a voice in the affairs of the Empire or to modify her policy."

"New Zealand has nothing to fear from Australia. Besides, if Australia became independent, Canada would follow suit, and the probability is that a great federation of English-speaking republics would be formed, including the United States. In that case New Zealand would join as a separate State, as Texas did. If the question of annexation as a state to the United States of North America were put to the vote to-morrow there would not be a thousand votes against it."

Review of Reviews.

Sir Gavan Duffy, in the *Contemporary*, gives the second instalment of his interesting papers, on "How the British Colonies got Responsible Government." The moral, which cannot be too frequently repeated, he formulates as follows:—"If the Colonies are to be retained within the Empire, the Mother Country must understand her past errors, that they may not be repeated. Look at the naked facts which this narrative discloses. Here is an imperial people who have always been unjust or indifferent towards their dependencies; whose Parliament could scarcely be induced to listen to a Colonial debate; whose conspicuous reformers would reform nothing, or next to nothing, in Colonies, and bitterly grudged and deplored what could not be refused. What Colonists sought, and were driven to insurrection to obtain, was not fantastic Utopia, but simply the sober liberty which their fellow-countrymen enjoyed at home. If England will squander the greatest inheritance which Providence ever bestowed on a people, it is only necessary to pursue in the future the policy pursued in the past. If she would preserve and improve it, there is only one method conceivable; these distant Englands must be allowed to share the authority as well as the responsibility of Empire."

The chief if not the only article of special interest to our readers in the September *Reviews* is the reply from Tasmania to Mr. Gossip's late paper in the *United Service Magazine* contributed to the same periodical by Mr. H. R. Nicholls, of Hobart. This article will be found reprinted at length in another column of our present issue.

Roars of Laughter.—Mr. Andrew Carnegie, of Pittsburg and New York, has been delivering an address in Dundee on what he was pleased to call "Some Facts about the American Republic." In the course of his address he said:—"Lord Rosebery, your popular leader —(Cheers)—not much of a peer but a great deal of a man—has been talking a great deal about Imperial Federation. Permit me to point out to these gentlemen the preliminary step. I am pleased to see that in all the speeches about the federation of the English-speaking races they are good enough not to leave out the Republic of America. (Laughter.) How could they leave out a Republic which to-day has a majority of the English-speaking race far and away, being 64½ millions, compared with 47 millions in Great Britain and her Colonies? The nations that compose the Greater Britain of to-day are destined to be infinitely greater in the future. Think you that you can reach them with this funny little Monarchy? Oh, oh, how absurd! (Laughter.) My dear friends, there is only one way you can make a step towards the unification and consolidation of the English-speaking race, and that is by bringing this little island into line with the progeny which she has established throughout the world. (Cheers.) Monarchy is too small a tail to wag so big a dog. (Roars of laughter.) We laugh at your ideas in this petty little country having anything to say to the free and independent citizens who walk through Canada, Australia, and America, and wonder what these dear old gentlemen are thinking about. (Laughter.)"

OBSTACLES TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION.— A REPLY FROM TASMANIA.

BY H. R. NICHOLLS—in the *United Service Magazine*.

HAVING read in the May number of the *United Service Magazine* an article on "Obstacles to Imperial Federation," by G. H. D. Gossip, of New South Wales, I wish to offer you a few words by way of comment thereon. This Federation business, in both its so-called Imperial and in its intercolonial form, has got strangely mixed. I have always been in doubt whether it is most mixed in England or in these Colonies. To my mind the English people—meaning thereby the politicians—appear to have lost their Imperial quality. They keep on telling the Colonies that they never can federate with Great Britain. The Colonies certainly have not yet reached this conclusion themselves. I am not, however, desirous of dwelling on this curious state of opinion at the present time, though it might serve for the theme of a long dissertation on a people, who, like "the base Indian," seem to be disposed to throw away the richest jewel which they ever had: I content myself with joining Sir Charles Gavan Duffy in expressing my astonishment at the attitude of British public men towards the Colonies, as one unique in the history of the whole world, and one which may well evoke our special wonder. For the present, as Ancient Pistol puts it, "things must be as they may" in this respect, for I am only now concerned to answer your contributor, who has given you one (his) side of the question, and grossly perverted, consciously or unconsciously, the facts of the case. He seems to me to be like the cat in *The Ugly Duckling*, who always said, "me and the world." He is, I should say, one who has lived in the midst of a certain set, and imagines that it includes alike the numbers and the intelligence of the Colonies, whereas the fact is that it does not include either.

Certainly, it is not easy to say what is the state of public opinion in these Colonies in regard to Imperial Federation, for it has never been fully pronounced, or elicited in any formal manner. We know, however, that when Mr. Parkin was lecturing on what he called "National Federation," he was enthusiastically received in New Zealand, Victoria, and Tasmania, and was listened to by large and sympathetic audiences in South Australia and New South Wales. In Queensland he was not so favourably received, as there is there a noisy set of people who call themselves Nationalists, who display their nationality by plundering the Chinese shops on all occasions, and who are disposed to allow no one to say anything which does not suit themselves. In Queensland Mr. Parkin lectured to large audiences admitted by ticket, and the mode of admission has been said to show that the Colony was against him, but this is not the fact, as could easily be shown. It is not an uncommon thing for lecturers to guard against interruption in the way stated, even when they are lecturing on a popular subject, because a few noisy persons can spoil a meeting, and these Nationalists are particularly noisy on the least provocation. They are, in fact, persons who believe in all sorts of outside things, republicanism being but one amongst many of their articles of faith. On the other hand, there are in Queensland probably a larger number of quiet, responsible citizens who would willingly see their way to federation with the Mother Country, and who hold their opinion as to its practicability in suspense, but who would welcome words of sympathy and encouragement from England, which they do not seem at all likely to get. In New South Wales there is at least an equal, probably a much greater proportion of such persons who, naturally, are not aggressive like the other side, but who show their opinion whenever the proper occasion arises. Victoria, apart from the ordinary juvenile feelings of republicanism, which usually vanish with years, may be said to be in favour of some form of Imperial Federation. The Assembly has declared that it is so, and wound up its proceedings by singing "God Save the Queen." South Australia, Western Australia, and New Zealand, as far as anyone is able to tell, would, on the whole, welcome a scheme of Imperial Federation if one could be formulated which would leave the Colonies free in local affairs, and, certainly, are not against it in the manner which has been stated. The so-called National party in New South Wales and Queensland is very aggressive, assertive, insolent, and abusive, but we must not conclude that it is the predominant party, since the real strength of the Colonies cannot be said to belong to it at all.

The argument from the newspapers is not worth a great deal, and it has been stated by your contributor in a way which is, like all the "National" writing and speaking, full of one-sided exaggeration. In the first place the *Daily Telegraph* is not the leading newspaper of New South Wales, nor is it likely to be unless there is supreme folly on the other side. The *Sydney Morning Herald* is, beyond all question, the chief and most wealthy and influential paper in New South Wales, and has been for at least half a century. Its attitude towards Imperial Federation may be said to be also one of expectation, which is the attitude of the mass of wealth,

influence, and ability which it represents, and of most of the thinking people in all the Colonies. They are waiting to see what will arise, but are anxious to preserve their connection with the Mother Country, if it can be preserved. So far as the *Daily Telegraph* of Sydney is concerned, we know here that its recent editor was rabid in regard to Imperialism, as he called it, and gravely asserted that the payment of the subsidy to Great Britain for naval defence was a return to the feudal system. He was equally bemuddled in regard to other matters, although a clever and eloquent writer, and he left the *Telegraph* because the directors of the newspaper company claimed the right to restrain him, and say what the policy of the paper should be.

The *Bulletin* is a comic paper which mostly abuses the Queen, and has an idea that all royalty is corrupt, depraved and generally given over to the devil.

The Queensland *Boomerang* is the same but worse, and appears to be edited by a Yankee Fenian, who writes his native dialect, and fancies that it is forcible and funny.

Both these papers are, undoubtedly, very popular with a certain class, but so are some papers in England, which are not, however, regarded as exponents of public opinion in general, or of the wisdom of the nation in particular. It is a fact worthy of notice that nearly all, if not all, of these papers which are so rabid against Imperial Federation, are socialistic, and most of them decidedly anti-British. They believe in all the industrial nostrums; they gave a hearty welcome to Mr. Henry George, and they insist that labour can coerce capital to give up, "disgorge" is the word, its profits, and they have a firm opinion that wages are paid out of labour. Why there should be a connection between these doctrines and opposition to Imperial Federation I do not know, but facts are as stated, and those who watch opinion may possibly be able to find a connecting link between the two. At present, however, the appeal is to the press, and we must make that appeal complete. Most persons have heard of the *Argus* and the *Age*, leading papers of Victoria, both of which support Imperial Federation. The same may be said of the *Mercury*, the leading paper of Tasmania, and usually regarded as not second in learning or ability to any.

In Victoria there is a host of up-country papers ably conducted, all of which support Imperial Federation, as do all the Tasmanian papers. In South Australia the press has worthy representatives, which practically favour Federation, as do many of the very papers in New Zealand which hold that the Colony should stand out of the proposed federation of the Colonies. It would be easy enough to go on, and show that in the press of these Colonies, taken as a whole, the opinion in favour of Imperial Federation is very predominant, but enough has been said to prove that the writer of the article referred to has put the part for the whole. The part that he has put may appear to him to be the most important. The New South Wales people are noted for an excellent conceit of themselves.

The part of the press which Mr. Gossip has quoted is not regarded as the most important part by the dwellers in the other Colonies, nor by a very large number in New South Wales itself. In short, the impartial conclusion to which we must come, if we fairly master the facts, is this: that by far the larger and more influential portion of the Australasian press supports Imperial Federation. That is to say, that that press desires to see the union with the Mother Country preserved, although it does not in the least profess to be able to say how or when the desired consummation can be brought about.

Whether Imperial Federation, or, as Mr. Parkin has called it, National Unity, will be practicable in the future, will depend on many things, mainly, I think, on Great Britain herself. At present she shows no desire for any such union. All, or nearly all the visitors, be they writers or statesmen, who come to these Colonies tell us that we are not wanted, at least not on any terms likely to be at all acceptable to ourselves. Mr. Froude was emphatic on this point, as have been many others, so that the wonder is that we continue to cherish a sentiment to which there is so little response. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy has told Great Britain what her duty is, for he has urged her to go forth and declare that the Empire is one, but he has not, as far as we have heard, awakened the conscience of a single British statesman, nor met with any supporter in the whole range of British journalism. We here, however little we may care for him in other ways, know that he spoke the true word in regard to this matter, and we are lost in wonder that his utterance has fallen so flat. What is the matter with the British people? Have they become, like Peter Bell, "so subtle that to be nothing is all their glory?" Do they care for the Colonies? Have they a pride and belief in the Empire, or are they willing to let it crumble to pieces under their eyes? We, here, look for sympathy, and we get a sneer! We look for some assurance that we are desired, and we find certain cold calculations intended to show us that blood is of less specific gravity than water. We dream of the time when there may be a mighty Empire standing four-square to breast the shocks of time and chance, and we are told that the House of Commons is the Alpha and the Omega,

the beginning and the end, the first and the last. Naturally our ire is awakened, and we ask is this the way to deal with the mighty problem of a great Imperial Federation on which the sun shall never set, and which may mould the future destiny of the world? We turn to Adam Smith, and read his chapter on the Colonies, which should be printed in letters of gold, and say, "Here are the conditions of the problem duly set forth, and here is the key to the solution." We wait, but we get no answer. Still, we hold our faith, and shall continue to hold it, until we are finally convinced that Great Britain cannot rise to the height of the great argument, and then we shall, no doubt sorrowfully even then, cast in our lot with those who now scream about republicanism, nationality, and a host of other things which they do not in the least understand. And the problem is, how to construct a Legislature which shall represent the Empire, make laws for the Empire, be to the Empire what the Congress at Washington is to the United States. We are told that such a Legislature is an impossibility, that it is a dream, the shadow of a shade; but we answer that this has yet to be proved, for no attempt at Federation has yet been made, nor does the spirit seem to be abroad. Those foolish persons in England who think that the Colonies are foolishly loyal, because some of them are demonstrative on occasions, and we honour royalty more than it is honoured at home, do not understand, and fall into a similar, though opposite, error to that of the contributor who has caused these lines to be written. There is in these Colonies a strong and earnest desire to preserve the British connection, but they are not prepared to preserve it at any price. No Colonist, it may be decidedly said, has a vision of a future in which a House of Commons of any kind shall rule the Empire; but the dreams dreamed, if dreams they be, are of quite another state of affairs. We who hope for Imperial Federation, or National Unity, see that it can only be brought about, if it can be brought about at all, by a free and equal union of all the Colonies, under a system which shall be adapted to the new circumstances. And why not? The American Union was made and exists in defiance of all previous experience, which was that large States could not unite. The Greek Colonies, we used to be told, swarmed off and were practically separated from the parent *polis*. Thucydides informs us that they carried with them the vestal fire, and thus acknowledged their origin, and even some obedience as a consequence, but there was no real unity. This was the example for the world; and yet, in the face of all this, in the very teeth of history and the philosophers, the fathers of their country locked themselves up for some months, and devised—they did not wait for it to grow—a new constitution, which has worked, is working, and—Mr. Bryce tells us—will continue to work. Are, then, we to believe that all originality has been exhausted, and that we have nothing to do but sit down and let things drift? This is what we here, the large body of persons who hold to Imperial Federation, do not believe, but we grieve that we find no corresponding enthusiasm on the other side of the world. Surely, if the whole thing is to fail, it would be better to fail in an endeavour to consolidate the Empire, in a hearty recognition of the fact that we are one people, than to sit down and let the fabric rot to pieces under our very eyes.

This want of moral and national vigour at home is felt here, and it is the one thing which gives force and courage to those who deride Imperial Federation, who mock at all that is British, and who seek to foment alike sedition and disgust. They are not strong or very wise in their advocacy, but they seem to have England at their backs, for she is unmindful of her fate, and that is the way to ensure that others shall be unmindful too, and to put weapons in the hands of her enemies. Let England declare that she will never desert her Colonies, never allow them to separate, except there is absolute unanimity; let her speak plainly as the "great mother of majestic works" should, and the whole Colonial aspect will be changed by the simple magic of entire earnestness. Then, if you have articles like that of Mr. Gossip's, you will have them with a difference, for the exultation of the Separatists is based and sustained by the indifference of the Mother Country, and her craven fear of speaking the words which show that her heart and her hand are in the right place, the one beating in sympathy with her true sons all the world over, and the other on her sword to put down traitors who trade now on her forbearance whilst they laugh at her folly. If she is so distracted in her counsels that she cannot venture to be bold, or cannot find the words to utter, then the Colonies may drift away; as her true sons may come, as they are coming, to think that it is useless to fight a battle which is declared to be lost already.

Quite dead Now.—Mr. Henry George, who has lately been propagating his economical doctrines in Australia, told an interviewer of the *Pall Mall Gazette* that "Imperial Federation never had any real life; it is quite dead now. Neither is Colonial Federation much more than a sentimental idea at present. The tariff question stands in the way; Victoria, no doubt, wants it in order to complete her Protectionist system; but it makes no perceptible progress."

AUSTRALIAN CABLE GUARANTEE.

A LETTER has been made public addressed by Lord Knutsford on July 9 to the Governor of South Australia, setting forth the reasons, as expressed by the Treasury, why Her Majesty's Government have refused to comply with the request of the Australian Governments that the Imperial Exchequer should bear a share of the guarantee and subsidies, which are necessary to allow the Cable Companies to reduce their rates to Australia. The letter states that the Agents-General had fully explained and had ably supported the views of their Governments in this matter. The Imperial Government fully sympathised with the object of the subsidy, and recognised the nature and extent of the sacrifices which the Australian Colonies were prepared to make with a view of developing and facilitating telegraphic communication. The readiness with which the Colonies accepted, at the risk of considerable loss of revenue, the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a reduction of the postal rates, afforded additional reason for the most favourable consideration of any proposal emanating from them in kindred matters. The Imperial Government, however, felt very strongly that there were considerations, less applicable to the Australian Governments, which must be allowed preponderating influence in determining their decision on any question of subsidies to a telegraphic cable company. Up to the present, the action of Her Majesty's Government in affording assistance to schemes for the establishment of telegraphic communication to Her Majesty's possessions had been limited to the grant of such subsidies as would secure the laying and maintenance of submarine cables, which, except for such assistance, would not have been laid to foreign or colonial dependencies where they were deemed essential for political or strategical reasons, and the aid given had been strictly limited to a fixed amount and to a limited term of years. By these means, within the last twenty years, telegraphic communication had been obtained with the South African colonies, West Coast of Africa, and the Bermudas. In the two former cases, no doubt, the assistance afforded by Her Majesty's Government for political or military and naval reasons had proved to be of the greatest benefit to commercial and general interests. Such benefit, however, had been incidental to and had in no way determined the decision of Her Majesty's Government in affording the assistance required for the laying and maintaining of cables, and in no case had Her Majesty's Government imposed any restrictions, except incidentally, on the rates to be charged for non-official telegrams. The proposal now put forward departed essentially from the spirit of the policy heretofore followed. The saving that might accrue under it on the charge for official telegrams was too slight to counterbalance the other objections to it. Under the proposal, Her Majesty's Government would substitute for a policy, with entirely defensible objects, a system under which no finality could be guaranteed as regarded the claim that might be put forward in similar cases elsewhere, and which could not fail to lead to similar claims for the reduction of the cost of telegraphic communication. The Imperial Government were unwilling to establish a precedent for the grant of State assistance in excess of the amount necessary for securing the objects which the State might properly aid, in order to secure a benefit which would primarily fall to a limited class. It appeared to them that such a precedent could not fail to be invoked with a view to its extension not only to other cases of Cable Companies, but also to objects in which State intervention and assistance would be opposed to the spirit of the commercial policy of the country. It was scarcely necessary to consider minor objections to the proposal. My lords only referred to the probable effect upon the question of possible competition if a subsidy were now granted to the only Company owning cables to Australia. Assuming that competition was desirable, it would seem very doubtful whether the proposal of the Australian Colonies would not place the Eastern Extension Company in such a position as to render competition a practical impossibility. Upon the most careful review, therefore, of the whole subject, and in spite of a strong appreciation of the spirit in which the Australian colonies had made the proposal now under consideration, the Government regretted that they were precluded from giving their adhesion to the proposal, which they would gladly have given if they had not been limited by considerations of general policy, the importance of which they were confident the Australian colonies would readily appreciate.

The Australian Governments may as well acquiesce in the decision of the Treasury not to participate in any subsidy or guarantee which the Colonies may grant to the cable companies. When Mr Goschen has once put his foot down he is very difficult to move.—*British Australasian*.

The Imperial Government has consented that officers selected from the Australian naval forces shall be allowed to undergo a course of instruction in the training ship *Vernon*. For some time officers belonging to the Victorian military forces have been in training at Shoeburyness, Chatham, or Woolwich—in fact, two of them are at present studying hard in this country.—*British Australasian*.

NOTICES.

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Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER 1, 1890.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

THE marked success which attended the delivery of MR. PARKIN's addresses last winter, before large meetings in many important towns, particularly in the West Riding of Yorkshire, justifies the decision arrived at by the Executive Committee to open a fresh "campaign" during the coming winter. There can be very little question but that in this as in other cases it is the power of "the spoken word" that proves most effectual, at any rate in regard to the numbers which can be reached. Nor will it be any more questioned, by those who have had opportunities of judging, that in MR. PARKIN the League has an instrument conspicuously suited to the work required. It is not alone his complete mastery of his subject, and unsurpassed ease in pouring out the fulness of his mind, that enables MR. PARKIN so to impress and convince his audience. He possesses besides that sort of magnetic gift which, whether he is addressing a multitude from the platform, or a few persons in a room, establishes a sympathy between himself and his hearers, and so opens the door for intellectual conviction. After one or two preliminary skirmishes in London and the home counties, the campaign will open in the North of England with a meeting at Manchester on the 21st of this month.

WE are enabled to publish in this number some further correspondence on the subject of the Pacific Cable and the Australian guarantee that has passed between MR. SANDFORD FLEMING and SIR JOHN PENDER. It appears to us—and we think most persons who read the correspondence will agree with this view—that MR. FLEMING has successfully met and routed his opponent at all points. The opportunity afforded by the line of argument adopted by SIR JOHN PENDER has been seized upon by his correspondent to make out a case of really unassailable strength. In another column we publish also an abstract (fuller than that which appeared in some of the London papers, which omitted certain im-

portant points) of an exposition, emanating from the Treasury, of the grounds upon which the Government declined to participate in the proposed Australian guarantee to the Eastern Companies. It will be observed that the Government base their refusal on grounds of commercial policy, while "referring only" to the effect such a guarantee would have in preventing the construction of a competing line. This is natural enough. Commercial policy was no doubt the primary consideration; and it was a ground to which, being based upon internal policy, the Australian Governments could offer no sort of argumentative reply, as they might have done on the question of competition. But it is gratifying to find that the efforts made to impress the Government with this view of the matter have not been in vain. It further remains to note that, as a consequence of the refusal of the Imperial Government, New Zealand has now declined to take part in the guarantee.

THE Article in the *United Service Magazine*, in reply to that earlier article in the same columns which has already called forth such indignant repudiations from Colonial and other sources, is so precisely what was wanted, that we have taken the rather unusual course of reprinting it *in extenso*. To crumple up MR. GOSSIP and his *Bulletins* and *Boomerangs* was an easy task; but the writer has done more. He has shown with more than common particularity as to persons and circumstances, and with a clear insight and knowledge of the feelings that are working in men's minds, what is the real condition of public opinion among thoughtful and sober-minded people in the Australian communities. He drives home, too, a lesson that our public men at home have need of learning, that if the Empire is to be kept together they must be up and doing. The writer of the article, it may be useful to mention here, is no tyro who imputes his own thoughts to those around him, but a publicist of standing and knowledge, who has lived and worked in various parts of the Australian Colonies, and whose daily business it has been for years past to observe and register the trend of public opinion in those communities. The testimony of such a witness is not lightly to be gainsaid.

MR. ARCHIBALD MCGOWN, one of the vice-presidents of the League in Canada, has put out in pamphlet form a scheme of political federation under the title of "A Federal Parliament for the British People." Into the general character of MR. MCGOWN's scheme we do not propose to enter here, only pausing to compliment the author, if he will permit us to do so, on the solid and thoughtful nature of his work. What we are most concerned about at the moment is to correct what appears to be an erroneous impression in MR. MCGOWN's mind as to the attitude towards schemes of federation of those who share with him responsibility for the general policy of the League. He says in his preface that, in view of the utterances of many of the best friends of Federation, it was with some anxiety that the publication of this sketch was ventured upon. "So many have declared their opposition to definite plans being put forward, that it almost argues temerity in a Federationist to declare what he really means by Imperial Federation." Now we conceive this to be a mistaken idea. We are ourselves among those who deprecate the formulating of any definite plan of political federation by or in the name of the League, or any *ex cathedra* declarations of like nature by anyone who is entitled to be regarded as speaking as its mouthpiece. But this opinion does not extend, so far as we are concerned, to a *personal* exposition of his views by an individual member as such.

SUCH expressions of individual opinion have been common enough, and have received, like this very pamphlet itself, the countenance of the League, in so far as that is given by publication and distribution under its authority. From time to time we insert articles of like nature, signed and unsigned, in our own columns. What amount of advancement is lent to the cause by the elaboration of such schemes is another question. To discuss and to grapple with the subject at all points is not only useful and necessary

but constitutes at the present time one side of the only means open to Federalists of forwarding their policy. But it may be questioned whether much good comes of complete plans evolved from the mind of any one man. Something of this Mr. MCGOWN appears to recognise, when, in a footnote, after expressing the opinion that conferences can never themselves develop into legislative, fiscal, or executive authorities, he yet admits that it is only through their instrumentality that the lines can be laid down on which the organic changes necessary for the reconstitution of the Imperial relation shall be effected. And that is our own opinion.

A SIDE-LIGHT is thrown upon an interesting page of Colonial history by SIR THOMAS M'ILWRAITH'S speech on the Federation Resolutions in the Queensland Parliament. Attributing the Federal Conference of 1883 to the "serious difficulties" existing at that time "between the Colonies and the Home Country, and between the Colonies themselves," and to the "real chance there was" at the same time of a foreign war, he says he had blamed the Imperial Government, then, more than he ought to have done, for their refusal to annex New Guinea, since it was the Victorian Government that were "just as much, and indeed a great deal more," responsible for that refusal. He could not speak out at the time, he says, but he can now. "It was a fact that the Home Government were at first inclined to follow the lead shown in annexing New Guinea. . . . The Victorian Government, however, went further, and raised the whole question of the South Pacific, and then of course those in favour of the annexation became helpless." He adds that he was "of course at the time obliged to thank the Victorian Premier for his help," but he knew well enough what it was that had caused things to turn out as they did.

IN publishing the first of SIR RAWSON RAWSON'S valuable series of letters on "Commerce British and Foreign," in the month of June, we drew attention to the direct effect which the large amount of British capital absorbed by the Australian Colonies must have upon their productive power and their capacity for taking imports, and the bearing of this on the vitality of their trade. In his concluding letter, published last month, SIR RAWSON reverts to this aspect of the matter, and gives a statement in which the import and export trade with Australasia and the loans raised in England by that group of Colonies in each year are tabulated. Although there appears to be no direct relation discernible between these factors in the form of concomitant variation, there can, as the compiler of the figures says, be no doubt of the stimulus afforded by the loans to the trade between the two countries, especially the export trade from the United Kingdom; and the advantage is no doubt mutual. These tables, SIR RAWSON adds, and an examination of similar returns of trade with other countries which have been large borrowers in the London money market suggest the inquiry whether the rate of consumption of British goods in such countries, colonial and foreign alike, is not in a great measure dependent upon the means provided by England herself.

IN an interesting communication, not intended for publication, sent to us by a correspondent whose name would lend additional weight to the opinions he expresses, an application is made of SIR RAWSON RAWSON'S figures and inferences which we may be allowed to quote. Our correspondent has been writing about the debates in the Sydney Parliament as well as about SIR RAWSON'S letters, and he says, connecting the two:—"These figures might be recommended to the attention of MR. DIBBS and any others in Australia who share his sentiments as to treating England as if her Colonies were under no obligation whatever to her—not to the Government but to the people of England—for their creation, for their protection during their rise and growth against all foreign aggression, and for the financial and commercial support which have contributed to the attainment of their present degree of prosperity and importance." . . . "MR. DIBBS," he adds, "might also be reminded with advantage that at present the external influence of the Australian Colonies rests, not upon

their internal power or their means of exercising it externally, but upon the power, prestige, and international influence of the Mother Country."

MR. J. CASTELL HOPKINS, who is a most prolific writer, is to be congratulated on the quality of his latest production, a "Study of Imperial Federation," in a pamphlet headed "Canada and the Empire." He divides his subject into two parts, the first of which he calls the "Genesis of Imperial Federation," while the second treats of its desirability and practicability. MR. HOPKINS has brought together, principally in the first of these two parts, many of the most striking utterances of public men at home and in the Colonies upon the subject in hand; and the collection is both interesting and useful. In the second part the subject is dealt with in three branches—combination for defence, co-operation for commercial purposes, and the gradual consolidation of existing political relations. In his treatment of these matters, MR. HOPKINS shows an intimate acquaintance with his subject, and moreover a very complete grasp of all the problems connected with it. The pamphlet, which is published under the auspices of the League in Canada, should be widely circulated, as it gives at not too great length a clear and connected account of the movement, its principles, and the advantages it aims at securing.

THE United States Senate indulged in some pretty strongly hostile language towards Canada in debating the Tariff Bill. The Senate declined, it is true, to make a discriminating fish duty against the Dominion, but, as the *Times* correspondent has it, "the debate on this showed no love for Canada." A certain MR. SPOONER acted as fuleman in this demonstration of feeling throughout the debate, "denouncing" Canada, saying that no good neighbourhoodship characterised her intercourse, and calling her "the marplot in American relations with England." Though supporting general reciprocity proposals, this fierce Senator "demanded that Canada should be excluded from taking advantage of them," and added that "he hoped to see the day when the American flag would wave over Canada in the place of the British standard." Speaking of the Bill in the middle of September at Morrisburg, SIR JOHN MACDONALD said it would undoubtedly have the effect of checking and obstructing trade between the two countries, and Canada's course, therefore, was to find markets elsewhere; and he especially urged farmers to grow barley for England, and expressed the hope of seeing a cable between Canada and Australia, followed by direct steamship communication.

CANADA is not the only country that is considering the effect of the McKinley Bill upon its commerce, and the means to be adopted to counter the blow. Americans, whose love of bigness is proverbial, must be delighted to see how big a splash this Tariff Bill has made, and to what a distance the widening rings extend. It seems not unlikely, however, that they may find the McKinley Bill a game that two, and even considerably more than two can play at. Already we hear something of a suggested commercial union among the Latin races. Is it not just possible that to us too this apparently hostile blow may prove a blessing in disguise? If America plays the game of exclusion, and sets the fashion of reverting to the economic stage before commerce was international, the British Empire may be driven to follow suit, and see how nearly she can come to being self-contained and self-supporting. Without some such pressure from without, Imperial Reciprocity looks a long way off; but the McKinley Bill may prove the beginning of a state of things that would bring it appreciably nearer.

MR. ADYE DOUGLAS, at one time Premier of Tasmania, and more recently the Agent-General in London of that Colony, moved in the Tasmanian Council, not long ago, a vote of thanks to MR. HENNIKER HEATON "for his continued and energetic exertions for a reduction in the charges for postal and telegraphic communication between Great Britain and the Australasian Colonies." What motives

inspired this somewhat eccentric resolution we are unable even to conjecture; unless any light be thrown by the circumstance that the mover seemed rather to impute it to MR. HEATON for righteousness that he had so annoyed MR. RAIKES that the latter "would scarcely speak a civil word to him." It certainly was, as a member said, "a most unusual thing to do." The same member, by the way, was impolite enough to say they "had men among themselves who were always harping upon one string, and that was all that MR. HEATON had done." The PREMIER appreciated MR. HEATON'S work, but opposed the motion. Moreover, he said, he could not agree at all with that portion of it which alluded to the telegraphic reductions. As to that, "whatever thanks were due to anybody would be due to MR. SANDFORD FLEMING and SIR JOHN PENDER." It was altogether a curious little episode. The motion was of course withdrawn.

In the constitutional question raised by a correspondent, in connection with the closing of MR. BAIRD'S lobster factories by the Commander of H.M.S. *Emerald*, there are involved two elements which, in order to a clear understanding, it is very necessary to keep apart. There is the question to be tried in the Newfoundland Courts next November of the legal liability of COMMANDER SIR BALDWIN WALKER for the "trespass" committed against MR. BAIRD'S property. The issue of that action will depend upon whether the act of the naval officer, complained of by MR. BAIRD, was or was not authorised, either by previous instructions or subsequent ratification, by the Imperial Executive Government representing the Crown. If it was not, the officer was (since no statutory authority justified his act) a mere trespasser, and personally responsible to MR. BAIRD; but if it was authorised by the Government, then the plea that his act was an act of State must be upheld and the action fail, for the act was the act of the Crown, and the maxim that "The King can do no wrong" is a part of the Common Law which rules the decisions of every Court in the Empire.

Now for the second element in the question. Our correspondent complains that "if the Imperial Government can without the authority of Parliament order its naval officers to do what is clearly illegal, and those officers can successfully plead 'instructions' from the Imperial authorities, no self-governing Colony is safe." Now the answer to this is that the people in a self-governing Colony are in this respect in no worse position than people at home. If MR. BAIRD had been drying haddock in Scotland instead of canning lobsters in Newfoundland, the Executive Government might have exercised precisely the same powers against him. Our correspondent's claim therefore amounts to this, that because MR. BAIRD lives in Newfoundland instead of in Scotland he may commit acts directly tending, in the opinion of the Executive Government, to embroil it with the French Government, and the Executive may not interfere with him: that not only may the Colony, whilst wholly depending on the gratuitous protection of the Mother Country, dictate the terms and manner of the protection to be given, but that its people may, uncontrolled, even stir up a war which the Mother Country has to fight. Such a proposition carries its own refutation. *Salus populi suprema lex*; and the resentment expressed at the exercise of the sovereign authority would never have been felt if the Executive Government were in a true sense "Imperial" as representing the whole Empire.

In a thoughtful article on "Colonial Loyalty and the Vatican," the *Spectator* dwells upon the new power being built up by the Church of Rome in the Colonies, and the political influence which that power will enable the Vatican to exercise upon the future of the Imperial relationship. "In Australia, beyond a doubt," the writer says, "the popular intention sets strongly in the direction of a democratic Federation, which would be entirely independent of England; while in Canada the question of union with the United States depends in a great measure on fiscal and religious questions, and very little on sentimental Imperialism.

At any moment, should the *mot d'ordre* arrive from Rome, the Jesuits of Quebec and Lower Canada can initiate a revolution which may involve the loss of our Canadian Dominion from Halifax to Vancouver." Without disputing for a moment the existence of currents of opinion in the directions indicated in the two quarters of the globe referred to, we are fain to believe that the *Spectator* greatly over-rates their strength and volume. At the same time, we agree with our contemporary in holding the political influence of the Roman Church a power to be reckoned with. "The day is dawning," the *Spectator* continues, "on which momentous decisions must be taken by the Mother Country in respect of her children beyond the Ocean;" and the question whether Rome would be on the side of Union or Separation would at a time of crisis be a serious one—the moral of which is that it is unwise of English statesmen to flout the Vatican.

LEAGUE NOTICE.

IMPORTANT MEETING IN MANCHESTER.—Under the auspices of the Mayor of Manchester, a very important meeting will be held in the Town Hall on Tuesday afternoon, October 21st, at which Mr. G. R. Parkin will give an address on the aims of the Imperial Federation League. This will form the first of a series of meetings to be held in the principal towns of England and Scotland during the coming winter. A great deal of interest is felt in Lancashire in this movement; it has the hearty sympathy of Lord Egerton of Tatton, who will be present, and, if his health will admit of it, will be among the speakers on that occasion, with the Lord Bishop of Manchester—a warm supporter of the League—and many of the most influential local members of Parliament. Mr. F. Faithfull Begg (the candidate for the borough of Kennington), an active member of the Executive Committee of the League, will also speak. Miss Emily Faithfull, who is kindly organising the meeting, will be happy to give any further details respecting it to local friends who write to 10, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.

EXIT "THE BYSTANDER."

IN the August number of the *Bystander* Mr. Goldwin Smith announces its discontinuance after the issue of another number, closing its year. The *Review of Reviews* makes the following extracts from what the editor calls Mr. Goldwin Smith's "penultimate swan-song." We had always supposed the idea to be that swans sang once only before their death; but Mr. Goldwin Smith is here credited with a "penultimate," and may, therefore, also have sung an "ante-penultimate swan-song," and so back indefinitely. There is an old epigram founded on this superstition, which, though we are far from applying it to Mr. Goldwin Smith's "songs" at large, may nevertheless be called to mind not very inappropriately with reference to a good many of those of recent years. It runs:—

"Swans sing before they die: 't were no bad thing
Should certain persons die before they sing."

However, the following extracts are worthy of all respectful consideration. Mr. Goldwin Smith says:—

A NEW FRANCE IN CANADA.

Between the British and Protestant sections of the Dominion there is being formed a French nationality, under the moral sovereignty not of the Queen but of the Pope. Who can fail to see that a new France stands in the way of our efforts to bring about the national unity of the Dominion? When there is a solid mass of people of one race inhabiting a compact territory with a language, religion, character, laws, tendencies, aspirations, and sentiments of its own, there is *de facto* a nation. That Canada has power to absorb or assimilate this nation is what nobody can imagine. The time was when the growth of French nationality and of the Ultramontane theocracy connected with it might have been prevented, but that time has long since passed away.

There is not, it seems, to be a single representative of the British element in the Cabinet. So much for the British conquest of Quebec! All the more ought we to guard against French and Ultramontane encroachment the integrity of the British Province.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE JESUITS.

The triumph of the Jesuits has brought to Quebec, whence it will operate on the Dominion, another corps of the Papal

militia. The Franciscans, it is now announced, have landed, and are displaying to an edified people the hard boards on which they sleep, the sackcloth which forms their bedding, and all the paraphernalia of their asceticism. The net result of this new irruption of friars probably will be a further draining by ecclesiastical suction of the wealth of Quebec, ending in increased need of subsidies from the Dominion. What the Jesuit palmer-worm leaves the Franciscan locust will devour, and Ontario and Protestant Montreal in the end will pay for all.

To the restoration of the Inquisition we have no doubt we should come in due time if the propagandists of the Encyclical could have their way, but at present we have got no further than the restoration of the Jesuit Estates.

A CANADIAN CAUTION TO AUSTRALIA.

It seems that through some "traitorous" channel a doubt has found its way to the Australians whether the success of Canadian Confederation is so assured that they have only to tread in our footsteps. Let the Australians come here and judge for themselves. Let them measure, still with our example in view, the amount not only of expenditure but of corruption, demagogism, and faction which the creation of a Federal Government, as a prize of perpetual contention between Federal parties, will entail. Already they are practically federated for all the ordinary purposes of such unions as a group of Colonies under the same Crown. If independence was the aim of the Australians, Federation would be necessary for the purposes of external security and extension as well as for that of internal peace. But otherwise they had better count the full cost before they take the leap. Once more, we say, let them come here and judge for themselves.

THE DEFENCELESSNESS OF CANADA.

Our Jingoos have been brandishing an opinion given by an English officer to the effect that the invader would again be repulsed as he was in 1812. Since 1812 all has been changed. The country has ceased to be a natural fortress of forest which the bushranger could defend against regular troops. It has been laid perfectly open for military operations. On our frontier have grown up great cities which would be at the mercy of the invader. Railways would enable the enemy to concentrate his overwhelming resources, and steam would make him master of the Lakes, every point on the northern shores of which he would threaten with superior force. We have no army, nor could we create one in anything like the time allowed by the swift march of modern war. It takes, we believe, about six months to make a good infantry soldier, a year to make a cavalry soldier, and a still longer time to make a good artilleryman. We have no equipments of war, no staff, no general who has ever handled a large body of men under fire. Another vital difference between the situation in 1812 and the present is that now we have in the midst of us a French nation, while the French are no longer kept true to us by antagonism to the Puritans of New England, but, on the contrary, are bound to New England by the presence there of three or four hundred thousand of their kinsmen.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

THE Conference resolutions were introduced into the Legislative Council, on June 24th, by the Hon. J. H. Gordon, Minister of Education.

THE HON. R. C. BAKER (on the following day), resuming the debate upon the Federation resolutions moved by the Minister of Education, desired first to correct an inaccuracy which appeared in the report of the proceedings in the Council of the previous day, in which it was made to appear that he had interjected a remark whilst the Hon. the Minister of Education was speaking of a Federal Court of Appeal as a final procedure. He had not interpolated the remark, "That meant separation," but believed that the remark emanated from the Hon. D. Murray. He desired to make this reference, because he totally disagreed with that opinion. (Hear, hear.)

THE HON. DR. CAMPBELL said that parallel with this territorial question was that of immigration. Without Federation in view it seemed as if the temper of the Colonies rendered its very discussion useless. The people of these Colonies at the present time did not view immigration with favour, and yet no fact stood out more prominently than that they could not develop and occupy Australia without an immense augmentation of population. Immigration brought the highest form of wealth which could enter a new country. (Hear, hear.) It brought muscle and intelligence. (Hear, hear.) They all admired the progress of the United States, and yet it was the long stream of immigrants which had poured into it for years that largely gave her her greatness. He was sure that the States had secured more wealth by this influx of population during those thirty years than they in Australia had by the millions of borrowed money they had brought into it. (Hear, hear.) . . . The Minister of Education had spoken of the creation of a Federal Court of Appeal, and had said that no appeal should be permitted to the Queen's Privy Council at home. He understood, so long as they were subjects of the British Crown, an appeal to the Privy Council always would lie. In Canada, as he understood, such an appeal could be made if permitted by the Canadian Court.

THE HON. J. WARREN would like to see international Free Trade

amongst English-speaking peoples as against all foreign nations, excepting where markets for produce were open.

THE HON. DR. MAGAREY said he thought the time was not far distant when Australia should not be involved in war because the Mother Country was at war. How that was to be effected until they had a federated Australia he did not know. When Australia was federated she should have some voice as to whether she should be involved in war or not. The speeches which had been made on the motion before the Council indicated a caution, especially by the Scotch members, which showed a want of preparedness for Federation. There was, however, a growing spirit amongst not only Australian natives, but also those who had spent all but a few years of their life in Australia, of nationalism, and looking upon themselves as Australians, and talking as Australians, and expecting others to look upon them as Australians. He did not believe that spirit was yet sufficiently grown to cause them to federate. There was a great deal more yet required, and he believed they must patiently wait until they could forget that they belonged to a foreign country. (Hon. W. Copley: "What do you mean by foreign country?") Well, say until they could forget that they belonged to any country but Australia.

In the Legislative Assembly the resolutions were moved by the Premier and Chief Secretary, the Hon. Dr. Cockburn.

In the course of his speech he said:—He would like to say one word with regard to the attitude of the Imperial Government. There was not a member of the House who would not be sorry to see Federation lead to any lessening in their loyalty. (Hear, hear.) They, however, could not shut their eyes to the fact that in one of the Colonies at least a number of members were advocating Federation on no other ground but that of separation. ("Very small number.") There was considerable feeling in this direction, and a certain section of the Press had taken the matter up. He thought the attitude of the Mother Country showed her disinterestedness, as she was willing to agree to any course that might be considered to the advantage of the Colonies whatever the consequences might be. But in his opinion there was no room to fear that the existence of a Federal Government would be the means of in any way weakening the tie which at present existed with the Old Country. All the Colonies were at present bound by an intimate and direct bond with England. When the Colonies were federated there would be only one bond of union—the Governor-General of Australia—(Hear, hear)—but he did not fear the result. He thought the feeling of the House was, that when the Colonies were federated they should constitute one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) The realisation of Federation would mean a revolution in our present form of government. They were dealing with a stupendous problem.

THE HON. T. PLAYFORD, who, as leader of the Opposition, followed the mover, in the course of his speech said he wished to refer to what the Premier said as to persons supporting the Federation movement with the idea that it would lead to separation from Great Britain. He (Mr. Playford) knew that the Sydney *Bulletin*, and possibly one or two other papers, advanced that idea, but he had not met with it anywhere else, and he was confident that the general view of the matter took an opposite direction. (Cheers.) Federation would not loosen the ties that bound them to the British Empire, but must strengthen those bonds, and eventually they should see the Empire consisting of a Confederation in which they should form one part, Canada and possibly the United States forming another, for the purpose of protecting themselves against foreign aggression. (Cheers.) He believed that the wisdom of forming such a Confederacy would gradually be appreciated, and that eventually the great English-speaking people of the world would confederate. (Cheers.) At the same time they would not be required to give up any of their rights and privileges with regard to their own Government, but they would mutually agree to assist each other in case of attack by a foreign Power. (Hear, hear.) . . . As to the Governors of the different Colonies, he did not see why the people should not appoint one for themselves. (Cheers.) The Governor-General should be appointed by the Crown, as was the case with Canada, and the Colonies could follow the example of Canada if they liked by having their Governors appointed by the Ministry of the day.

MR. STOCK said that whilst desiring, as every loyal subject must, to maintain our connection with, and adherence to, the Old Country, he hoped that, so far as possible, in matters relating to Federated Australia as a whole, the Federal Parliament, Senate, or whatever else it might be, would have powers as supreme as the circumstances would permit of. He hoped, when the Federal Australian Constitution was agreed to, that, unlike Canada, they should be able to remit questions to the Supreme Court of Australia, and that the decisions of that Court would be absolutely final. They could not do better than follow Canada in having a Governor-General appointed by the Home Government, but he did not approve of their system of vesting in the Governor-General the power of appointing Provincial Governors. That should be left to each Colony to be exercised either by the Provincial Parliament or the people by election, the latter being probably the better. (Hear, hear.) But the Governor-General should have the power to veto any Act passed by both Upper and Lower House of the Federal Parliament. . . . It had been said in another place that the abolition of the right of appeal to the Privy Council would tend to separate them from the Old Country. This he did not believe. Their union with the Mother Country was held by the bonds of loyalty and good feeling far too strongly to be in any way weakened by the abolition of a tribunal which had always been unsatisfactory in the administration of justice, because it could only see written evidence, and never the person who gave the evidence, and apart from that it had been a needless expense to the litigants, besides being a tribunal only for the rich, and inaccessible to the poor. (Hear, hear.)

MR. BEWS said he was pleased to hear the Premier discountenance the sentiments of the Separationists in New South Wales in their speeches on Federation. In fixing a basis for Australian Federation they

should have in view the greater Federation which must eventually come. (Cheers.) He was an admirer of the British Constitution, in which there was a freedom unknown even in America. (Hear, hear.) There were growths in connection with monarchical government which he would like to see removed, but he hoped that the day was far distant when he would see it changed for republican government. (Hear, hear.) To him England was practically a foreign land, while Australia was endeared to him by every tie that was wont to attach us to our own native land. But he still recognised that to the Mother Country we owed much in relation to the glorious institutions we possessed, and, although an Australian, he could look to England and say—

"It is the land that freemen till,
That sober-suited freedom chose—
The land where, girt by friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will."

(Cheers.)

SIR J. W. DOWNER concluded his speech with the following words:—"That in the opinion of this Conference the best interests and the present and future prosperity of the Australian Colonies will be promoted by an early union under the Crown," and he believed that it was the feeling, the hope, and the determination of the people of South Australia that any union should be an union under the Crown. (Hear, hear.) The time might come—but he hoped it was far distant—when the old ties with the Mother Country might be dissolved, and the feeling of love and affection become less and less. But nations would drift apart, and there was no altering the immutable law of nature in such matters. He hoped that Australia would remain the brightest gem in the crown of England—(cheers)—and that once again it might be said that in her time of trouble England was capable of calling into existence a new world to redress the balance of the old. (Cheers.)

MR. HANCOCK said separation had been mentioned. It had been said that whilst we had intercolonial free trade we must have protection with the outside world. He did not know what the result would be, but possibly the time might come when, with a protective tariff against the outside world, an influence might be brought to bear upon us by other countries, leading even to separation from the Mother Country. He hoped not, but there seemed to be a danger of it. (Hear, hear.)

THE HON. C. C. KINGSTON said: Regarding the supreme head of the Federal Executive there was a great deal in having something in the shape of a Governor-General, such as in the Canadian Constitution. As to the power of veto he did not think if it were not more frequently exercised in the case of an Australian Federation than it was by the Queen in Imperial matters that there would be any cause for complaint.

Referring to immigration he said: In matters of immigration which affected the most vital interests of Australia and the interests of the working classes in particular, the Colony should have the fullest power to take action, and he trusted that in the constitution of the Federal Parliament they would find no provision which would restrict their present unlimited right to deal with the matter as they pleased, or which in any way would add to the class of Bills usually reserved for Imperial assent. Mr. Horn had asked whether he would permit the Governor-General to exercise the power of veto over the Acts of the local Legislature, and he would reply certainly not. (Mr. Horn: "They do in Canada." Mr. Moule: "They don't in the United States.") Very possibly they did in Canada, but he inclined strongly to the opinion that it should not be so. (Mr. Horn: "I am not in favour of it.") It would be a source of unnecessary complication. Let the local Legislature be supreme within its sphere, and let the Federal Legislature be supreme within its sphere, and let neither interfere unnecessarily with the other. (Hear, hear.)

MR. GRAINGER said the Hon. T. Playford appeared to consider that we had no authority to have a final Court of Appeal, and the Premier differed from him. Every British subject had a right to appeal to Her Majesty, and the Privy Council represented the Queen. That was one reason why the Colonies should insist on having a Court of Appeal. (Hear, hear.) They should also insist on the right to dispense with any veto whatever from the Imperial authorities. If they made up their mind to act in a certain way, they would not be prevented by the Imperial Government. It was because they did not wish to do anything against the will of the Imperial Government that the veto had been admitted. He was afraid that was a question which the delegates were not likely to consider, because so far as he knew they were most frightfully Imperialistic, and only too hungry for titles. The Federal Parliament should deal with the question of titles. This idea of linking "K.C.M.G." to a man's name was a great mistake. It induced a lot of very worthy and respectable Colonists to—he would not say "toady," but to adopt an Imperialistic tone. (Mr. Caldwell: "Does it do them harm?") He thought it did. These titles were first given because certain leading Colonists were not quite so subservient to the Imperial authorities as the Imperial authorities wished them to be. (Laughter.) It was suggested to Lord Grey that if he would scatter a few titles amongst the Colonials he would find that these Democrats would turn round to be rank Conservatives. (Laughter.) Whenever they found a man taking a title of this kind they could safely look upon him as an Imperialist for the rest of his life, and as practically ceasing to be an Australian. (Laughter.)

MR. HAGUE said he had come to the conclusion that it was better for the Governors to be elected than to be nominated by the Crown. If appointed by the Crown the Governor-General would stand between the Queen and the nation, and the local Governors would stand between the nation and the central Parliament. In such a matter the law of England should not be considered so much as whether it would be in harmony with a federal constitution. . . . He thought that a standing army would be a menace to the liberties of the people. . . . The Colonies joining the federation would do so for ever, and then, supposing the Central Government had an army at its back, there would be the danger that, if a Colony became dissatisfied with the Union, it might be threatened with civil war.

MR. CASTINE said he agreed with the Premier in the matter of defences that no doubt General Edwards was sent to warn the Colonies at a time when the Colonies were ready to receive that warning; but they should not overlook the fact that the General was an Imperial officer sent by the Imperial Government for an Imperial purpose. (Hear, hear.) . . . He hardly understood Mr. Playford with regard to the Court of Appeal. Did he mean that supposing South Australia was suffering from some disadvantage she should have power to appeal to a Court superior to the Federated Council? (Hon. T. Playford—"The Court of Appeal would take the place of the Privy Council, and would hear appeals from the Legislatures.") He thoroughly endorsed that principle, because it was easy to imagine that a case would crop up which would land the Federal Council in a difficulty, and the Court would be valuable. He understood that the Court of Appeal would consist of the Judges of the various Colonies, and perhaps the Governor-General.

THE HON. J. L. PARSONS said if there was to be a Federated Australia, there must of course be a Governor-General, who should be appointed by the Crown, while for the different Colonies or States there must be Lieutenant-Governors, who, in accordance with the genius of the people, should be elected by the people themselves and not nominated by the Crown. (Cheers.)

MR. DASHWOOD said it was perfectly idle to talk about separation in connection with the matter. If they looked into the dim future, it was evident that Australia would be a united and independent nation. Separation would certainly come about when gain was attached to it.

MR. HACK said that, to his mind, nothing was more likely to be a greater curse to the Colonies than a standing army. Some of the difficulty and bad operation of the principle could be seen in connection with the cost of the new Australian squadron. One of the greatest mistakes the Colonies ever made was in endeavouring to get opinions from abroad and the Old Country as to the protection of our shores. The less we tried to protect the coast-line the better it would be for us.

QUEENSLAND.

In the House of Assembly, on July 9th, the Premier, Mr. Morehead, moved—"That this House concur in the resolutions passed by the Federal Conference," and explained the course the Government proposed to take as to the appointment of delegates.

MR. HODGKINSON said the great danger of the movement was in its being too closely connected with Imperialistic tendencies. Whatever the so-called leaders of society might think, there was but one form of Government which would obtain the support of the vast majority of the electors of this Colony, and it was necessary that the delegates should have some very definite instructions on this subject, and carry them out, too, if they desired that their recommendations should afterwards be accepted by Parliament. In no sense or manner should an attempt be made to curtail the powers of local government, or to check the development of local feeling as to the manner in which the future nation was to be built up. He knew that there would be efforts made in a contrary direction by those who were greedy for honours and titles; but if the Queensland delegates assisted these persons they would receive the condemnation of the people of this Colony. It should be the aim of all to build up the Colonies into a perfect independence, and the hands of every one should be left perfectly free to accept that independence in any form in which it might be presented. (Hear, hear.)

SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH, in the course of his speech, said:—"The Australian Colonies at the present time, with all their liberty and equality, were no better than children among the nations of the world. He was beginning to grow tired of being called a Colonist—(hear, hear)—and it was said, perhaps unintentionally, by those in the Old Country that after all the Colonists were an inferior sort of people. They were children depending upon a superior power. That was a good thing to begin with, but there came a time when young States felt the right to assert their manhood, and he believed that time had come for Australia. (Cheers.) He was certain that the individual Colonies of Australia would never be separated into seven or eight different States, as some people feared; for if such a thing was undertaken there would be war amongst themselves. (Hear, hear.) How were we to get into a position of equality with our brethren in England unless we took a stride forward in the direction of a Federal Parliament? It was asked, what would this Colony have to give up? Of course, when we associated ourselves with other States for mutual assistance, we must give up those individual and separate rights which are inconsistent with the advantage of the alliance. The word federation had a great many meanings, but by federation he understood the establishment upon the Australian continent of an Australian nation, which should take its place as an equal and ally of the British nation, with the common bond of the Crown; the establishment of an Australian Parliament, which should exercise for the whole of Australia those powers which were now exercised by the British Parliament, and which cannot be exercised by the individual Colonies.

MR. RUTLEDGE said: He would not go further than to say that they should become a great Australian nationality under the Crown, for whatever might come in the future they could not now go further than the resolution set forth. That did not mean that they were slavishly to depend on the British Crown, but if they took their responsibilities as a nation they should be able to take their place independently of the Crown itself. (Hear, hear.) He was not anxious to see a separation from the Mother Country, but it did not require great foresight to see that sooner or later separation would come, and Australia would become an independent nationality like the United States. (Hear, hear.) He regarded the resolutions with great favour, but he did not think there was anything to fear with regard to Imperial Federation, and he believed that there was a general feeling against Federation of that kind in Australia at the present time. A more substantial Federation than that was wanted. Hitherto the Colonies had never asserted themselves in a sufficiently commanding manner to

secure the amount of attention which they were entitled to at the hands of the English people. Some of the information which was cabled to the Colonies was an example of that fact.

MR. PAUL said the idea that the British people had a contempt for Colonials was utterly wrong. He could not concur with Mr. Groom that there was no enthusiasm with respect to Federation. He looked on this Federation as simply a stepping-stone to the Federation of all English-speaking people throughout the world, including the American nation.

MR. UNMACK said: Did the people of Queensland understand at present the effect of Federation? He said emphatically no. The fact of the matter was that Federation was a fashionable cry repeated from one mouth to another without thought or consideration. The majority of the people to whom he had spoken on the subject seemed to be under the impression that Federation meant separation from the Old Country and the forming of the Australian Colonies into one grand independent nation similar to the United States of America. (Cries of "No, no.") That appeared to be the general opinion of the many persons whom he had consulted on the subject. He was second to none in his loyalty to the British Crown, and he hoped the day was far distant when Australia would cast off the Mother Country. Even from a purely selfish point of view, the Australian people had everything to lose and nothing to gain from adopting such a course.

MR. DALRYMPLE said that he was strongly in favour of Federation, and he believed that Federation would be a step towards separation. He was astonished to hear members of the Opposition offering such trifling objections against so desirable and national a movement. He assured the House that Northern members had higher motives than the encouragement of the sugar industry in supporting the resolutions. They were actuated by a desire to build up a grand nation. (Hear, hear.)

SIR THOMAS M'ILWRAITH, after referring to the representations of Queensland and Victoria, made to the Imperial Government upon the New Guinea question, said:—With reference to the position of the Colonies to the Mother Country, it was felt that the Colonies should unite so as to be able to speak with one voice when they had made up their minds upon any subject. He had a great deal of pride in the part he had taken in the work. Delegates were present from the whole of the Colonies, including New South Wales, but when the matter was subsequently brought before the Legislatures, some of them did not agree to it. New Zealand stood out—he was very glad she did so. He did not want a little bit of the Imperial Federation fad, and he was very glad she retired so gracefully as she did. New Zealand had nothing to do with Federation, so far as he could see. Besides, the public men there to whom he had spoken did not seem to have the slightest notion what Federation meant.

Referring to some of the difficulties to be encountered in distinguishing the forms of the Federal and Provincial Governments, he said: The spirit of the country was gradually rising against the increase of population, and they did not know but that the complete stoppage of immigration would take place. (Several Voices: "Never.") It might come, although he hoped that such would not be the case. (Hear, hear.)

MR. DRAKE said that the question of Federation had been placed before the people of the Colony, for as early as 1888 a prominent part of his programme was given to Australian Federation as opposed to Imperial Federation, and, as far as he could judge, the electors of his constituency were in favour of Australian Federation. (Hear, hear.) He did not think that the people of this Colony would tolerate any scheme of Federation which had a tendency towards Imperialism, and he believed that that was one of the reasons why the present scheme of Federation was regarded with suspicion by so many. He complained that in the Governor's Speech the words "portion of the Empire" were used instead of the word "Colony." This was not done till 1889, and he wished the Government to explain why the wording of the Speech had been altered. Queensland was never a portion of the Empire, and never would be. . . . He believed that the smaller and younger Colonies would be placed at an advantage rather than a disadvantage if Federation was realised, especially in the matter of defence. The whole of the British fleet, it was stated, could not protect the coast line of England against invasion. How then could Australia hope to form a fleet which would protect her enormous coast line? (An Hon. Member: "What can we do then?") How did the United States do? Her fleet was not sufficient to protect her coast line, but no nation interfered with her, because, although such a nation might be able to do some harm, she could do herself no good. The weakness of Australia lay in her great coast line, and her strength lay in her great extent of territory, which made her practically invulnerable.

MR. MACROSSAN said: Federation did not mean separation from the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) The resolution stated that we desired to federate under the Crown. We could not federate in any other way, for if we attempted to federate without the Crown we should become a separate people. (Hear, hear.) But he believed that the time would come when we should be a separate people—(hear, hear)—and he wished to see such a federal system established before that occasion arose as would prepare us for the transition from a state of dependency to a state of independence. . . . The time would come when this Colony and Australia would require a defence of some kind. Like Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, he was not very much afraid of the Chinese, but he feared that at some period the northern portions of the Colonies might be taken possession of by some hostile Power or Powers. With respect to immigration, the only thing which could prevent what many people were afraid of, although he did not fear it much himself, the introduction of alien labour against the wishes of the people of Australia, was to put the whole matter into the hands of the Federal Parliament. Then no danger could arise from this source by giving separation to the Northern Colonies. The Imperial Federationists advocated that alien races should be brought in to cultivate the Northern lands. It was said on behalf of the Imperial Federal fad that no white man could work on the Northern lands. White men could do it; white men worked in America under as hot a sun as there was in the North.

AN AUSTRALASIAN OPINION ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE *Leeds Mercury*, in a special article "From a Correspondent," discusses under the above title Mr. H. R. Nicholls's paper in the *United Service Magazine*. The writer says:—

"One of the clearest utterances yet heard in this country on the question of Imperial Federation, and of Australasian feeling on the subject, is to be found in the article contributed to the September number of the *United Service Magazine* by Mr. H. R. Nicholls, of Tasmania. Mr. Nicholls is acknowledged to be one of the most acute thinkers and vigorous writers in Australasia, and his long connection with the press in more than one Colony has given him exceptional opportunities of gauging accurately the public mind of the country. He writes the present article in reply to one which appeared in the May number of the *United Service Magazine*, in which Mr. Gossip, of New South Wales, attempted to prove, by quotations from various Sydney papers, that the main drift of Australian feeling was in favour of separation from the Mother Land. This view Mr. Nicholls traverses without any hesitation, and adduces conclusive proof to show that it is wrong. He points out that most of the really leading papers of the Colonies support the Imperial Federation idea, and that some which do not give it warm encouragement are rather in the attitude of expectation, which, he adds, is the attitude of 'most of the thinking people of all the Colonies.' Among the journals which directly support national unity he mentions the Melbourne *Argus* and *Age*, the Hobart *Mercury*, and all the papers of Tasmania, a host of up-country papers in Victoria, many others in South Australia and New Zealand—enough to prove that 'in the press of these Colonies, taken as a whole, the opinion in favour of Imperial Federation is very predominant.' No one but an Australian could, without giving great offence, have shown up the real character of the Sydney and Brisbane journals which distinguish themselves by abuse of everything British; but Mr. Nicholls has the courage to dispose of the New South Wales *Bulletin* and the Queensland *Boomerang* in a few lines which are as true as they are effective. That all the vials of their wrath will be poured out upon him in return for what he has said is practically certain; but Mr. Nicholls is not a man to be moved by such considerations. 'It is a fact worthy of notice,' he says, 'that nearly all, if not all, of these papers which are so rabid against Imperial Federation are Socialistic, and most of them decidedly anti-British.'

"So far as the Australian press is concerned, Mr. Nicholls proves his case up to the hilt. He admits that it is not easy to say positively what the actual state of public opinion is upon Imperial Federation, but he points out that Mr. Parkin, when lecturing on what he called 'National Unity,' was received enthusiastically in New Zealand, Victoria, and Tasmania, and was listened to by large and sympathetic audiences in South Australia and the other Colonies. If he met with a less favourable reception in Queensland or Sydney, Mr. Nicholls points out that here there is 'a noisy set of people who call themselves nationalists, who display their Nationality by plundering the Chinese shops on all occasions, and who are disposed to allow no one to say anything which does not suit themselves.' He adds that 'the so-called Nationalist party in New South Wales and Queensland is very aggressive, assertive, insolent, and abusive; but we must not conclude that it is the predominant party, since the real strength of the Colonies cannot be said to belong to it at all.'

"Valuable as Mr. Nicholls's article is as gauging Australian public opinion, it is even more so in its decisive utterances as to the attitude of the British mind on the subject of Imperial Federation. 'To my mind,' he says, 'the English people, meaning thereby the politicians, appear to have lost their Imperial quality. They keep on telling the Colonies that they can never federate with Great Britain. The Colonies certainly have not yet reached this conclusion themselves.' What he asks from this country and its statesmen is bold leadership: 'Let England declare that she will never desert her Colonies, never allow them to separate, except there is entire unanimity; let her speak plainly as the "great mother of majestic works" should, and the whole Colonial aspect will be changed by the simple magic of entire earnestness.' . . .

"Let any reader of the *Mercury* compare what Mr. Nicholls has written, the tone of which can be judged from what has been quoted, with the pessimistic and hesitating view put forward about the prospects of unity among the British people by Sir Charles Dilke, so long looked upon in this country as a leader of political thought, in his 'Problems of Greater Britain,' and then let him ask himself whether the Colonist or the Englishman voices the more worthy ideal for a great historic Empire like our own. It cannot be too often said in this country that in the most distant corners of the Empire there are men who have the 'Imperial quality' as fully, who are thinking and planning for the greatness and welfare of the Empire as earnestly and as patriotically, as any in these islands themselves. And the men who are founding new nations beyond the seas, who have organised political systems, and brought them into

ALLIANCE OR UNION.

UNDER this heading *Young Australia* has a leading article, from which we make some extracts. We have heard something of the proposed new Review, and hope rather than expect that it will see the light; as we are convinced that nothing but good can come of the discussion of the great question of the future relationship of the different portions of the Empire from whatever point of view that discussion is started. Our contemporary says:—

"We have been shown the prospectus of a new *Quarterly Review* to be published in London. The prospectus is marked 'Confidential,' so that we cannot very well criticise the new venture. There happens, however, lately to have been an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* which stated that while professing to draw closer the interests of the Colonies and the Mother Country, the new Review intends to oppose Imperial Federation. It advocates, in fact, Alliance, not Union.

"Now it also happens that three of the English magazines have lately had articles which enable us to approach this subject without any further reference to the proposed new *Quarterly*.

"Recent numbers of the English magazines, while furnishing fresh proofs of the growing interest in the subject of Imperial Federation, at the same time supply strong indications of the difficulties in the way, and the still very far from perfect appreciation of the principles and facts which constitute at once its justification and its necessity.

"*Blackwood*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Edinburgh* have all published articles more or less based upon, or suggested by, the books of Sir Charles Dilke and Sir George Bowen, which, apart from the question of their intrinsic value, are of weight as put forward by the authoritative organs of the older political parties in the Mother Country. All, it should be unnecessary to state, exhibit the strongest sympathy with the growth and progress of the Colonies, and the firmest confidence in the ultimate destiny of the British people. But both *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* are equally strong in their objection to anything tangible and definite. *Blackwood*, indeed, so far recognises the necessity of a supreme governing body for the Empire in which the Colonies should be represented, as to suggest the creation of an Imperial Council existing apparently side by side with the Parliament at Westminster.

"But it is not explained whence such a body would derive, nor in what manner it would exercise, its authority, nor how its decisions could acquire legal validity, and be carried into effect otherwise than by the subsequent authorisation and co-operation of the Imperial and Colonial Legislatures and executives. The effect, moreover, of the seeming concession to the great self-governing portions of the Empire of a voice in the common foreign policy, may be thought by some to be considerably discounted by the admission of a like right in the Crown Colonies and India. The writer of the article, seemingly much alarmed at Sir Charles Dilke's remarks on the growth of national feeling in Australia, and oblivious that to a similar growth, carefully fostered by Sir John Macdonald, is mainly due the non-absorption of Canada in the United States, urges that no time should be lost by the Mother Country in forming closer union with each individual Colony desirous of it. He says truly enough that New Zealand is a sufficiently large unit to enter an Imperial Federation by itself; but when he proceeds to apply, or suggest the application of this doctrine further to the component Provinces of the Australian continent, it is evident that a person with so little practical grasp of the existing situation, is merely writing in the air.

"But if *Blackwood* perceives it to be inevitable that the Colonies must sooner or later be represented in any body which is to permanently command their allegiance and control their fortunes, the heavier and less modern organs of the Tories and Whigs have not yet got so far. 'It would be wiser,' thinks the *Edinburgh Review*, 'to look rather to an alliance than the construction of a Central Government.' 'It is easy,' declares the writer in the *Quarterly*, illustrating a few lines later on his own assertion—'It is easy to be fascinated with a phrase, and if we refuse to express enthusiasm for the idea of the Confederation of the Empire, it is because our anxiety is too keen to be solaced with empirical theories.' Yet the *Quarterly Review*, not less or even more than the *Edinburgh*, declares in favour of the combination of all the military and naval resources of the Empire. Where, one must ask, in the absence of Imperial Federation, are to be sought the authority and responsibility for their control? Is it to be supposed that the Colonies would consent to place their military forces for any lengthy period, if at all, whether in peace or war, at the disposal of a Commander-in-Chief or a Secretary of State for War, responsible solely to the existing House of Commons? . . .

"'It would be wiser to look to an alliance.' This, in plain words, is the gospel of separation. An alliance can only exist between mutually independent parties. What this involves is not the Imperial enfranchisement of those portions of the Britannic realm, as yet only enjoying the rights of local self-government, which (as regards Imperial affairs) now occupy the same position as the great manufacturing cities that had

grown up in England before the first Reform Bill—not the concession of full citizenship to the British people beyond—as within the British Isles—but such an alliance, say between the Old Country, Canada, and Australia, as now exists between the three Central Powers of Europe. Is it probable, or possible, that peoples incapable of the mutual concessions requisite to the accomplishment of a fuller National Union would be willing to submit to the sacrifices demanded by the maintenance of an alliance? Or is it probable or possible that a policy of disintegration would be carried out in a spirit of union?

"'Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love;
But why did you kick me downstairs?'

"The people of the United States speak the same language, or one approaching to it, and present the other points of superficial resemblance which we are taught to look out for and gush over in the independent Colonies of a possible future; but, if the past is any guide to the present or the future, it would be wiser to look to an alliance with the moon. A mere military alliance is no more than might exist between Britain and any foreign State. A mere military alliance contains in it no seeds of lasting union. A mere military alliance can, in the nature of things, endure no longer than the necessities that call it into being. An alliance has, as often as not, been the almost immediate precursor of hostilities between the allies. . . . The difference between the policy of Imperial Federation and the policy of the *Edinburgh Review* is the difference between the United States of the nineteenth century and the Germany of the eighteenth, between the Roman Empire of the Emperor Augustus and the Roman Empire of the Emperor Joseph. Common political institutions, a common government, can create a sense of common nationality where none before existed, can bind together peoples previously hostile in stronger and more binding union than they knew in their isolated state. In England, in Great Britain, in the British Isles, in Canada, in Germany, in Italy, in France, in Spain, the proofs are visible before us. Without such political union no state or nation can perpetuate its existence. A policy of separation is intelligible. So is a policy of Imperial Federation. But there is no third course. The only alternative to separation is closer union, and the only alternative to closer union—separation."

THE "AUSTRALIAN REPUBLICAN."

A COPY of Vol. I., No. 1, of a fortnightly print, issued on June 28, 1890, under the above title, has come to our hands; we are precise about the date because it is likely to become epochal. The *Australian Republican* is published at Charters Towers, Queensland, and is the organ, or, as it is expressed on the outside sheet of the first number, the "Manifesto," of the Australian Republican Association; an association which, we are informed within, "commenced its phenomenal career" on the 3rd of February last. The motto adopted is:—"Independence, peacefully achieved if it may be—but, Independence." The objects of the Association, as set out on the cover, range from securing "Australasia for the White Man" to the "abolition of capital punishment" (a significant item this), and from "reduction of the hours of labour," and other kindred objects—trade-unionist or Socialistic (which appear to constitute the true *raison d'être* of the Association)—to "opposition to any Australian legislator accepting title from the Imperial Government." It will be a relief, however, to aspirants to honours on the occasion of the forthcoming Federal Convention, to know that this last-mentioned item, which is also the last on the list, is—alone among the thirteen objects specified—"subject to modification." All who seek the emancipation of labour, and would make Australasia a democratic commonwealth of free and independent people, are called upon to join in organising a party on this broad platform of national rights and equal justice. In support of the above, the Association solicits the co-operation of all patriotic citizens who, sick of the degradation of party politics, desire to build up, by Constitutional methods, the "Republic of the Southern Seas," to establish justice, to preserve liberty, to extend the spirit of Australian nationality, and to elevate humanity.

In their introductory article the conductors of the *Australian Republican* tell the world that "The democrats of Charters Towers, banded together as the 'Republican Association,' desiring, in common with the rest of the democracy, the greatest good of the greatest number, have already performed a considerable amount of useful work, by the active discussion of public affairs and by combining with the object of furthering necessary reforms." And they add with a humility not commonly exhibited by similar organisations, that "they felt their influence was merely local, and their operations limited for the want of a medium for the exchange of opinion, the advancing of democratic views, and the means of appealing to the democracy of Australia for their co-operation." They will fight, they say, for the cause of "Australian Nationality;" the cause of the sons of toil in their struggle for economic changes in our system; and in all times, and in all things, attempt to vindicate the right and the might of "The Sovereign People." . . . "Now," they cry,

"is the seedtime of Australian nationality. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full-grown characters.—Tom Paine Australianised." The metaphors are perhaps a little mixed and the meaning not quite as clear as could be wished. But to proceed. "In seeking to found an Australian Republic, let us tread carefully; let us not rush wildly towards 'our goal' of Australian nationalism; but let us march forward by 'short, sure steps,' certain that we are on the right track; let us inquire into and carefully weigh all existing systems of Democratic Government, so that we may be enabled to steer clear of the pitfalls into which others have fallen." And they conclude with this impassioned peroration—"Let us, therefore, in these Southern Seas, under our 'Natural National Flag'—the Southern Cross—found a nation, and frame a Constitution which shall astonish the world; let us endeavour to improve the existing social conditions, by sweeping away ignorance, want, and crime. Let us preach and practice the sovereignty of the people, equality of citizenship, and the establishment of Justice and Liberty. Australians! we ask you, is this not worth striving for, living for—aye! if necessary, fighting for, dying for?"

It will be allowed that the aspirations of this new organ of Queensland opinion do not err on the side of timidity. If "the democrats of Charters Towers" succeed—as we ardently trust they may, though it must be confessed a good many like bodies have tried the same thing before without any very conspicuous success—in "sweeping away ignorance, want, and crime," they will assuredly achieve the desired end of "astonishing the world" vastly more than by framing any number of Constitutions.

MEETINGS, ETC., DURING THE RECESS.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request.

The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

EDINBURGH.—The third annual general meeting of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on July 28 in the Secretary's Office, 14, Hill Street, Mr. John Usher, of Norton, presiding. A statement of accounts and reports of operations for the past year were submitted by the Secretary and approved, and the following office-bearers for the current year were elected:—Chairman, Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., Principal of Edinburgh University; Vice-Chairmen, Sir John Don Wauchope of Edmonston, Bart.; the Right Hon. J. B. Balfour, Q.C., M.P., Dean of Faculty of Advocates; Sir Charles J. Pearson, Advocate; the Right Hon. J. P. B. Robertson, Q.C., M.P., Lord-Advocate for Scotland; Mr. John Usher of Norton; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. George Auldjo Jamieson, C.A.; Hon. Secretary, Mr. James Simpson, LL.B.; Members of General Committee, Mr. J. E. T. Aitchison, M.D., LL.D.; Provost Aitken, Leith; Provost T. Craig Brown, Selkirk; Mr. A. L. Bruce, Edinburgh; Mr. James Colston, Councillor, Edinburgh; Mr. F. T. Cooper, Advocate; Professor J. Cossar Ewart, Edinburgh University; Mr. R. C. Munro-Ferguson, M.P.; Mr. Charles J. Guthrie, Advocate; Rev. Robert Henderson; Mr. John Henry, S.S.C.; Mr. Holmes Ivory, W.S.; Mr. Andrew Jameson, Advocate; Mr. John Jordan, Leith; Mr. J. T. Laing, Hawick; Mr. A. W. Laith, jun., of Ross; Rev. J. Cameron Lees, D.D.; Mr. R. A. Macfie of Dreghorn, J.P.; Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Mr. R. C. McLagan, M.D.; Mr. W. Galbraith Miller, Advocate; Mr. Dalziel Pearson, W.S.; Mr. T. J. S. Roberts, Selkirk; Mr. Hugh Rose, jun., J.P., Leith; Mr. R. R. Simpson, W.S.; Mr. Andrew Thompson; Mr. J. Comrie Thomson, Advocate; Mr. Alexander Ure, Advocate; Mr. John Usher of Norton, J.P.; Mr. James Wallace, Advocate; Professor Wallace, Edinburgh University; Sir George Warrender of Lochend, Bart.; Mr. R. F. Watson, Hawick; Mr. John Wilson, ex-M.P. A large and influential Committee of the members of the Branch was also appointed, with an Executive Committee, to assist the office-bearers in promoting the purposes of the League. The following resolution, proposed by Mr. John Henry, S.S.C., and seconded by Mr. Thomas M'Naught, S.S.C., was unanimously adopted:—"That the Secretary be instructed to communicate with the Secretaries of the different branches of the League with a view to resolutions being passed by them to the effect that the Prime Minister be requested to open communications with the whole of the self-governing Colonies, inviting them, respectively, to send representatives to a Special Conference to be held in London to consider the future relations of the self-governing countries of the Empire, and to declare whether its permanent unity is desired or not; and in the event of such permanent unity being declared to be desired, to determine what action should be taken in order to place these countries upon an equal footing of advantage and responsibility as regards Imperial affairs."

LONDON, ISLINGTON.—At the Union Debating Society on August 2nd, Mr. C. G. Coward read a paper and submitted a resolution advocating Imperial Federation. An interesting discussion ensued. Mr.

Smeeton presided over the meeting. The resolution was carried with only a single dissentient.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.—At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oxford University branch on June 14th, the resignation of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. A. Longley, Christ Church, was accepted, and his valuable services acknowledged. It was proposed by the Rev. J. F. Heyes, Magdalen, and Professor Napier, Merton, that Mr. J. H. Peachey, of Queen's, Librarian of the Union, be elected Hon. Secretary in succession to Mr. Longley, and to him all communications should be addressed. Members' subscriptions may be paid to him, or the Treasurer, Professor Napier.

ST. THOMAS, ONTARIO.—At the annual meeting of the St. Thomas Branch Imperial Federation League, the following officers were re-elected: President, M. A. Gilbert; 1st Vice, R. McKay; 2nd Vice, J. Crawford; 3rd Vice, Jabel Robinson; Secretary, J. A. Harvey; Treasurer, Joseph McAdam; Council, Judge Ermatinger, J. King (of the customs), Richard Sanders, and J. G. Nunn. Mr. M. A. Gilbert referred to the progress made during the past year by Imperial Federation in the British Empire. Able and carefully prepared papers were read on "Imperial Federation, from a Native Canadian's standpoint," by Judge Ermatinger, and on "Inter-trade relations of the British Empire," by Mr. A. Campbell. Votes of thanks were tendered the authors of the essays, and Messrs. Judge Ermatinger, J. Campbell, Joseph McAdam, and M. A. Gilbert were appointed a sub-committee to have the papers printed.

SUMNER, CANTERBURY (N.Z.).—At a meeting of the Sumner Literary and Lawn Tennis Club, Mr. W. A. Carpenter in the chair, a larger number of members than usual were present. Mr. Carpenter opened the debate "Is Imperial Federation desirable?" Many of the members took part in the discussion, the resolution being ultimately carried by nineteen majority. It was decided to ask Mr. Bellhouse, the Secretary of the Canterbury (N.Z.) branch of the League, to read a paper on Imperial Federation.

Mr. Bellhouse delivered his address at the meeting of the Club held on July 1st, the president (Mr. J. M. Wheeler) being in the chair. There was a large number of members present. Mr. Bellhouse pointed out the necessity of a union of the different portions of the Empire for purpose of offence and defence. He showed how England held nearly all the coaling stations, and how necessary it was for her to have them well fortified and protected. He referred to what was done at the Conference held in London in 1887, and how necessary it was for England to have the command of the North Atlantic, a command she could only have by the support of Canada. His address was received with great applause. A long discussion took place, in which several of the young members took part, and finally the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential." After a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Bellhouse for his address, the meeting adjourned.

REVIEWS.

The Naval Annual, 1890. By Lord Brassey, K.C.B. Portsmouth: J. Griffin & Co. 1890.

THIS is the fourth year of issue of this work, the value of which has been so abundantly recognised both by naval authorities and the general Press of the country—indeed, we may say, of the Empire. The present volume is edited by Mr. T. A. Brassey, whose assistance is duly acknowledged by the "compiler," as Lord Brassey modestly styles himself. Satisfaction is expressed in the opening sentence of the introduction at the growing interest evinced in the efficiency of the Navy. And it is a proper subject of congratulation since the Navy is indeed "England's right arm." From the outset, as the author says, the Navy has been the instrument of British trade. It has sprung into existence with that trade, and has grown with its growth. "The Navy has founded the Colonies; and it now protects them. The Navy has been the indispensable agent in establishing this unparalleled world-realm." At the same time Lord Brassey is careful to point out what it is necessary so often to repeat in the ears of some of the enemies of that which they are pleased to call "Imperialism," especially in the Colonies—that, in strengthening her Navy, England is pursuing a policy in the strictest sense defensive. "We threaten nobody. We cherish no ambitious design. It is more and more the wise policy of England to keep out of engagements in matters in which neither we of the Mother Country nor our sons in the Colonies have any concern. The external policy of England is directed to one object, which is to secure from attack the highway of the sea. The fortification of the coaling stations, the reinforcement of their garrisons, the construction of a fleet to be permanently stationed in Australasian waters, are essential parts of a policy of self-defence."

In his chapter on Australian defence the author bears witness to the patriotic efforts made by the Australian Colonies to defend their harbours and coasts, and quotes the opinion expressed by Admiral Fairfax that the harbour of Melbourne, Port Philip, is rapidly becoming one of the best fortified places in the Empire. After referring to the harbour defence vessels already in use, he goes on to express a conviction that, having made the ports secure, the Australasian Federation (of the, it is hoped, near future) will devote serious efforts to the creation of a navy prepared to act, not ineffectively, with the Imperial Navy in the common cause. The progress already made, he says, amply

vindicates the policy of encouraging the Colonies to undertake their own defence.

Apart from the special treatment of the whole subject from the naval or technical point of view, and from the valuable compilations of his collaborators upon British and foreign ships, armour and ordnance, &c., Lord Brassey has much to say that is interesting and repays perusal upon the questions of the coaling stations and foreign stations and coast and harbour defence; and he concludes his part of the work with a general survey of the position of England as a naval Power. We can only hope that the expression of opinion with which he closes this chapter is not too optimistic. He says:—"Having made these extensive preparations for defence, both by sea and land, which a careful examination has shown to be necessary, there is no reason to fear that our country will be unable to face any perils to which we may be exposed.

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute. Edited by the Secretary. Vol. xxi., London: Published by the Institute, 1890.

WE have received the latest volume of the "Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute" for the year 1889-90. The papers read during the session and the discussions following them are fully up to the usual high standard. Some of them have been noticed or summarised from time to time in these columns. Among the papers of more general interest and value are "Aids to Australasian Development," by Mr. Matthew Macfie, "Australia Revisited," by Sir Arthur Hodgson, and "The Military Defence Forces of the Colonies," by Colonel J. F. Owen, R.A. These three at least should be read by all who take an interest in Colonial matters and the Imperial relationship.

Colonial Consolidation; The West Indian Dominion. Pamphlet: By N. Darnell Davis. Demerara: Argosy Press, 1890.

THE three papers making up this pamphlet have, the preface tells us, already appeared in print at different times. One or more of them, if we are not mistaken, we noticed incidentally not long ago in these columns; they are called respectively, "The West Indian Bundle of Sticks," "The Question before the Windward Islands—Union?" and "A Short Plan of Imperial Federation." The writer holds that there must be Colonial Consolidation before there can be Imperial Federation. The first accomplished, then can the Colonial States enter into co-partnership with the Parent State in the business of the Empire, the former thereupon sharing the burdens as well as the privileges of which the Mother Country now holds the monopoly. The other great groups are federating. By combining together, in this way, the Colonists will become stronger and the Empire itself will become consolidated. Is it not, then, a positive duty incumbent upon West Indians, that they should consider whether they may not serve their own interests by consolidation, and thereby become a source of strength, instead of a cause of weakness, to the Empire at large?

Such objections, he says, as have been taken to a union of the West Indian Colonies are for the most part based on official schemes of Confederation. The union which is suggested to his fellow-countrymen by the writer is, however, not one which proposes to tie the Colonies together with pieces of red-tape. It is a union to be made by the Colonists themselves, in their own interests. Referring to the prediction attributed to George III. that the West Indies would become dependent on America, which has remained unfulfilled for more than a century, he adds that Great Britain does not intend to give up her West Indian possessions, and the United States do not want them. The conviction, still held by some, that these Colonies must, sooner or later, gravitate towards the Great Republic, no doubt arises from the weakness inherent in the state of isolation in which the Colonies exist towards one another: a weakness which would be palpably exposed were they suddenly cut loose from the Empire.

As a preliminary to Colonial Federation, Mr. Davis advocates Colonial Enfranchisement; after that, he says, it would be well that the Imperial Government should cause the Imperial policy of consolidating the outlying portions of the Empire to be plainly put before the Island Legislatures, whose members should at the same time be invited to co-operate in giving effect to the wise design.

In his paper on Imperial Federation, the writer shows an appreciation of the fundamental conditions of the problem.

It is instructive to note that these papers are reviewed at length in the *Panama Star and Herald*, and that the reviewer writes in a very sanguine spirit of the prospects of Imperial Federation.

A Little Mixed.—While Imperial Federation is only in the talking stage in this country, it has already proceeded as far as the active one in Australia. A Federal Council is already formed, and although it has still to justify its existence by actions and work, its future possibilities are full of promise.—*Huddersfield Chronicle*.

The Colonial Year-Book.—We observe that the *Saturday Review* in a notice (August 30th) of this work, which was reviewed in these columns last May, takes precisely the same objection as ourselves to the arrangement of the Colonies alphabetically instead of by geographical grouping—an arrangement, says the reviewer in the *Saturday*, by which "the moral effect arrived at in making the book convey a collective idea of the Colonial Empire is sadly marred."

Loyalty in Queensland.—In the course of his despatch to the Colonial Office on the North Queensland Separation movement, Sir Henry Norman says:—"I would first observe that no question of loyalty to the Crown, or of attachment to the Empire, is involved in this desire for separation on the part of North Queensland. In the whole of Queensland I am happy to feel satisfied that loyalty prevails, and that there is a sense, and I am disposed to think a growing sense, of pride in being a part of the great British Empire. Those who advocate the separation of the North from the South do so in a loyal and respectful spirit, and only ask that effect may be given to their wishes in a constitutional manner."

IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

AUGUST 1—18.

AUGUST 1.

In the House of Commons—

In Committee of Supply on the Post Office Vote—

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said he was inclined to think that there was force in the suggestion that, when there was money to spare, the ocean post should be put on a reasonable basis.

MR. RAIKES said he wished he could state when the new postal rates to the Colonies would begin; but he was certain the time could not be long deferred. Certain questions had arisen with regard to dealing with India, and the Committee would understand that if two mails were travelling together in the same ship, and forming part of the same post, it was in the highest degree desirable to deal with them together. He hoped that an arrangement with regard to India would be early completed, and when it was he should be glad to announce to the House the beginning of the new rates.

AUGUST 4.

In the House of Lords—

SWAZILAND.

LORD KNUTSFORD, in answer to a question from LORD GRANVILLE, stated that the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic in regard to Swaziland had now resulted in the conclusion of a Convention by which the independence of the Swazis, as recognised by the Convention of 1884, was reaffirmed and secured; while a joint administration would be established over the white settlers, with a court of justice to decide all civil and criminal cases between them and to inquire into the validity of disputed concessions. The South African Republic, he further explained, undertook not to interfere to the north or the south-west of its frontier, and also engaged to support the efforts of the British South Africa Company in establishing order within its jurisdiction. Her Majesty's Government, on the other hand, recognised the right of the South African Republic, under its concession from the Swazi king, to construct a railway through Swaziland towards the sea; and provision was also made as to the South African Republic's entering the existing Customs Union with the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Bechuanaland. LORD KNUTSFORD, in conclusion, acknowledged the friendly spirit shown throughout by the Transvaal Government, and expressed his confidence that the new convention would prove a satisfactory settlement of questions which, if left unsolved, must lead to serious trouble.

In the House of Commons—

SWAZILAND.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he was aware that a Convention had been signed with the Transvaal Government, and whether that Convention excluded Her Majesty's Government from the paramount position in Swaziland conceded to it under the Convention of 1884; and whether Her Majesty's Government had acquiesced in the demand of the Transvaal State for extension of their line to the sea.

BARON H. DE WORMS.—A Convention has been signed by President Krüger, and will be presented this day to the Volksraad. The independence of the Swazis as recognised by the Convention of 1884 is reaffirmed and maintained, and the control and management by the Swazi Government of all affairs in which natives only are concerned remains unaffected. It is provided that there shall be a joint administration over the white settlers under a proclamation to be issued by the Swazi Regent and Council. The Government of the South African Republic undertakes not to interfere to the north or north-west of the Republic, and to support by its influence the establishment of order and government by the British South Africa Company within the jurisdiction and under the powers granted to them by charter. Provision is also made for the entering of the South African Republic into the existing Customs Union Convention with the Cape, Orange Free State, and Bechuanaland on terms to be agreed upon.

ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT AND THE CAPE.

MR. SUMMERS asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been called to the fact that the Cape Colony House of Assembly had, on the motion of the Hon. Cecil Rhodes, unanimously passed a resolution regretting that the Cape Government was not consulted with regard to the Anglo-German Agreement as far as it concerned the territory south of the Zambesi; and whether he was now in a position to state what was the nature of the communications that were alleged to have taken place between the Home Government and the Government at the Cape with reference to the matters dealt with in the Anglo-German Agreement before that agreement was made.

MR. CHANNING also asked a question of like tenor.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: As regards the first paragraph of both questions, we have no official knowledge. As to the second and third paragraphs, we have received no such communications or protests. As to the fourth paragraph, the negotiations were conducted in London and Berlin; the High Commissioner's opinion was taken, as is stated in the despatches published with the Agreement, on the questions of territory contiguous to the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland. The Cape Government was not a party to the negotiations, its territories were not affected by the Agreement, and the general provisions were not laid before it previously to the conclusion of the Agreement. It is not usual to consult a Colony with respect to treaty negotiations unless it is affected by them.

In answer to DR. CLARK,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: There is no question of the transfer of any territory in the Walfisch Bay district. The fact is that the territory there has never been defined. I stated quite distinctly that the Cape Colony had not been directly consulted.

In answer to a further question by MR. SUMMERS,

MR. W. H. SMITH said: I said that communications had passed between the Home Government and the High Commissioner, the High Commissioner being Governor of the Cape, but I think the hon. gentleman will find that I did not state—at all events I did not intend to state—that communications had passed between the Home Government and the Cape Government.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

In answer to SIR G. CAMPBELL—

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Her Majesty's Government are informed from time to time by the Governor of Newfoundland of what is going on in that Colony. The reports received from him show that most of the rumours which have been published in the newspapers are gross exaggerations, and that the difficulties which have occurred in connection with the fishery this season have not been of a serious nature.

AUGUST 5.

In the House of Commons—

COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

In reply to MR. VINCENT.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH said: The commercial treaties with Bulgaria, France, Italy, Montenegro, Portugal, and Spain, are terminable at various dates in 1892 upon twelve months' notice on either side, and if no such notices are given will thereafter be terminable at twelve months' notice at any time. None of the existing treaties lapse without notice. The Treaties Committee will doubtless consult the commercial bodies of this country respecting the wishes of British trade, but it is not proposed to extend their inquiries over the whole British Empire. It is not intended to depart from the course heretofore adopted in regard to the Executive having the charge and responsibility of commercial negotiations.

AUGUST 6.

In the House of Commons—

ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT AND CAPE COLONY.

In reply to DR. CLARK.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: Section 1 of Article 3 speaks of the Orange River as a boundary. As this made no change in the *status quo* there was no question on which consultation was required with the Cape Government. The remainder of the section and the second section do not define the boundaries of the Cape Colony; the contiguous territories belonged to the Crown Protectorate of Bechuanaland and to Khama's country, which is under Imperial protection. As regards Walfisch Bay, Her Majesty's Government have complete knowledge of the question in dispute, as stated on behalf of the Cape and on behalf of Germany. They would give the Cape Government every opportunity of strengthening their case before going to arbitration.

AUGUST 7.

In the House of Commons—

In reply to MR. HOWARD VINCENT.

BARON H. DE WORMS said: It has been the practice for the Imperial Government alone to conclude commercial treaties with foreign Powers; but on special occasions representatives of the Colonies have been consulted during the negotiations or admitted to take part in them. With regard to the latter part of the question as to consultation of the Colonies and India upon commercial treaties now under review by a Government Committee, Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to say what action they will take until they have received the report of the Committee.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

In reply to MR. GOURLEY.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: No arrangement with the Newfoundland delegates has yet been come to. The *modus vivendi* is for this season only. There is no intention of repealing the Bait Act, as far as Her Majesty's Government are aware. It is impossible to say at present what the nature of any future arrangement may be.

In the House of Commons—

IN COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY, ON THE FOREIGN OFFICE VOTE—

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: With regard to the protest of the Cape as to their not being consulted with regard to the territories which concerned them, he had on a former occasion dealt fully with that question, and he thought that it was a pity that it should be again raised. (Hear, hear.) They were, no doubt, sorry that so much territory had been allowed to slip from them that might, he believed, have been brought under the influence of their great Colonies, but it was useless to go back to the history of that lapse. For two years there had been an endeavour on the part of the German Government to induce them to protect the country in that region, but neither the Colonial nor the Imperial Government had been willing to do so. The Imperial Government had warned the Colonial Government that the Germans would undertake the protection of the country if they did not do so themselves. However, they could only deal with accomplished facts, and they could only take blame to themselves for not having been as wise in their generation as the Germans had been.

DR. CLARK asked for a definite assurance that the Cape Government would be consulted and represented in connection with the delimitation of Cape territory under the Anglo-German Agreement.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said he was quite sure that the interests of the Cape Government would be consulted in the matter, but he was not inclined to give any specific pledge on the subject.

AUGUST 12.

In the House of Commons—

IN COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY, ON THE COLONIAL OFFICE VOTE.—
SWAZILAND.

In replying to criticisms by MR. BAUMANN.

BARON H. DE WORMS said: In June, 1889, Her Majesty's Government heard that disturbances were likely to occur in Swaziland, and that the South African Republic intended to send an officer to Swaziland. Her Majesty's Government at once telegraphed that they could not allow independent action, and sent an English officer to act in conjunction with the Transvaal officer. Since that time negotiations had been in progress, but her Majesty's Government were not inclined to accept Sir F. de Winton's suggestion that the Transvaal should be allowed to annex Swaziland and govern the white population. He believed that this would be the view of the majority of the people of England, for the bulk of the white population of Swaziland was composed of British subjects. It was not the fact that the Government were actuated by any desire to keep down the Dutch. Nothing of the sort had occurred to Her Majesty's Government, who wished to establish the most friendly relations with the Transvaal, in proof of which the present Convention might be cited. He could not undertake to answer questions on matters of detail, as the Government had received only a mere telegraphic summary of the Convention.

DR. CLARK said the South African Republic was to join the Cape Customs Union within six months. This clause would compel the Transvaal to enter into the union; but Natal was not in the union, and the consequence would be that the Natal trade with the Transvaal would be cut off and lost. The course taken by the Government was only a temporary solution which could not last long.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

BARON H. DE WORMS said: As to the chartered company, the company as such had nothing whatever to do with Her Majesty's Government. The concession having been granted to the South Africa Company, they applied for a charter, and in view of the fact that this company was an

important one, and doing a great deal to open up South Africa, Her Majesty's Government conceived it was better to grant a Royal charter to this company than to allow a limited liability company to undertake such responsibilities.

AUGUST 14.

In the House of Commons—

SOUTH AFRICA.

On the report of the Vote for Colonial Services—

SIR G. CAMPBELL called attention to the salary of the High Commissioner, and complained that he was made, to a great extent, the servant of the Cape Government, and that he had made a Cape politician his agent in the Swaziland Convention. He thought it was a great mistake to combine the office of High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape. There was no reason why the Cape Government should have the control of the whole of Africa. They had quite enough to do to manage their own affairs, and they managed them so badly that there had been a repetition of wars in the Colony. Of all the alternatives before us in regard to South Africa, the worst was that we should undertake all the initial trouble and expenditure of bringing these territories into possession and then handing them over to the Cape Colony.

AUGUST 15.

In the House of Commons—

NEWFOUNDLAND.

In reply to MR. LAFONE—

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The *modus vivendi* will lapse at the end of the season. Her Majesty's Government are doing their best to find a solution of the points in dispute. No detailed reply has yet been given, but the views of Her Majesty's Government have been explained to the delegates.

AUGUST 18.

In the House of Commons—

NORTHERN QUEENSLAND.

In reply to SIR. G. CAMPBELL—

BARON H. DE WORMS said that Her Majesty's Government were advised that an Act of the Imperial Parliament was necessary for the erection of any part of Queensland into a separate Colony.

Parliament was prorogued by Commission on this date until the 25th of October.

The Queen's Speech referred to the arrangements with Germany and France respectively for the delimitation of frontiers in Africa, and the cession of Heligoland to Germany; and contained also the following paragraphs relating to Colonial affairs:—

"I have offered to the President of the United States to submit to arbitration questions of difference that have arisen between us with respect to jurisdiction in Behring's Sea."

"Controversies have arisen between my subjects in Newfoundland and the French fishermen upon that coast with respect to the true interpretation of the rights reserved to France by the Treaty of Utrecht and subsequent engagements. The adjustment of these differences is occupying the anxious attention of my Government."

"I have gladly given my assent to the Act which you have passed for conferring upon the Colony of Western Australia institutions similar to those which have worked with remarkable success in the other Australian Colonies."

"I have learnt, with satisfaction, that a Convention has been ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic which will, I trust, bring to an end the difficulties which existed in respect to Swaziland."

Without vain pride, but with supreme gratitude, we acknowledge the fact that we are, *and shall ever remain*, part and parcel of the British Empire. The pulse of Britain's heart, like the sap of her sturdy oak, pervades and thrills in every branch and spray and leaf of her full-orbed growth. As well attempt to rend a huge oak-branch from its parent stem as to divorce Canada from the British Empire.—*T. E. Moberly in the (Toronto) Week.*

Not a Revolutionary Society.—Speaking at a meeting of the Fitzroy (Victoria) Branch of the Australian Natives Association, the President of the Branch said it had been alleged that the A.N.A. was a revolutionary organisation having for its object, or one of them, the "cutting of the painter" that bound Australasia with the Mother Country, and the declaration of an independent Australian Republic. This, the new members were assured, was "nonsense." *The Association had no such object.*

The Coming Race.—It is only now that we are becoming known, and Australia must be content to wait for many years before the tide of immigration can be expected to set steadily into the southern Pacific. In the meantime it should be the duty of every Colonist—native or otherwise—to make it understood that this is a free land in which the rights of citizenship are as easily attainable and as sacred as in the Great Republic, and that all men will be welcomed provided they come with a desire to do battle for themselves and the country of their adoption. Australia is not for the British or any other nation, but for the Australians; and the Australians will, it is hoped, be evolved from the best of the nations of the earth, and become that "finer type of man" prophesied by the biologist.—*Albany Observer* (Western Australia).

Dead Already.—The lines that follow are from Mr. Alfred Austin's poem on the text of "Is life worth living?":—

Not care to live while English homes Nestle in English trees, And England's trident-sceptre roams Her territorial seas!	Our kin transmit the parent strain, And love the Mother-land; So long as in this ocean Realm, Victoria and her Line
Not live while English songs are sung Wherever blows the wind, And England's laws and England's tongue	Retain the heritage of the helm, By loyalty divine; So long as flashes English steel, And English trumpets shrill:
Enfranchise half mankind! So long as in Pacific main, Or on Atlantic strand,	He is dead ALREADY who doth not feel Life is worth living still.

COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

President—THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBURY.

Vice-President—RIGHT HON. E. STANHOPE, M.P.

(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

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W. M. Acworth.
 George Addie (Edinburgh).
 The Right Rev. the Bishop of Adelaide.
 Lord Addington.
 Hon. Mr. Speaker Allan, Canada.
 W. Shepherd Allen.
 Sir James Anderson.
 John Henry Anderson. (College, Oxford).
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 J. B. Boulton. (Ottawa, Canada).
 J. G. Bournot, C.M.G. (Clerk of House of Commons).
 The Right Hon. Sir G. F. Bowen, G.C.M.G.
 Commander Graham Bower, R.N., C.M.G. (Cape).
Lord Brassey, K.C.B. (Town).
The Hon. T. Alinut Brassey.
Sir J. C. Bray, K.C.M.G. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, South Australia).
 The Marquess of Breadalbane. (College, Oxford).
 The Rev. J. F. Bright, D.D. (Master of University).
 T. Lynn Bristowe, M.P.
 Henry Broadhurst, M.P.
 Rev. G. F. Browne (Cambridge).
W. J. Browne (late South Australia).
 Oscar Browning (Cambridge).
 Professor James Bryce, M.P. (Oxford).
 Professor Montague Burrows (Oxford).
 Sir T. Fawell Buxton, Bart.
 Sydney C. Buxton, M.P.
 The Master of Caius College, Cambridge.
 G. Downes Carter, M.L.A. (President of the Imperial Federation League in Victoria).
 Hon. J. S. Carvell (Lieut.-Governor Prince Edward I.).
Lord Castleknock of Upper Ossory.
 Walter Chamberlain.
 A. F. Charrington.
 H. B. Christian (Cape).
 E. F. Clarke, M.P.P. (Mayor of Toronto), Canada.
 Professor E. C. Clarke (Cambridge).
 Sir Charles Clifford (late New Zealand).
 G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., Canada.
 Arthur Cohen, Q.C.
 A. L. Cohen.
Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 Admiral Sir John Commerell, G.C.B.
 Sir John Coode, K.C.M.G.
 W. B. Collins.
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., G.C.M.G. (late N.S.W.).
 John Corbett, M.P.
 W. J. Courthope.
 The Right Rev. F. Courtney, D.D. (Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), Canada.
 W. M. Crocker.
 James Cropper.
 Major-Gen. Sir W. Crossman, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 Right Hon. G. Cubitt, M.P.
Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 Henry C. Cust, M.P.
 Captain the Hon. A. G. Curzon Howe, R.N.
 R. Neale Dalton.
The Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G.
 Professor G. H. Darwin, F.R.S. (Cambridge).
 N. Darnell Davis (British Guiana).
Charles Percy Davis (Victoria).
 Lieut.-Col. the Hon. L. P. Dawney, M.P.
 F. Debenham.
 Lieut.-Col. F. C. Denison, C.M.G., M.P., Canada.
Lieut.-Col. G. T. Denison, Canada.
 R. Casimir Dickson, Canada.
 Baran Dimsdale, M.P.
N. R. Dobell, Canada.
 Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P.
 T. Douglas.
Sir Henry Doulton.
The Earl of Dunraven, K.P. (Victoria).
 Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G. (late Premier of The Right Rev. the Bishop of Durham).
 Rear-Admiral James E. Erskine.
 Richard Eve (Aldershot).
G. Washington Eves, C.M.G. (West Indies).
Sir William Farrer.
 James J. Felows (Agent-General for New Brunswick).
R. Munro Ferguson, M.P.
Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., Canada.
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sident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

Titles of Publications relating to the British Colonies, their Government, &c., in connection with Imperial Policy. Compiled by JAMES R. BOOSE. Under 2 oz. 6d.

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Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER 1, 1890.

TO PLAN, OR NOT TO PLAN?

THE large and important meeting at Manchester, addressed by Mr. Parkin on the 21st October, was rendered especially notable by the very powerful speech delivered by the Bishop of Manchester. As a former Bishop of Melbourne, Dr. Moorhouse speaks with an authority that commands attention upon a subject connected with the views and wishes of the Australasian Colonies. Dr. Moorhouse is a thoroughgoing supporter of Imperial Federation, and urged upon all political parties to put their shoulders to the wheel and strike a blow for the Empire while they yet have the power, before the day comes—for the times are critical—when “some McKinley tariff or something else shall have separated one or other of the limbs of this powerful Confederacy.” The Bishop then went on to express his decided opinion that the time had come when something very definite should be said as to what was meant by Imperial Federation. He himself, he said, meant something very definite indeed; and without that it would never become a really great movement. The Colonists would not take a pig in a poke; and they would not take a pig out of a poke, for that matter, unless it was an amiable animal. Englishmen, he said, still thought the Colonies wanted to be represented in the English Houses of Parliament, or by their Agents-General in some Colonial Council. But the Colonies wanted nothing of the sort. “What they wanted was the creation of an Imperial Assembly, like the Congress of the United States, or like the Reichstag of the German Empire,” to deal with Imperial questions. Dr. Moorhouse, then, pronounces in favour of a plan of Federation which would create a new body outside and above the existing Imperial Parliament; and though he by no means fails to recognise the enormous difficulty of inducing the House of Commons to abate aught of its present almost autocratic power, yet he tells us that this and not any modification of existing machinery is what the Colonies want. This is an important declaration in itself; but what we are more particularly concerned with in the Bishop’s speech is the expression of his conviction that the time has come when it is essential that some plan, something perfectly clear and definite, should be formulated.

The *Manchester Guardian*, in a brief but generally sympathetic article in its leading columns, joins issue with the Bishop on the advice thus tendered to the advocates of Imperial Federation. The *Guardian* quotes the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the paper most friendly to the Imperial connection in New South Wales, to the effect that “the self-governing Colonies would never consent to give up their substantial rights of self-government in exchange for a shadowy share in the policy of the Empire,” nor accept responsibilities and risks beyond their effective control. In the face of such expressions, the Manchester paper would rather amend the advice given by the Bishop, and “call upon the Imperial Federationists to be indefinite at all costs.” It is to be remarked, in passing, that the *Sydney Morning Herald* is wrong if it supposes that Imperial Federation asks the self-governing Colonies to give up any portion whatever of their “substantial rights of self-government.” But, apart from that, the quotation, and the *Guardian*’s application of it, suggest two lines of thought. One is this. The attitude of a not inconsiderable section of the public in the Australian Colonies is, no doubt, very fairly reflected in it. They do not consider the control they would obtain, by entering into a Federal relationship, adequate to the risks and responsibilities to be incurred. But they need to be reminded that they run the same risks now, in case of war, though without the same ostensible responsibility for their own defence, and that the only way to escape these is by separation, which they are shrewd enough to see would entail other and far more serious risks. It comes to this then, that they do not care to assume “responsibilities”—in other words, to incur the expense of defending themselves and their commerce, and all the rest of it. And so they are willing to let things remain as they are, considering that thereby they escape

“responsibility,” while in times of peace practically allowed to exercise a not inconsiderable influence on the policy of the Empire, so far as it directly affects themselves, an influence which they think would not perhaps be so very much greater or more effective under Federation. The other consideration suggested arises out of the first. While agreeing with the *Guardian* that, in their present temper and state of knowledge, it would be unwise to present to the Colonies—and to Australia in particular—“something definite” for their immediate acceptance, we think at the same time that they may overstand their market by maintaining their present attitude, seeing that the public at home is gradually awakening to the fact that, under existing circumstances, they are parties to a one-sided bargain, nearly the whole advantage of which lies on the side of the Colonies. Instead, therefore, of presenting the public either here or there with a bill for acceptance, we conceive that the policy of those who wish to bring about a satisfactory solution in the end should be, as the policy of the League is, to “educate” both parties concerned—the people of the Mother Country and the people of the Colonies—in the true bearings of the problem to be solved. When each party to the compact recognises both its own true position and that of the other party, it will be time for them to be brought together to treat, but not sooner.

But while adhering to the policy which has hitherto guided the League in declining to formulate, *ex cathedra*, any scheme of Federation based on *à priori* principles, and to take its stand upon that, we fully recognise the useful purpose served by closer definition in clearing the ground for future action. It is not for the League as a body to say, “Federation is good, and here is the form it must take.” It should rather say, and in effect it does say, “Federation is good; it must rest on certain broad principles, which we have endeavoured to lay down in our constitution: how far will you of the Mother Country and you of the Colonies accept those principles, and how, precisely, would each of you define and apply them?” Every contribution towards providing answers to such questions is useful and welcome. But as individual replies have but small practical weight, however high their logical or intrinsic value, it is very desirable that representative bodies within the League, such, for example, as the League in Canada, or, if such a body existed, a United Kingdom League, should formulate such plans from their own (but not, of course, too exclusively from their own) point of view. We should then know at least how far beyond first principles the actual supporters of Federation in different parts of the Empire are agreed; and this measure of agreement would adequately supply the want of that “something definite” to lay before the Governments and peoples of every country in the Empire.

APPRECIABLY NEARER.

THE new American tariff law—if law it be, which by latest advices is doubtful—seems likely to prove, as we anticipated last month, a blessing in disguise to our cause. Writing for our issue of October 1st, we said:—“If America plays the game of exclusion, and sets the fashion of reverting to the economic stage before commerce was international, the British Empire may be driven to follow suit, and see how nearly she can come to being self-contained and self-supporting. Without some such pressure from without, Imperial Reciprocity looks a long way off; but the McKinley Bill may prove the beginning of a state of things that would bring it appreciably nearer.” Since then, as the quotations from the press given in another column will show, this sufficiently obvious view of the matter has struck a good many people, and, what is chiefly important, has brought the question home to the minds of many now for the first time. As for the League itself, many of its members have always regarded some form of commercial union as a considerable factor in the sum-total of Federation. So long ago as August, 1886, Sir Alexander Galt, previously High Commissioner for Canada, put forward in the columns of this Journal “Suggestions for a Commercial Union;” and in the same number appeared a paper written by him on the means by which Imperial Federation might be carried out, containing a strong plea for such mutual concessions as would tend to “foster and develop the

national interchange of the products of our respective industries." The scheme propounded by Mr. Hofmeyr, of the Cape, at the Imperial Conference in the next year, which was virtually identical with a proposition which Sir Samuel Griffith, the Queensland Premier, had already tabled, met with a general approval at the hands of the members of that Conference. The subject has been treated and discussed both in the pages of this Journal and out of it through the whole period of the League's existence; and the Canadian Branch has always given to the assertion of the principle of trade facilities within the Empire a conspicuous position in their scheme of policy. The Executive Committee of the League in Canada have now seized the occasion afforded by the new American tariff to issue a circular to the Dominion Press embodying their views on the present situation, and inviting discussion. In this paper (the text of which will be found elsewhere) it is pointed out that no time could be more opportune than the present for the Canadian people to urge the importance of some scheme of Imperial combination for the advancement of the trade interests of all parts of the Empire.

We are glad to note that the League in Canada recognises the fact that the Mother Country and (though probably to an inconsiderable extent) the other Colonies of the Empire are all alike affected by the recent legislation at Washington. There has been a tendency in some quarters to regard Canada alone as being the special victim of the new tariff. There can be no doubt at all, we fear, that the effect upon Canadian trade and industry will be serious. But the manly tone adopted by the Premier and other Ministers, and the plucky attitude assumed by all but a certain section of the press and the public, which excite feelings of the most sincere admiration, should go far to show the way towards averting the worst consequences of the blow. The most hopeful believe the tariff is not as bad as it looks; while in those branches of trade upon which it falls with unquestioned severity, we already hear of the successful diversion of enterprise into new channels—of shipments of eggs and live lobsters to the United Kingdom, of the exhibition at English shows of barley suitable for English maltsters, and so on. With the fresh impetus given to opening new lines across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Canada will no doubt find sufficient outlets for her produce in no very long time. The Canadian people are determined neither to be frightened nor coerced; and her leading men have not (with the venial exception, perhaps, of some rather unnecessarily strong post-prandial ebullitions) stood in need of the advice tendered by *Punch*, in view of the same provocation, to John Bull, to "keep his hair on." It is, perhaps, not unnatural, in view of the history of commercial negotiations between the two countries, that many people in the Dominion should regard the Tariff Act as framed for the express purpose of annoying and damaging Canada, and so coercing her into commercial, and ultimately into political union. This is probably a quite unnecessary assumption. No Government—not even the American—frames its fiscal measures with such objects in view. Some politicians may no doubt take advantage of the reconstruction of the tariff to forward their policy of hostility to Canada whilst under the British flag; though there is a conflict of opinion among Canadians themselves as to whether there is any evidence in the tariff itself to bear out the supposition that this has been done. It is quite possible that, other things being equal, there are not a few American politicians who would like a tariff charge all the better that it had the indirect effect of wounding either Canada or Britain. And there is also good reason for believing that your American publicist still hugs himself in the economic heresy that what is bad for other countries must be good for his own. But anything more than that it would be going beyond the evidence to assert.

The upshot of the whole matter is that these events must tend to strengthen the hands of those who are especially anxious to establish some sort of commercial union in the British Empire. The League in Canada may be enabled to persuade the people and Government of the Dominion to take some overt step towards securing trade advantages in British markets. In this country those who, advocating Protection or Fair Trade,

put forward, as an important plank in their platform, preferential treatment within the Empire, have found a new weapon for their armoury; and some of them, as Mr. Howard Vincent in his recent letters to the *Times*, have been wielding it with no small effect. These are economic questions which must be fought upon economic grounds, and with them as such we have nothing to do. We should like to see some form of preferential tariff treatment prevailing within the Empire, not so much because of whatever economic advantages it might bring, if any, to this or that country, as because it would mark and help to conserve the unity of the Empire; and on these grounds we are glad to see any occurrence that helps those who fight for it for economic ends, knowing as we do that no such policy will be adopted on merely patriotic grounds unless people are brought to believe also in its economic advantage. That anything approaching to Free Trade within the Empire, or a uniformity of tariffs among its component parts, is within sight, is more—much more—than there are any signs to justify us in believing. But whatever fate may await those more ambitious schemes, which might or might not prove economically advantageous all round, there is nothing that we know of forbidding us to hope for such a measure of Imperial reciprocity as would serve the political end we are concerned with. The scheme laid before the Conference of 1887, leaves to every country in the Empire the complete control of its own fiscal policy, only stipulating that, whatever tariff is adopted, a certain higher duty shall be levied on foreigners, from which nationals, of whatever country of the Empire, shall be exempt. The custom thus taken of strangers being applied to the provision, by the easiest possible way, of a common defence fund for the Empire, the scheme is economically defensible, even before Free Traders, as establishing a customs duty for revenue purposes only; and extreme *doctrinaires* might forgive it, if, at the same time, the slight preference given did, as it is said it would, just suffice to enable some of our fellow-subjects to compete in markets now held exclusively by foreigners. Such a scheme would be as valuable as any other as a means of keeping the Empire together; and we have therefore to thank Mr. McKinley and his party for the stimulus they have given to it.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

No. V.

BY JEHU MATHEWS.

IN former papers I have endeavoured to show that, in order to avoid disruption, we must adopt Federation, at least so far as to secure united action on diplomacy, armament, finance, and commerce; that unity in the two former departments of government has already existed, and that financial unity may be supplied if desired. If my arguments be correct, explanation of the feasibility of commercial unity will complete the demonstration of the possibility of the establishment of a Pan-Britannic Federation. To this question I would now address myself.

The problem is by no means the least difficult of those demanding solution. The people who have to be pleased are amongst those whom it is most difficult to please. Men who live by "buying cheap and selling dear"—or at all events dearer than they bought—are naturally hard bargainers; and their connections give them means to influence large numbers of employes and customers. Then the various commercial interests are, probably, more definitely sectional than any others which we are called upon to reconcile; and they are becoming rapidly united to hostile party principles. Attachment to these principles seems to me to have been always enthusiastic, and in the case of Free Traders even fanatical, since they propose to hold all else in every national policy subordinate to the maintenance of their favourite commercial system. In view of these facts it would seem to be almost certain that no part of a Pan-Britannic Federation would accept legislation sacrificing anything which it might regard as its own commercial interests, real or supposed, to those of another part. If so, it is hopeless, under present circumstances, to look for complete commercial unity in it. But this prospect affords no ground for dismay, if it can be shown that all the commercial unity needed in it would be enough to

secure a revenue sufficient for the expenditure of the Federal Government, and prevent the occurrence of quarrels hostile to the growth of Pan-Britannic loyalty; and that so much commercial unity may be supplied.

When considering how far the powers of a Federal Government should extend, Mr. Mill says:—"It is a great advantage to them [the countries united] that their mutual commerce should be free, without the impediment of frontier-duties and custom-houses. But this internal freedom cannot exist if each state has the power of fixing the duties on interchange of commodities between itself and foreign countries; since every foreign product let in by one state would be let into all the rest."¹ It is probable that English Free-traders will warmly applaud Mill's doctrine, that Colonial Protectionists will reprobate it; that Colonial Free-traders will feel rather sceptical over it; and that when all come to consider the specific circumstances of the Empire, they will find themselves compelled to admit that in it the Mill policy would be impracticable, leaving us compelled to seek another, and this for the following reasons:—

1. The extent of the Empire and the variety of its resources are such that there is scarcely a single product of creation and of human industry—be it animal, piscatorial, vegetable, mineral or manufactured—but may be produced to some extent in some part of it. Hence, to establish a free passage of all its products between all its parts, "without the impediment of frontier-duties," and without any discrimination against like foreign goods, would require a list of free goods as large as a list of all the world's products, involving a total abandonment of customs revenue. And free admission of all British goods accompanied by duties on certain foreign goods would be simply a system of Protection with differential duties. The rejection of the former alternative, all through the Empire, may be taken as a foregone conclusion; and whatever else England may accept, it is pretty clear that, just now at least, she will not accept the latter. For Free-trade her "love is wonderful, passing the love of women." With England's imports of foreign manufactured goods increasing, and exports of her own to foreign countries decreasing, so rapidly since 1872 that she now probably imports from foreign countries about half as much of these goods as she exports to them, I do not expect that she will long continue faithful to her second love. But the strength of her affection just now is such as to lead me at least to regard all schemes of commercial union involving a violation of it as a waste of words at present—confident though I am that Federation and Imperial Protection would be much more popular in the Colonies—at least in Canada—than Federation and Free-trade.

2. But neither do I think that even the Colonies would be inclined to accept an Imperial Protectionist policy admitting all Imperial products free on condition of light customs duties being imposed on foreign goods. Their customs usually furnish about 75 per cent. of their total revenue; and as about 50 per cent. of their imports consist of English manufactured goods on which the duties chiefly fall, the abolition of customs duties on these would leave due to them, after the discharge of all Federal claims, not a large surplus, as I have formerly explained, but only a very small one. This would necessitate a resort to direct taxation for local expenditure; and this we may be sure they would not—indeed I think could not—accept. Behind which point remains the question whether, just now at least, England would under any circumstances consent to "tax her people's bread."

3. If this reasoning be correct, Federationists must admit that an Imperial Federation could not establish free passage for either all the world's products or even for all its own products. That neither of these is essential to political unity or to commercial prosperity has been proved by long Imperial experience. But still wider experience shows that, in any and every corporation, internal harmony is essential to lengthened stability: that reciprocation is the soul of such harmony, and that it will have no sustenance should each member neither have any claim on fellow-members nor owe anything to them. This deficiency may fairly be said to describe the commercial relations of the

several parts of the British Empire to-day. The result is, that they have adopted tariffs with an exclusive regard to sectional interests, and bid fair to continue to do so as long as they are able. It is idle to suppose that lasting harmony can result from a system leaving each member free to thwart the interests of its fellows, whenever so inclined, in the master-passion of the nineteenth century—money-making.

To change discord into concord, the most direct way seems to be by the substitution of one concordant voice for many discordant voices; and in the present instance such a voice would, at first sight, appear most likely to be found where Mill, apparently, would look for it always—in the Federal Legislature. But in the absence of a frankly Protectionist system, I feel doubtful as to the success of this policy. As already explained, the difference in the nature of staple imports would necessitate different, if we would have productive, tariffs—probably one each for the United Kingdom, for Canada, for Australasia, for South Africa, and the West Indies. Is there not reason to fear that the intense English benevolence, which would not allow even the Local Indian Government to subject Indian people to even a 2½ per cent. duty on cottons, would display itself yet more strongly in a Federal Legislature when fixing duties on textiles of all sorts to be paid by full-blooded Britons? On the other hand, might not Colonial enthusiasm for British grain, wool, sugar, timber, and unbounded resources for raising them, lead to more pressure for discrimination between these and foreign goods than might conduce to harmony? Or might not these contradictory tendencies open the way to what Yankees call "log-rolling"—a synonym for "Scratch me, and I'll scratch you"? Might not this danger be strongly augmented by minorities in one quarter having the opportunity of acting with majorities in another? After all, what concordance would be secured beyond that of the majority of the Legislature, which could scarcely be identical with that of the majority of the electorate everywhere? And this, too, on a point which, as touching local taxation, might plausibly be alleged to be a matter of purely local concern? Could real harmony be relied on as a result? I very much fear that it could not; and, therefore, I would propose to leave the enactment of the tariffs with the local Legislatures, subject to the following conditions:—

(a) That no Province should admit foreign goods of any sort on more favourable terms than it admitted like goods the product of any part of the British Empire.

(b) That no Province should be competent to negotiate a reciprocity treaty, either with a foreign country or with a sister-province, unless under the auspices of the Federal Government, and that to its validity the consent of the Federal Legislature should be essential.

(c) That a *maximum* rate of duty should be fixed, never to be exceeded by any Province of the Empire, on goods the product of any other part of it. I do not undertake to suggest a rate, seeing that I know not any one rate likely to prove peculiarly acceptable; but some limit I think would be indispensable if we would escape hostile tariffs.

(d) That in order to avoid capricious variations in commercial policy, the Provinces should, at each re-assessment of the Federation, fix their tariffs for the ensuing decade—or should that be thought too long a period, should adjust them every five years—subject to the condition that if at any time in the interval an alteration might be desired, this could be effected by petition to the Federal Legislature, and the passage by it of a Bill in accordance with the prayer of the petition—but thus only.

Toronto, 1890.

OCTOBER MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

ONE of the best articles on South African affairs we have had the pleasure of reading for some time past is that by "A South African," which opens the *Fortnightly Review* for October. Its appearance is peculiarly opportune at a time when the Cape Parliament and Mr. Rhodes have been pointedly drawing the attention of people in England to the present and future of South African politics; for it is written by one who evidently shares Mr. Rhodes' views, and it serves as a kind of independent gloss or commentary upon his recent declarations. If the writer, who begins by whitewashing the Boers, washes them a little too white, he may be forgiven, for the excellence of his motive, which is to disabuse the minds of Englishmen

¹ "Representative Government," Chap. XVII.

in England of unworthy prejudices, and to assist in bringing about that "union of races," in the accomplishment of which the best hopes for the future of South Africa undoubtedly lie. The marvellous advance made towards this end within the past year, most conspicuously in the breaking down of Transvaal exclusiveness and the acceptance of the new railway policy, have dealt the death-blow to the scheme of a Dutch-speaking nationality, of which the Africander Board was the exponent. And while that Board in Cape Colony is now relegated to the position of a mere electioneering organisation without any ulterior political object, the fusion of races is said to be going on apace in the Transvaal, and the population to be rapidly becoming assimilated to that of the Cape Colony itself. The result is summed up in saying that "ere long the Transvaal will fall into line with the rest of South Africa, and the time for talking about one race dominating the other will have gone by." Mr. Rhodes' reference to "the question of the flag" in his Kimberley speech, which excited some unnecessary alarm in some sections of the press in this country, receives from the writer in the *Fortnightly* an elucidation which precisely confirms the forecast we ourselves made of its meaning, in commenting last month on the telegraphic summary of the Premier's speech. "It must not be inferred," says the writer, "from anything I have said that I look forward to the union of the South African Colonies and States under one flag as an event that is likely to occur soon, if it is ever to occur at all. The Cape Colony is perfectly loyal and perfectly content to remain under British rule, notwithstanding that the majority of its inhabitants are of Dutch descent. . . . In the two Republics, however, the case is different; and, speaking from personal observation, I should say that the inhabitants of those countries were never more determined than they are to-day to maintain their independence at all hazards, and to help each other, should that independence be threatened. . . . Nor is it likely that the infusion of the new element into the population will make any material difference in this respect. . . . It is hardly probable that the new population will ever favour the re-introduction of British rule. They entertain no strong feeling about the flag, and have no desire to make it a cause of quarrel. . . . If the flag is ever to be changed, it must be with the full consent of all concerned, and it is not likely that such consent will be secured in our time. When men speak in Pretoria of a 'United South Africa,' it is with a vague idea that the British power may ultimately be limited to a mere protectorate of the coasts. . . ." The writer recognises that, this being so, and such a change not being seriously contemplated in Cape Colony and Natal, it is not easy to see how the "United South Africa" is to be created. Whilst holding, therefore, that political union would be beneficial, he falls back upon the more tentative scheme of union indicated by Mr. Rhodes, under which, as he says, most of the substantial advantages of union or federation can be secured by mutual agreement, without the name and without any ostensible political changes. He would apparently, therefore, reiterate Mr. Rhodes' statement—"The question of the flag can wait.")

The article concludes (and the temper of it is perhaps a little marred by the addition) with a repetition of that plea against Imperial interference which Mr. Merriman, in a speech last year at the Colonial Institute, urged, with an iteration that was a little wearisome, in the formula, "*Laissez faire, laissez aller.*" Of the mistakes of Imperial policy in South Africa, we unhappily have no need to be told; but there is perhaps a little too much of the "Hands off!" school of politics in the writer's expression of his views on this part of his subject. There is, however, a crumb of comfort in the reference to the "flags," in the following sentence with which this really useful article is brought to a conclusion:—" . . . whether the Republican flags continue to wave or *peaceably disappear* in the process of time, there will be a practically united dominion in which British civilisation and British enterprise will have the fullest scope to assert themselves." The comfort is in the words we have italicised; for, to our thinking, it is that way lies the best and, we make bold to say, the best founded hope of South African unity in the future.

In the *National Review* Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., has a useful article on "The Colonial Office and the Colonies." He brings out the importance of the change from the old to the new view of Colonies and the Colonial relationship; and goes on to say that the promise of the future is with the new rather than the old Britain, unless by truest statesmanship the one becomes co-partner with the other. To supply the need of some channel for the public expression of Colonial opinion, which at present can only make itself heard within the walls of the Colonial Office itself, and fails therefore to reach either Parliament or the public, Mr. Leighton recommends the appointment of Members of Parliament as Assistant Agents-General for the Colonies; this he considers would be a tentative advance in the direction of that Colonial representation "which must some day or other, in some form or other, be established." Amongst the shortcomings of the Colonial Office, of which he gives numerous illustrations (not all of them perhaps faults quite fairly laid at the door of that much abused Department of State), the writer refers to the

fatuity which decreed that the Imperial Conference of 1887 should be held with closed doors; whereby it became impossible for any public interest to be felt in the proceedings of the Conference, or any healthy discussion excited. Mr. Stanley Leighton considers that there are indications that in future sessions of Parliament Colonial questions will receive lively attention and be subjected to free handling in the House of Commons. "At the same time the growing Colonies beyond sea are judging of the benefits they derive from the existing terms of their connection with the Mother Country by practical and tangible results;" and the writer deprecates the constitutional "nervousness" of the Colonial Office. "We have not," he goes on to say, "yet reached the final settlement of our interdependence. A world-wide Empire can neither be built up nor held together without heroic labour, courage, and statesmanship." A previous reference to Lord Knutsford's official career and to other matters connected with the *personnel* of the Colonial Office gives a rather direct point to these observations and to the following:—"The bureaucratic element must not be too strongly represented in the direction of our Colonial affairs. Men versed in official rules and legal technicalities are sometimes too deeply impressed with a sense of their value. . . . There is a call now for another class of statesmen—for new men who realise and sympathise with the new wants of an ever-expanding commonwealth, who are not afraid of new developments, and who can administer for the benefit of all the immense inheritance which has fallen to the lot of that mighty confederation of many races who own allegiance to the British Crown."

The interesting series of articles under the heading of "Obstacles to Imperial Federation," in the *United Service Magazine*, is continued in the October number by Major-General T. B. Strange, whose claims to be heard on the subject rest upon personal acquaintance with the Britain beyond seas during the greater part of a lifetime spent in almost every part of the Empire, principally in Canada. "The one thing which has struck me everywhere," says the writer, "has been the intense individuality of the race, which has built up a vast Empire, but seems to lack the power of organisation to hold it together. The spectacle is appalling. In Australasia a heptanarchy of Anglo-Saxons fighting each other and the Mother Country with hostile tariffs. In South Africa and British North America there is something similar, with the additional complication of an element of French and Dutch origin. And yet I believe that order could be evolved out of chaos, if island Englishmen would only look beyond the fog of their island at the glorious Empire which is theirs, and insist on their statesmen dealing with the mighty problem which it presents. . . . It is astonishing how unthinking masses allow themselves to be influenced by what Shakespeare calls 'a damnable iteration.' The writer of the article from New South Wales, Mr. Gossip, is evidently so influenced when he quotes the report of the wild talk at a French Canadian meeting at Montreal, from a Rouge newspaper, as proof that Canadians generally desire annexation to the United States, and the *Sydney Telegraph, Bulletin*, and *Boomerang*, as proof that the people of Australasia desire separation. As I have had means of knowing both peoples, and happened to be present, first in Montreal and afterwards in Sydney, during each of the periods of excitement to which he refers, I can testify that they bore a very different aspect from that which appeared in the sensational reports which newspapers habitually print for Celtic or Gallic readers. The feeling of the great body of the people in each case was that of contemptuous indifference towards the noisy clique which made the hubbub." Referring especially to the case of Canada, he continues:—"The cry of a small minority for annexation is due to the fact that the Liberal party were driven to despair by 'the old Parliamentary hand' of Canada, Sir John Macdonald, who has so skilfully manœuvred that he has held the reins of government and its patronage for more than a quarter of a century, with but one short interval. The Opposition were bound to find a new cry. They chose commercial union with the United States, which means annexation, as against Protection, the policy of Sir John Macdonald. . . . Apart from these questions they feel absolute independence of England to be an impossibility. They know that they already possess absolute self-government, even to the extent of taxing the Power that protects them. They would willingly allay English commercial discontent of Canadian Protection, by establishing Free Trade relations westward with Australasia and eastward with England, provided Protection were given against the United States by all parts of the Empire so long as they continue hostile tariffs against us. They urge that our food supplies could come almost as cheaply from India, Canada, and the Colonies, as from the United States. Canada should be the longest and strongest link in the chain of Empire that girdles the globe." In the matter of "obstacles," General Strange appears to consider—and we are far from disagreeing with him—that ignorance and apathy are the chief foes we have to combat. Apart from the general evidences of these characteristics of home-staying Britons referred to in the opening passage already

quoted, he instances particularly the delay in establishing steam navigation between British Columbia and Australasia, and the policy, or want of it, that has allowed the project of a Pacific cable to be interfered with by the interests involved in the Suez lines; and, again, to the futility of the negotiations for establishing better trade relations between the Dominion and the Australasian Colonies. This portion of the article concludes with a passage well worthy of note:—"Strange it is there seems to be no one whose business it is to represent Imperial interests in Colonial parts. New Zealand, sorely against her inclination, was forced to subsidise a line of United States mail steamers, which carries Californian wheat to Sydney, and undersells their own New Zealand wheat. Thus the disunited States of Great Britain stultify themselves and each other in every relation in which they come in contact, for lack of some central authority, some definite bond of union, or some platform where the representatives of the various States could meet to discuss their relations, learn to know and respect each other, and understand something of the great Empire of which they are a fraction. Such a meeting, to be of any use, should be held alternately in the capital of each State." The latter half of the article deals specially with Canadian Defence from the historical standpoint, and, whatever may be its intrinsic value, seems scarcely within the scope suggested by the title.

Though not touching on Imperial questions, an article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Awakening of Jamaica," by the Governor, Sir Henry Blake, will be read with interest, as indicating the possible revival in the future of the important position once held in the Empire by the West Indies. The principal evidence of the awakened spirit is to be found in the Jamaica Exhibition to be held next January, and the new departure being taken both in cultivation and industries. It is found that the future prosperity of the Colony must depend upon the activity of the small landowners. The decline of Jamaican prosperity is attributed to the existence of the large estates and the attendant habit of absenteeism. *Latifundia perdidit Italiam*; but it is noted that it was not so much the servile labour (the chief vice of the Italian system) but the break of continuity caused by emancipation that has been specially detrimental in Jamaica. The export of the principal staples, sugar, rum, and pimento, which represent the crops of large estates, has fallen enormously in the last ten years alone; while that of coffee, fruit, and other products of the smaller husbandry, has doubled itself in the same period. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming Exhibition may be instrumental in stimulating the import and export trade of Jamaica, especially with Canada. It may be noted here that the United States have refused to take part in the Exhibition, and the Jamaica papers declare that this will have the effect of greatly strengthening the commercial and political ties between Jamaica and Canada. Also that the Governor of the Bahamas has been discussing with Canadian Ministers methods of improving the trade relations between those islands and the Dominion.

The *Westminster* has, rather late in the day, an appreciative but inadequate review of "Problems of Greater Britain."

*** In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMERCE: BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I have been prevented by a pressure of other matters from replying sooner to the criticism by Sir Rawson Rawson upon my recent letter to you, in which I gave figures, showing, as I contended, that our trade with our Colonies possessed more vitality than our trade with foreign countries.

Sir Rawson objected to my comparison in the first place because it excluded certain Colonies and foreign countries. I included only the principal countries in each group for purposes of brevity; but had my figures embraced the whole, the result would have strengthened my argument. Sir Rawson himself supplies figures which show that, in respect of our whole trade, the portion with foreign countries had increased in the period in question 187 per cent., and with India and the Colonies 48 per cent. The like proportions in my table showed increases of 28 and 60 per cent. respectively. *The Colonial as compared with the foreign figures show a larger proportion of increase in Sir Rawson's table than in my figures.*

Again Sir Rawson objected to the foreign countries selected because these countries, are "mainly supplied by their own manufactures, are mostly protected against us by hostile

tariffs, and are our keen rivals in foreign commerce." The moral of my figures was in the application of them. Surely no three better reasons could be found for cultivating closer relations with our Colonies than these three facts as regards the countries in question, combined with the fact that our trade with these countries, relatively to that with our Colonies, is falling off.

I entirely agree with Sir Rawson in thinking that a fair inference cannot always be drawn from a comparison of single years, but his own test, namely, a comparison of the figures of a single year with the average of the whole period, proves all I wish to establish. Thus a table which he gives supplies the facts that while the proportion of our trade with foreign countries to our total trade was, in 1869, 77·1 per cent., and in 1888 74·0 per cent., the average for the period was 75·5 per cent; the like figures for our Colonial trade being 22·0, 26·0, and 24·5 per cent. respectively. Here the relative progress is clearly shown, and is vastly favourable to the Colonies.

But Sir Rawson further asks how much the growth in Colonial trade has been fostered by the loans we have made to the Colonies within the period under review. Sir Rawson does not say so directly, but his argument implies that but for the loans there would not have been the trade, and further suggests that we have not been quite wise in what we have done. The subject is too wide to enter upon in a letter, but unless we consider that the loans are doubtful, it seems to me that the argument is all the other way. For I cannot suppose a better combination of things for a country such as this than to find at once an outlet for the manufactures of one portion of the community, and a safe means of investing the savings of another.

While, however, for the reasons given, not admitting the force of his criticisms, I cannot conclude without saying how much indebted we are to Sir Rawson Rawson for the wealth of detail which his letters have supplied upon this interesting subject. I see that the discussion in your columns has attracted the attention of Major-General Dashwood and Mr. Edgcome of the Fair Trade League, and I hope to see further communications from them before it closes.—I am, &c.

F. FAITHFULL BEGG.

Bartholomew House, London, E.C.

September 29th, 1890.

A NEGLECTED FIELD OF ENTERPRISE.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—I have taken the liberty of forwarding to you a copy of the *Toronto Globe* of the 2nd inst., containing a description, by a *New York Herald* correspondent, of Newfoundland, its climate, resources, etc.

The *Herald* correspondent evidently takes a different view of the character of the interior of the island to that laid down in geographical works, viz., that it does not consist of barren rocks, but, on the other hand, contains good agricultural lands, in addition to rich mineral deposits and pine forests.

Does it not behove Englishmen to concern themselves a little more with the condition of things within the Empire, and to endeavour to divert a greater share of the energy and capital which is attempting to conduct the business of the world from external pursuits to the development of its internal resources? The resources of so large an island as Newfoundland, especially considering its geographical position, will not long remain undeveloped; and now that the attention of the Yankees has been turned in that direction, they may be expected to take advantage of any opportunity to engage in an undertaking which would prove a financial success; and they would, no doubt, derive additional satisfaction from the knowledge that they were making an inroad into British commerce. I confess that it would humble my British pride to learn that a syndicate of New York capitalists were constructing a railway into the interior of Newfoundland, for the development of its agricultural and mineral resources; that Americans were electric-lighting and operating street railways in St. John's; that many citizens of the United States were resident in the island; and, in fact, that Americans had infused new life into the Colonists, as the correspondent of the *Manchester Times* and *Examiner* informs that journal is the case in Jamaica. But I am satisfied that humbling British pride is not the worst result of such incursions; they have a bad effect on the cause of Imperial Federation. This I am sure is not at all imaginary. Americans, living here, will point to Toronto as an American city; they will tell you that there is a large amount of American (United States) money invested here in manufacturing and other enterprises; they will assure you that Toronto's development is an instance of Yankee enterprise, and there are Canadians who agree with them on this point. The people of the United States are in the habit of attributing the rapid development of their country, and any pre-eminence that they may attain in manufacturing or otherwise, to their Republican institutions; and they are particularly anxious to impress this upon the minds of the citizens of British dependencies. And the fact that the development of the United States has been largely due to British skill and capital—to the construction of railways (of which fact I have been an eye-witness) and to the modern fast-sailing steamships, mostly of British manufacture, and more than one-half of which sail under the British flag—is lost sight of; for the uninformed masses look at matters as they appear on the surface, and care but little for underlying causes; they regard that which immediately affects them, but are not much concerned about the remote agencies which have produced the results. No doubt many British subjects

regard the fact that the particular dependency in which they may live (especially Canada and Australia) has not rivalled the United States as due to its connection with the Empire, forgetting that the States before their separation were the most flourishing Colonies in the world. For these reasons I reiterate the statement that the incursions which I have mentioned above are detrimental to the cause of Imperial Federation.

I do not suppose that it is within the province of your journal to discuss schemes for the more energetic development of the resources of the Empire, nor do I suppose that capital, which is usually as unpatriotic as it is blind, would take the initiative in such a movement; but it does seem to me possible for an association to be formed of advocates of the cause of Federation which could procure the co-operation of capitalists in the development of the agricultural, mineral, and, in fact, all other resources of the Empire. Surely English capital can find, within the Empire, enterprises as remunerative as the manufacture of poor American beer, and far safer ones than the construction of railways in South America, where revolution is always in order.—Yours, &c.,

ENTERPRISE.

Toronto, August 18th, 1890.

WEST INDIAN DEFENCE.

A MEMORANDUM prepared by the Colonial Defence Committee with respect to the scheme of Defence adopted by the Imperial Government for the West Indies was published in those Colonies for general information in September last. The necessity for making such schemes public in order to "effectually reach the taxpayer" and enable the Councils to demand sacrifices at the hands of the people, had previously been urged by Major-General W. H. Goodenough, C.B., after a tour of inspection in the West Indies. The Memorandum points out that until the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1879, the defences of the Empire had never been considered as a whole, and the fortifications which existed at various points, as well as the garrisons there maintained, were in many cases legacies of a period when political and military conditions widely differed from those of the present day. This was especially the case with regard to the West India Islands, which had been the scene of much fighting during the French wars, and which had been fortified to a great extent to meet the exigencies of the times. These islands were then direct sources of wealth to the Power which held them, and were fought for on account of their own intrinsic worth as the spoils of the victor. Conditions are now greatly changed. The islands are no longer likely to be fought for as sources of wealth. Mere territorial aggrandisement in this portion of the world is not likely to be the aim of any European Power, and an enemy's probable objectives would be strategic points calculated to give him present and future advantages in naval warfare, or by their loss to injure the naval and military prestige of the Empire. Under these circumstances, the general policy recommended by the Royal Commission was, that strategic points should be definitely decided upon in order to meet the requirements of the British navy; that the available troops should be concentrated at these points, and that scattered garrisons of Imperial troops should no longer be maintained.

The Committee go on to say:—"In accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission, it was decided to fortify and maintain Imperial coaling-stations at Jamaica and St. Lucia, these points being selected on account of their strategic importance in relation to the operations of Her Majesty's navy in these waters, and to concentrate there all the Imperial troops in the West Indies. This policy is now being carried out, and it is desirable that its aims should be fully understood. . . . There has been no question of abandoning any of the West India Colonies, or of leaving them to their own unaided resources in the event of war. The policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government is based upon the broad principle, that the protection of the West Indies as a whole must depend upon the navy operating in sufficient force, and that the Imperial defences on shore should be such only as will facilitate the operations of the navy in keeping the sea clear of an enemy's vessels. History—and especially the history of the fighting which has taken place in the West Indies—clearly shows that territorial aggression cannot be successfully carried out in face of a superior naval force. . . . It would, therefore, be the object of Her Majesty's Government to maintain in war a superior naval force in West India waters. Further, in the case of all European Powers operations intended for purposes of territorial aggression could only be carried out by specially equipped expeditions, which must start from European ports. It would, therefore, be the function of Her Majesty's navy in European waters to prevent the starting of such expeditions, or, if that were impossible, to reinforce the naval strength in the West Indies to the extent that might be required. So long as the command of the sea in West India waters can be maintained, territorial aggression in this portion of the world is a practical impossibility.

"At the same time, as has been pointed out by the Colonial Defence Committee, naval superiority will not entirely prevent the action of fast cruisers of considerable coal endurance. Such vessels might be able, for some months, to keep the seas,

and might seek to make brief raids on unprotected ports with a view to requisition money, coal, or other stores, or to inflict injury upon private property. Cruisers of this description are little fitted for engaging even small defences on shore, as they have little or no protection to their armaments or *personnel*. Their crews are numerically small, so that the number of men capable of being landed is extremely limited. For these reasons, the Colonial Defence Committee have endeavoured to secure the preparation of local schemes of defence, and Her Majesty's Government have, on their recommendations, given assistance in the form of guns and arms to such Colonies as were willing to take steps for their protection against the minor raids above referred to. Local defence thus limited in its aims need entail no heavy burdens upon a Colony, and where any fighting spirit exists, it should be encouraged by every possible means."

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE Board of Trade returns for September exhibit a large increase in the quantity and total value of imports, with a continued decrease in the average price per ton—and a still larger increase in the quantity, total value, and average price of exports. Some explanations of the changes will be offered in the readings below.

SEPTEMBER, 1890, COMPARED WITH SEPTEMBER, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has increased from—
2,488,000 to ... 2,758,000 = 10·8 per cent.
2. Value of imports has increased from—
£33,407,000 to £35,552,000 = 6·4 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£13 8s. to ... £12 18s. = 3·7 per cent.

B. Exports (Total).

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,772,000 to ... 2,998,000 = 8·1 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£22,697,000 to £27,354,000 = 20·5 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£8 4s. to ... £9 2s. = 11·0 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,451,000 to 2,676,000 tons = 9·2 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. 3d. to ... 12s. 6½d. = 22·3 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 8·7 per cent.
4. Proportion of tonnage outwards employed in the export of coal has increased from 57·6 per cent. in August to 59·5 per cent. in September.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
1,138,000 to ... 1,214,000 = 6·7 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£21,440,000 to £25,686,000 = 19·8 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£18 16s. to £21 2s. = 12·2 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1890.

1. IMPORTS.—The impending changes in the tariff of the United States have contributed largely to the increase in both the import and export trades, but independently of that branch, the increase has been satisfactory. The total increase of tonnage inwards has been 10·8 per cent.; the increase from the United States has been 19·4 per cent., and from all other countries 5·6 per cent. A similar comparison of total value can only be extended to a limited number of the principal articles, of which the origin is specified in the monthly accounts. The result shows that while the average increase of the total value received from all countries was 6·4 per cent., that of arrivals from the United States was 13·5 per cent., and from other countries only 5·3 per cent. The average price of imports has resumed its downward course. Last month there was no change; this month there was a decrease of 3·7 per cent. The increase exists in every group of articles except tobacco, in which there was a decrease of 24·7 per cent. notwithstanding a rise in price of 8 per cent.

2. EXPORTS.—The total tonnage of exports shows an increase of 8·1 per cent., that to the United States an increase of 18·1 per cent., and to other countries of 7·2 per cent. Tonnage to foreign countries had increased 10 per cent., and to British Possessions 3 per cent. The total value of exports had increased 20·5 per cent.; to the United States on 43 principal articles 29·4, and to all other countries 14·6 per cent. But on 28 articles exported to the United States the increase was 76·2 per cent.; on 15 there was a decrease of 12·3 per cent. The increase is large in every group of exports except live animals, in which the large falling off observable during the preceding six months (with one exception) continues. Yarns and Textile Fabrics increased 11·4 per cent., Metals 11·8, and Machinery 20·9 per cent. British and Irish Produce and Manufactures increased 15·5 per cent., and Foreign and Colonial goods 53·2, bringing up the average to 20·9 per cent., an increase which has not been approached in any month since July, 1889, when it reached 15·7 per cent. The increase in price is also satisfactory, being 11 per cent., or if coal, in which there was a fall in price since last month, be excluded, 12·2 per cent.

3. COAL.—The quantity of coal exported has again begun to increase with a falling price. The tonnage employed in its carriage has risen to 59·5 per cent. of the whole tonnage outward.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

ON the 9th of October, a lecture under the above title was delivered by Mr. G. R. Parkin before the Aldershot Military Society.

Baron Henry de Worms, M.P. (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), who occupied the Chair, said the question of Imperial Defence was one of such paramount importance to our own country that it was scarcely necessary for him to point out the various ways in which we should be affected were that system of defence inadequate. First, an adequate system of defence must keep open free communication, and was in consequence of paramount importance to our trade. It had been said very often that but few people realised what was really meant by keeping open that free communication which would insure the passage of the trade of this country. He did not think he could put that before them better than by calling their attention to a few statistics which would give them some idea of what the trade of this country really was. These statistics only came down to 1887, and they might reasonably assume that our trade had increased and not diminished since that date. The total amount of trade passing the Cape amounted to £52,330,000; the same passing the Suez Canal amounted to £79,392,000; the total with North America was £136,765,000; with South America, £49,630,000; with the West Indies, £16,000,000; the total with Australasia, *via* the Cape, £15,896,000; ditto, *via* the Suez Canal, £10,073,000; *via* the Torres Straits, £2,852,000; and *via* Cape Horn, £16,276,000. He thought those figures spoke for themselves far more eloquently than any words of his in proving that at any cost free communication should be maintained; and if that communication was to be maintained, it was also quite clear that our Colonies must be placed under a system of proper and adequate defence. He need scarcely say that that question had had the attention of successive Governments, but it was not till the year 1879 that a commission, over whom the late Lord Carnarvon presided, really took the matter practically in hand. The report of this commission was confidential, but the main points had been communicated to those who of necessity ought to be acquainted with the details. Her Majesty's Government followed in the footsteps of those who instituted that commission, and called together a Colonial Conference; and at that Conference the questions of interest to each Colony were considered. The greatest want of all was for a system of Colonial Imperial Defence, and the outcome of that Conference was most important. In Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway afforded an alternate route to the East; at Cape Town the defences were put on a better footing, and also at Simon's Bay; our Eastern Colonies had given contributions of money in order to carry out Federation; and an agreement was entered into with the Australian Colonies to advance the same end. After referring more particularly to the agreement as to the Australian Naval Contingent, and to Major-General Edwards' report on Australian Defences, the speaker went on to say that the idea of Federal action had been in force in the Torres Straits and in King George's Sound. With regard to the latter, it was important to note this fact, that when the Select Committee (over which he had the honour to preside) on the West Australian Bill was sitting, that Committee was practically unanimous that one of the most important questions which arose, and one demanding the most immediate attention, was the fortification of King George's Sound. The recommendations of the Committee were transmitted to the Colonial Office, and the Secretary of State at once took measures to have the land in the immediate vicinity of King George's Sound reserved. That had been done, and it might not be known to them that Her Majesty's Government had decided to find the armament for the Colony in the shape of the most modern guns, and the Colonists themselves would find the works. That decision had been arrived at, and the Colonists had expressed their great satisfaction with it. He was further able to state on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, from information which he had just received, that the difficulties which had delayed the completion of the defensive works at Torres Straits and King George's Sound were now in a fair way of being settled. A committee of Australian military officers was about to visit these places, and the Colonial Government had asked for an Imperial naval officer to be associated with them. The Admiralty had selected a thoroughly competent officer, who was to start at once, so as to be on the spot to join them by the end of the present month. He thought they would see, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of the subject, and not behindhand in taking steps with those who had advised them. Through the Colonial Defence Committee, which had been established some time, and was composed of officers of both Services acting in conjunction, the Government were able to keep touch with the subject, and were always ready to receive any suggestions that might be made, and were therefore enabled by the advice they received to give them practical effect. It was only fair to make those few remarks in order to introduce that subject, not from the

point of view alone of Imperial Federation, but from the other and more important point of Imperial defence. Of course they had been long aware that it was necessary that something should be done speedily for the protection and defence of our Colonies. It was true that the armaments of other nations may have led them to take a more practical view of the necessity of increasing the defence of our Colonies; but that, he took it, was not the real reason which had guided both the Colonies and the Government at home in the steps which were now being taken. He believed another reason, and a more important one yet, could be found—that was the fact that the great Continental Powers had not alone increased their armaments, but had increased and were increasing their Colonial possessions, and were thus bringing themselves into closer proximity with our Colonies. There might be a more decided menace of these Colonies now than in the past, because those Colonies by their proximity might form the bases from which expeditions could be sent out to the detriment of our own Colonies. He thought, therefore, that they would agree with him that any steps that should be taken, should be taken quickly, and should be of a thoroughly effective nature. He was not one of those who were publicly known as "croakers" when he said that; but he believed in the maxim that forewarned was forearmed, and he did not think any foreign nation had a right to consider that the defensive works which were now in progress in our Colonies were intended as a menace to them; they were not so, but were intended as a safeguard. He believed thoroughly in the principle of Federation, inasmuch as he believed that Federation bore the same relation to strength as did union. He believed thoroughly in the loyal sentiments of our Colonial brethren. He knew they were actuated in times of peace by generous rivalry in commerce, and they knew when the time came they could rely upon our Colonists at the Antipodes to come across thousands of miles of ocean and join hands with the Mother Country in fighting the common enemy, as they did on the sands of Egypt. Such a contingency might arise, and, should it arise, he was perfectly convinced that the same spirit would actuate them. Some suggestions had been made (but he believed the wish had been father to the thought, and there were some who would say it in our Colonies as well as here) that our Australian Colonists wished for separation. He did not believe it; and, though some might be willing to plant that idea at the Antipodes as at home, he did not believe it would be likely to take root. He believed that here and abroad the sons of the Old Country were proud to see the Army maintain its old glory and its old traditions; and, when the time came, we should have no more thorough and loyal allies than those to be found among British Colonists.

The following is a *résumé* of Mr. Parkin's lecture. He said that permanent national unity was the object aimed at in Imperial Federation, and that arguments in support of it were thought to be especially strong from the aspect of national defence. The advocates of Federation believed that the cause would be greatly assisted if there could be created in the minds of military men a reasoned conviction that the further political consolidation of the Empire was necessary to make Imperial defence more assured and effective. Some political thinkers believed that separation would be the necessary result of the growth of the great Colonies; but, on the other hand, that this is an age of Federation was illustrated from the examples of the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Canada, and Australia. All Federations were largely based on the defence of common interests, and no nation had such vast interests at stake as those which were growing up between Britain and her Colonies. The growth of the great Colonies was making them centres of national strength and also centres of political influence, and thus the equitable distribution of responsibility for national defence could only be secured by a sufficient recognition of Colonial influence in the common national policy. The dependence of Britain upon vast imports of food and raw material and vast exports of manufactured goods; the dependence of the Colonies upon Britain as a market for their staple productions; and the equal necessity to both of safe trade, led to two conclusions—first, that the great Colonies were essential to the security and prosperity of Britain; and second, that the Imperial connection was necessary for the safety and highest well-being of the Colonies. The lecturer illustrated this from a detailed study of the relation to the defence of the Empire of (1) Canada.—As furnishing a basis which enabled us to command the North Atlantic and North Pacific; as giving an alternative military route to the East, as making possible a line of telegraphic communication around the Empire, passing only over British soil; as a centre of food supply; and as having a large and increasing population, which has more than once proved its willingness and ability to defend Imperial interests. (2) Australia and New Zealand.—As securing, by their defended coaling and naval stations, our dominance in the Southern hemisphere; as necessary to the completion of the circle of telegraphic communication around the Empire; as furnishing a possible basis of support in food, horses, and men for the defence of India; and as a community of

exceptional wealth and energy deeply interested in the safety of the great trade routes. (3) South Africa.—As containing the points most essential to the security of an Indian and Australian commerce in time of war, and as an alternative military route should the Suez Canal be closed; as essential to the security of our other African possessions, and as a country of vast national resources, and of great prospective wealth and power. The separation of these Colonies from the Empire would leave Britain with only the rights of neutrals in their ports, and so unable to retain her naval superiority except under great disadvantages. With close and clearly defined political unity, an unparalleled defensive combination was possible. Under modern conditions the magnitude of the Empire might be the greatest element of strength, since telegraphic communication made united and simultaneous action possible, and an unequal advantage was given by the power to use ourselves, and to refuse to others, the best coaling and naval stations in all quarters of the world. The present military strength of the self-governing Colonies would become most effective under complete political Federation, leading to a clear division of military responsibility and the adoption of a common system of defence. Mr. Parkin also dealt with the relation of India and its defence to the Federation question, and the interests of the great Colonies in the closest Federation for purposes of defence, and concluded by claiming that the permanent political unity of the Empire should be striven for as offering the greatest security in the event of war, and also as the strongest guarantee of peace.

The lecture was extremely well received throughout. Baron de Worms, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, paid a warm tribute to the loyalty and patriotism of the Colonies; and Sir Evelyn Wood, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that military men were actuated by no political bias; but, from the standpoint of the admirable lecture they had listened to, their minds were a little easier now than, perhaps, otherwise would have been the case. The vote was heartily accorded.

THE AMERICAN TARIFF. SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

WE make a few extracts from articles and letters in the home press, in which the possible effect of the McKinley tariff and the policy it embodies upon the question of Imperial Reciprocity is recognised. The views expressed in Canada by public men and writers in the press, as well as some expressions of opinion in other quarters upon the question as it affects Canada, will be found collected under a separate heading. The whole question of the new tariff and its bearing on the commerce of the United States themselves, on that of the United Kingdom exclusively, or on that of foreign countries, opens a wider field of discussion than it concerns us in this Journal to enter upon. We make no reference therefore to the mass of opinion on this question save as it touches the special points first referred to.

TIMES.

We shall not retaliate, for we must do nothing to aggravate an evil that will press most heavily on the working classes.

The Vienna correspondent of the same paper reports the following view expressed to him by an informant whom he describes as "an acting Minister of the United States":—"We do not want Europe," he said, "to anything like the extent that Europe wants us; and if retaliatory measures are taken, it will be Europe that will thereby be the poorer, not the States. It is not likely England will change her fiscal policy and abandon Free Trade, but there is a possibility of England forming a Customs Union with all her Colonies, and in that case she would be as independent of outsiders as we shall be, producing everything she wants, and consuming herself everything she produces. The case, however, is different as regards the Continental States of Europe."

ECONOMIST.

It is idle to talk of the McKinley tariff forcing Canada into the arms of the Republic. Americans themselves will be the principal sufferers by the measure they have framed for their profit. There is some talk in Canada of retaliatory measures, but these, it is to be hoped, will not be resorted to. She ought rather to seek by a reduction of her import duties to stimulate her foreign trade and lighten the burdens of her people. Whether, however, she adopts this policy or not, the probability is that Canadian intercourse with the Mother Country will be substantially increased by this new Bill; and if it be, then the main action of the new United States tariff will be to draw the Dominion nearer to us in the future. We cannot offer Canadians any measure of reciprocity, as this country does not intend to enter into a tariff war with the States; but we could supply her with the iron and steel goods which form a considerable portion of her imports from the States, and take in exchange the agricultural products which the States are now striving to shut out.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.

There is one way, to be sure, in which the balance could be redressed; but then it is not the way along which Free Trade orthodoxy lies. The way we mean is of course that which was pointed out by Mr. Hofmeyr in the memorable paper which he read at the Colonial Conference in 1887. And the way was labelled "Free Trade," too;

but it was to be "Free Trade within the Empire," with a differential *ad valorem* duty, for purposes of Imperial defence, on all goods outside the Empire. Mr. Hofmeyr, in expounding his scheme, based much of his argument precisely on such a state of things as will now be caused in Canada by the McKinley Bill. If Canada's "produce for the British markets" were "Protected" by means of a duty on non-Colonial produce for the said markets, then Lord Aberdeen's advice would have solid point enough. A Customs Union for the British Empire would countervail effectively enough the American corner. But what would our "Free Trade principles" say to so great a step towards Protection? and the cosmopolitanism of the humanitarians, to the erection of so huge a barrier between different peoples? and the Australian Colonists, to a scheme which would "flood" them with goods from the Mother Country, against which they now "Protect" themselves so energetically? From each of these three quarters, and from many more besides, Mr. Hofmeyr's scheme would be strongly opposed. But, right or wrong, it is well worth consideration, because it is sure to be pressed some day, and because it is the only scheme whereby Canada could be defended against such injuries as she will suffer from the McKinley Bill.

LLOYD'S WEEKLY.

It is not at all improbable that the McKinley tariff in the United States may lead to commercial treaties between some of those who have been struck at, and it may lead to closer attention being paid by Great Britain and her Colonies to the great question of Imperial Federation.

IRISH TIMES.

As the direct though possibly unexpected result of the recent development of a new commercial policy in the United States, inimical to the interests of trade in the Old Country, the question of Imperial Federation seems likely to take a prominent place in the immediate programme of practical statesmanship.

YORKSHIRE DAILY POST.

Some foreign critics of the Bill predict that the Continental Powers will sooner or later retaliate by uniting into a huge Zollverein or Commercial Union, which shall vigorously exclude American goods, and finally drive her out of the markets altogether. If such a scheme be feasible, it ought certainly to be easy for Great Britain and her Colonies to form a similar Commercial Union among themselves, which would render us all practically independent of the world. With India for corn and cotton, Australia and New Zealand and the Cape for meat and wool, while in those markets our manufacturers had no rival to fear, we might easily dispense with America. It would be a grand scheme of Imperial Federation based on the most reliable of foundations—a common interest—and if the McKinley Bill should tend to make this an accomplished fact, we at all events need have no reason to complain of its provisions.

A correspondent of the same paper writes:—"Seeing that great attention is being given in Great Britain to the results of the new American tariff, would it not be of use to the working class if they could learn thoroughly the principles of Imperial Federation, and the great influence they bear upon the trade of the world? There would be no trouble caused by a foreign Power closing its market against us, or of a great war depriving us of the materials for manufacture, if with our Colonies we can produce nearly everything that we require. We have no need to retaliate, as some of the Continental Powers want to do; but we can federate, which will strengthen us and our Colonies."

Referring to the above, another correspondent writes as follows:—"We have no need to retaliate." Perhaps not, but we have need to do the next nearest thing; that is, to resume the full use of our fiscal power and liberty as soon as possible. Then we could say to our Colonies, 'Let us adopt Imperial and Commercial Confederation within the British Empire,' with the prospect of success. We ought to say to them, 'Give us preferential duties in your markets over the foreigner, and your goods shall be admitted into the United Kingdom and Dependencies, either free, or at half the duty of foreign'; in other words, foreign food and manufactures shall pay an import duty of at least 10 per cent., but the produce and manufactures of the Colonies shall either be admitted free, or at half the duty of foreign. If we said something like this to the Colonies, I have every reason to believe they would respond favourably and without delay."

SUNDAY TIMES.

In designing, therefore, to strike a blow at both England and Canada, the Americans may unwittingly have helped on the work of Imperial Federation. . . . America will, as it deserves, be the greatest sufferer by the new tariff, which may also prove a more effective weapon than any that has yet been placed in the hands of the Government for giving to the sentimental idea of Imperial Federation a concrete and practical basis.

PEOPLE.

A correspondent writes:—"But the time is rapidly approaching when a revision of our fiscal system must occur, and then Imperial Federation takes its place. When any statesman is courageous and sagacious enough to propose 'Free Trade between England and her Colonies and Dependencies, Protection against all countries which lay duties on British goods,' he will have a following which will astound himself, and the greatest Empire the world has ever seen will consolidate with lightning-like rapidity. In our possessions the wide world over we have inexhaustible resources, and all possible variety of products, far transcending those of Brother Jonathan, and nothing but our ruinous absurd fiscal laws prevents our making proper use of them. Alter or revoke those laws, and the British Empire is instantly self-supporting, and her sons and daughters will be ten times as prosperous as now."

TIMES.

Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., writing in *The Times* of October 9th, says:—"What is to be done? The majority of my Sheffield constituents say, 'Lectures and pamphlets, example and practice, have done nothing in nearly half a century to secure Free Trade; let us tack, and endeavour to obtain it by the taxation of those who tax us—by retaliation, if we fail to obtain reciprocity.' They may be to-day in advance of their countrymen, but a morrow will assuredly come when their voice will be the voice of England. One thing we can do at once. Canadian statesmen give us the lead. The McKinley Act will exclude Canadian produce over 3,000 miles of frontier. 'Canada must seek new markets,' declares the veteran Premier. 'We are met by the most perfect spirit of reciprocity by our Australian fellow-Colonists.' Thus spoke Sir John Macdonald at Toronto. Shall the Mother Country be behind Australia in supporting our loyal daughter Dominion against the Stars and Stripes? Let us at once give notice to terminate that detestable clause in the treaties of commerce with Belgium and the Zollverein, and which extends to every other treaty, assented to in the anti-Colonial régime of 1862 and 1865, precluding the Colonies from giving British goods preferential treatment. . . . Can we not retaliate? Let us, then, at least discriminate. To the Colonies let us say, 'Your goods, your wheat and flour, your corn and wool, your live and dead stock, your cotton and sugar, shall come free into the United Kingdom, while against every other nation we will enforce the duties levied upon British goods.' Then Imperial Federation will be an accomplished fact."

To this Mr. Daniel Watney replies:—"If, in order that Imperial Federation should be an accomplished fact, it will be necessary, as proposed by Mr. Howard Vincent, to say to the Colonies, 'Your goods, your wheat and flour, your corn and wools, your live and dead stock, your cotton and sugar, shall come free into the United Kingdom, while against every other nation we will enforce the duties levied upon British goods,' we shall have to wait not only till all interests in this country can be reconciled to universally dear prices and to increased cost of production, but also till the Colonies themselves have agreed to subject their manufacturers to a competition on equal terms with British manufacturers. . . . Mr. Vincent does not say that cereals, &c., coming from non-federated countries, are to be taxed on importation to this country, though I presume this is an important part of his programme. Until the Colonies can supply more than all our wants, cereals would thus be raised in price to the extent at least of such duty, and this would add a further gain to the Colonial farmer. Let the Imperial Federalist explain how far this is a fair description of his scheme."

Another correspondent writes:—"Mr. Howard Vincent's letter on 'The Triumphs of Free Trade,' published in *The Times* of to-day, is, I am convinced, in accordance with a growing feeling among our manufacturers and merchants that the Protectionist triumph in the United States should cause Her Majesty's Government to reconsider the universal application of the Free Trade principle. The most important approach towards a Federation of the British Empire would be made if we, by degrees and as the expiration of commercial treaties permitted us, submitted all products reaching our shores from countries not within the scope or under the *egis* of the British Empire to a moderate taxation—to a differential treatment; while the importations from our Colonies, Dominions, Protectorates, 'spheres of influence,' or nations in tutelage, such as Egypt, were made as absolutely free as possible. Reciprocally, our Colonies might accord to the exports of the Mother Country, if not Free Trade, at any rate a differential treatment in our favour. They might, if they cannot be brought to reduce their tariffs in favour of imports from Great Britain and from their fellow-Colonies, protect those imports by slightly raising the duties on all goods coming from non-British countries."

MANCHESTER COURIER.

The object sought to be attained by Imperial Federation is not so much to enter into a struggle with the producers of America, or of any other country, as by a closer union with the British Colonies to further their welfare and our own. The practical effect of Federation, in the sense in which it is advocated, will be to form a greater United Kingdom. . . . The Colonies constitute a vast market for British manufactures; the United Kingdom constitutes a valuable market for the products of the Colonies. The relationship might become closer and more mutually advantageous than it is, and the promoters of the movement in favour of Imperial Federation have the attainment of that end in view. . . . A mutual understanding between this country and the Colonies would make both to a great extent independent of the rest of the world, and arrangements might be agreed upon between them which would not only be to their immediate benefit, but would bring about a more reasonable commercial relationship with other nations than at present exists.

In a subsequent issue the same paper says:—"The Imperial Federation League would do well to call attention to a phenomenon which is of much significance in connection with what Aristotle would have called the 'self-sufficiency' of the Empire. Bread and tea may be described as necessities of life in these days. Five and twenty years ago we were virtually dependent upon foreign Powers for a large proportion of our bread and for nearly the whole of our tea. The development of wheat-growing in India has made that dependency one of the most important producers of the staff of life. And it is said by competent observers that the valleys of Upper Burma are capable of supplying the whole of Europe with wheat at a price with which America cannot compete. . . . The result in the case both of wheat and tea is most satisfactory, for the more we import from our own dependencies the more of our goods they must take in return. And, whatever the sentimentalists may say, the safest basis for Federation will be found in self-interest."

CANADIAN GAZETTE.

Cheap food the British consumer will have, and cheap food he believes he would not get were restrictions placed upon the free importation of foreign breadstuffs and meat. It is, of course, just here that the Imperial Commercial Unionist finds the great obstacle to the success of his plans. A tariff for all parts of the Empire by which Colonial trade would receive a preference over foreign trade would, no doubt, do more to solidify the Empire than all the schemes of parliamentary or other union that ingenious Federationists ever devised.

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

The prevalent feeling in England will be a desire to assist Canada in the brave struggle she is entering upon against hostile and unfair tariffs, and in every possible way to encourage her commerce. Any attempt on the part of the Dominion to enter into closer commercial relations with Great Britain should receive hearty encouragement. To accord to our fellow-subjects across the Atlantic every opportunity to develop their trade with us ought to be the desire of every Englishman, and a Government which could devise means of drawing closer our commercial ties with Canada and our other Colonies would deserve well of the Empire.

ECHO.

The idea of a commercial solidarity between the various members of the British Empire has fired the imagination of statesmen long before now. And if Mr. McKinley and his friends bring this magnificent idea into prominence we shall feel grateful—all the more so because even the great Republic herself would find it to her interest, in the long run, to fall in with that vast combination—a combination, let us add, in which there would be nothing commercially selfish and exclusive, and which would tend more than any other influence to the pacification and progress of the world. . . . We do not think that half enough attention has been paid in this country to the projects entertained by leading Canadians for a community of commercial policy and Imperial solidarity between the Dominion, the Australian Colonies, New Zealand, and the Cape.

CORNISH POST.

If nothing else results from the self-blockade of its own ports which the United States in its wisdom has imposed on itself by passing the McKinley Bill, it will at least force to the front the Federation proposals of this country with its Colonies. . . . The time for action has come. Canada, indignant at the exclusion of her goods by the McKinley Bill, and determined not to strike her flag and risk annexation to the Union for a mess of pottage, is looking to the Old World. The question for us to decide is whether we shall take the hint.

"A FEDERAL PARLIAMENT."

AN important contribution to the literature of Federation is made by the pamphlet under the above title by Mr. Archibald McGoun, published by order of the Executive Committee of the League in Canada. We alluded to this essay in our last issue for the purpose of correcting what appeared to us an erroneous impression in Mr. McGoun's mind as to the opposition expressed by influential members of the League towards the promulgation of definite plans, explaining that, so far as we understand it, such opposition does not extend to the personal exposition of their views by individuals as such. Discussion of the subject in all its bearings is, as we pointed out, not only useful and necessary, but, at the present time, constitutes a considerable part of the only means open to Federalists of forwarding their policy. Every serious effort therefore made to treat the problems presented to us thoughtfully and impartially must be welcome, as helping to clear men's minds and bringing them to see the whole subject in a more practical and concrete form than, without descending from the general to the particular, it can possibly assume. Mr. McGoun, as those connected with the work of the League in Canada, and at home also, are well aware, has devoted much thought and study to the whole question of Federation; and the present lengthy essay is no unworthy fruit of his past labour. It is no hasty brochure, but a considered opinion that he contributes to the cause. It appears to have been written so long ago as 1886, but, doubtless for good and sufficient reasons, withheld from publication until the present year; and if in respect of the statistics quoted, and to some extent also of changed circumstances and conditions generally, there is some loss in this, there is on the other hand the advantage that comes to an essay of the kind from re-perusal and correction by the deliberate criticism of the writer himself and his friends.

We are altogether at one with the writer in the principle with which he sets out to consider the "nature and machinery of a Federation," that any plan destined to effect the desired end of maintaining national unity "must be conformable to the traditions of the British Constitution." Like that time-honoured monument of political achievement, the future constitution of the Empire must, we believe, in a sense in which Mr. McGoun himself perhaps would hardly go with us, be "not made, but grow." But it is satisfactory that, whatever way he would apply it, the writer founds himself upon so incontestable a principle. A further preliminary observation he makes is that the British Empire is to be limited by no considerations of race, by no geographical boundaries. The Federation moreover must be a union of people with dissimilar forms of government, the backbone being the great self-governing portions of the Empire; and the whole can be kept together only by adding to the feeling of friendship a conviction of community of interests,

if for no other reason, because the central government will have to be sustained by contributions from all the parts. Coming to the form of the institutions to be adopted, Mr. McGoun naturally takes representative government as a basis. He would have two houses—a House of Commons elected on a basis of relative population, and an Upper House constituted on a basis of relative contributions for Imperial purposes. The principle of representation by States, even in one of two Houses, does not commend itself to him. He attaches less weight than most Colonial thinkers to the objection that, under a system of representation based on population, the Colonies would be liable to be outvoted on matters deemed by them of the highest national importance. They would, he thinks, be able to make their influence felt in the "fair play" of any satisfactory partnership; while the infusion of, say, 150 representative men from the Colonies would be a matter of great moment even in voting strength; they would wield almost a determining influence on foreign policy, by holding, as they might, the balance of power in the House. For the representation of the non-self-governing parts of the Empire, Mr. McGoun proposes the application of the principle adopted in the American Constitution for the slave-owning States, of adding to the representation of the white population a representation based upon a certain portion of the black population. In drawing out these plans, the objection to any large increase in the numbers of the present House of Commons is recognised, and a proposal is made to obviate this by making the rough unit of representation one for every hundred thousand of population instead of one for fifty thousand as at present. Mr. McGoun sees, however, the stupendous nature of an electoral reform which would have the appearance, at any rate, of practically halving the representation of the people of the United Kingdom; and in order to interfere as little as possible with the existing machinery of Parliament, would be content that the experiment should first be tried without any change being made in the numerical strength of the members returned to the House of Commons by the United Kingdom. It is on the same grounds, for the sake of adapting, as far as possible, the existing Constitution to the requirements of a Federal Parliament, as affording the line of least resistance, that his proposals take the Parliament sitting at Westminster as the stem on which to graft the true Imperial Parliament of the future. It should be mentioned at the same time that he contemplates, as indeed is necessary in advocating this system, the devolution of all non-Imperial affairs to statutory Parliaments to be created within the United Kingdom, which would thus stand in the same relation as the other local Parliaments to the Supreme Government.

Whilst adopting the basis of population alone for representation in the House of Commons, Mr. McGoun would have election to the Upper House follow the proportion contributed by the various parts of the Empire to the Imperial Exchequer. And in consonance with this principle he holds that taxation should not follow a mere population basis, but rather be determined in each case by the volume of trade. He foresees the great difficulties attending any proposals for raising a Federal revenue by taxation, and wisely suggests that a basis should be found by means of a general Conference; but he insists on the necessity so emphatically impressed upon his countrymen by Alexander Hamilton that, if a Federal tax is to be levied at all, the Federal Government should exercise directly upon the people, of its own motion, and independently of the State Governments, the power of levying it. He advocates a modification of the Hofmeyr scheme for the purpose of raising the bulk of the Imperial revenue; and in that we think he is right, because that system, besides its other advantages, has this undoubted one, that, once set in motion, the machinery would act almost automatically. This has brought us to the commercial portion of Mr. McGoun's essay, the policy of which is, as has just been seen, a form of Imperial Reciprocity. As that subject, in one form and another, receives a considerable amount of notice in our present number, we do not purpose to go further upon this path in Mr. McGoun's company; but we cannot leave him without a word of praise for the manner in which this branch of the subject is treated. Mr. McGoun's pamphlet is one which everyone ought to read who wishes to follow closely the history of Imperial Federation that is in the making; and very certainly not the least valuable portion of it is that which deals with the commercial side of the question.

The Hon. H. Mercier Premier of Quebec, made a speech on September 26th to the delegates of the Alpine Club of France visiting Montreal. Amid loud cheers he declared that the Province of Quebec was loyal, but it was a French Province. "It was loyal," continued the Premier, because it had bound itself to be faithful to the treaty between France and Great Britain. Up to the present Great Britain had no reason to complain of the loyalty of the people of this Province, and such would be the case so long as Great Britain carried out her engagement respecting the French laws, language, and customs of the French people in Canada; but, concluded the Premier, if Great Britain ever failed to carry out loyally her engagement to the French, then the latter would be freed from their engagement.

COMMERCE: BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

THE following extremely valuable tables, which are an amplification of some of those contained in Sir Rawson Rawson's series of letters to this Journal under the above heading, have been separately published by the League as a leaflet for distribution, and have attracted considerable attention in the press:—

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,
Showing the Amounts and Proportions of its Trade with other Countries in the *British Empire* and *Foreign Countries* respectively.
PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B.

	Amount.		Percentage proportion.		Percentage Increase in 1889 compared with average of 1884-8.		Amount.		Percentage proportion.		Percentage Increase in 1889 compared with average of 1884-8.	
	1889.		Average of 1884-8.		1889.		1889.		Average of 1884-8.		1889.	
	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.
Trade of United Kingdom with—												
British India and Straits Settlements	71.5	..	76.4	..	10.9	..	10.3	..	6.8	..	137	Increase Nil.
British North America	19.3	..	21.6	..	3.0	..	3.0	..	11.7	..	17.1	4.5 Increase
Australasia	50.5	..	52.3	..	7.7	..	7.0	..	3.5	..	10.3	2.4 Decrease
South Africa (Cape of Good Hope and Natal) ..	10.0	..	15.9	..	1.5	..	2.1	..	58.6	..	19.1	101.0 Increase
All other Colonies ..	15.6	..	17.9	..	2.5	..	2.4	..	7.4	..	6.8	40.0 "
Total	167.9	..	184.0	..	25.6	..	24.8	..	9.5	..	140	9.4 "
Europe	29.3	..	32.0	..	43.1	..	44.0	..	16.6	..	20.0	8.0 Increase
United States	118.0	..	139.3	..	18.3	..	18.8	..	17.8	..	14.4	2.0 "
Other Foreign Countries and Hong Kong .. .)	88.7	..	91.6	..	13.0	..	12.4	..	3.2	..	3.6	Decrease 16.0 "
Total	487.1	..	557.9	..	74.4	..	75.2	..	14.5	..	151	11.9 "
Total Trade	655.1	..	741.9	..	100.0	..	100.0	..	13.2	..	149	11.5 "

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

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Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Lands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

AMONG the publications recently issued by the League are PRINCIPAL GRANT'S lecture, delivered last year at Winnipeg, the full text of which had not until lately been published either in Canada or here, and MR. D'ESTERRE TAYLOR'S essay (in two separate parts) on "Three Great Federations," with the salient points of which our readers are already familiar. SIR RAWSON RAWSON has just reprinted in pamphlet form, under the title of "Analysis of the Maritime Trade of the United Kingdom, 1869 to 1889," the series of important letters recently contributed by him to our columns under the heading of "Commerce: British and Foreign." The League has also issued a leaflet by the same author giving in tabular form the "Distribution of the Trade of the United Kingdom," an amplification of some of the tables in the letters, showing in greater detail the amounts and proportions of the trade of the United Kingdom with other countries in the British Empire and with foreign countries, respectively. Among other scattered writings on the subject of Imperial Federation are a couple of papers contributed to the *Constitutional Magazine* for September and October by MR. FAITHFULL BEGG, and a series of articles in the *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon* from the pen of MR. THOMAS MACFARLANE.

WE publish in this number the tables of the "Distribution of the Trade of the United Kingdom" above referred to, as supplementing the less full table corresponding to it to be found in the last of SIR R. RAWSON'S letters in our September number. The more recent table breaks up the figures for the principal groups of Colonies, before lumped all together; and there is added a further analysis separating in each case the imports from the exports. A comparison of the two will also show other minor differences. The essential points of comparison now brought clearly out are that, as on the average of the years from 1884 to 1888, so also in the year 1889, the Imperial trade represented roughly one quarter of the whole maritime trade of the country; but its proportion had fraction-

ally decreased, whilst that of the foreign trade showed, of course, a corresponding fractional increase. The absolute increase of the Imperial trade was, roughly, from one hundred and sixty-eight to one hundred and eighty-four millions; whilst that of foreign trade was from four hundred and eighty-seven to five hundred and fifty-eight millions; the increase of the Imperial compared with itself being represented exactly by 9.5 per cent. against 14.5 for the foreign. These figures are very far from supporting the conclusions arrived at by our correspondent MR. FAITHFULL BEGG.

ONE noticeable feature in comparing the various groups of the British colonies with each other is the enormous percentage increase of the trade with South Africa, which in 1889 was more than half as much again as the average of the years 1884-88; but the whole volume of this trade is at its best but little over 2 per cent. of the whole. Another is that the trade with Australasia has grown so little (having gained only 3½ per cent. upon itself) that the proportion now borne by it to the whole trade of the United Kingdom has fallen from 7.7 per cent. of it in 1884-88 to 7.0 in 1889. Coming to the distribution of imports and exports, the tables show that, as has been generally believed, the export side of the Imperial trade is in a higher ratio to the foreign export side than that of the whole Imperial to the whole foreign. While the whole Imperial trade is to the whole foreign as 25 to 75, the proportion of exports alone is that of 29 to 71. But it is also brought out that in point of growth the foreign trade in exports, as well as the foreign trade generally, has made the more rapid increase, having exceeded itself at the later date taken by 11.9 per cent., as against a growth of only 9.4 per cent. in the Imperial export trade.

AMONG what might be termed the bye-products of Imperial Federation would undoubtedly be the enlivenment of debate in a reconstituted legislature by the introduction of what the *St. James's Gazette* calls the alluring raciness of parliamentary eloquence as practised in some of the Colonies. The Victorian correspondent of the *Times* recounted a story, which has been going the rounds, of the "rise" taken out of a member of the Victorian Assembly, who had been a prominent champion of the strikers in Melbourne, and to whose initiation it was attributed that the gas-stokers had been "called out." One of the Melbourne members, after mildly inquiring whether this gentleman believed in a future state, and receiving an affirmative answer, said—"Well, then, I take it the honourable member presents himself to St. Peter for admission. The keeper of the keys will say, 'You can't come in here, for you will never be satisfied if any shall enter except strikers;' and then he will have to go to the other place, the president of which will exclaim, 'You can't come in here, for you'll be calling out the stokers.'" This took the House, which went into convulsions of laughter, and the *St. James's Gazette* says on it:—"It makes one long for the days of Imperial Federation, when we may have Australian orators performing in London." But a tone of irony ran through the *Gazette's* note, and we almost fear the writer had not so keen a sense of humour as the Victorian legislators.

THE New York correspondent of the *Standard* telegraphed some little time ago a quotation from the *Quebec Telegraph* which said, "We are for throwing off the mask. Political annexation is the manifest destiny of the Dominion. . . . Trade is what we want—not twaddle about loyalty to the Crown," and more to like effect. The correspondent described the paper as a supporter of SIR JOHN MACDONALD. Upon this point a correspondent, who gave his name, lost no time in putting the *Standard* and its agent right, and expressed the opinion that "a paper in the position of the *Standard*" ought not to publish such nonsense without satisfying itself of "the reliability of the source from which the statements emanate." The *Canadian Gazette* confesses that hitherto it had not known that Canada possessed such a journal, "for whose thunders of eloquence the whole world waits tremblingly," to judge from the prominence

given to the lucubrations of a paper which "might rave all night without stirring one hair on the heads of 999-1000ths of the Canadian people." It is the old complaint: Canadian news filtered through New York.

OTHER instances of the evils resulting from the habit of English newspapers getting their Canadian news through a—well—unsympathetic channel have not been wanting lately. When PRINCE GEORGE received an address from the MAYOR of MONTREAL in the French language, the reporter for the New York press telegraphed that the PRINCE insisted upon having the address read in English. As a matter of fact he heard it, according to custom, in both languages, and replied in both. The *canard* of the PRINCE's arrest was traced to similar sources. The *Quebec Chronicle* recently treated of these incidents under the heading of "A Shameless Press;" and the *Empire* deals with the same subject under the title, "Stop the Flood of Falsehood." The falsification does certainly appear to be systematic; and if we are to believe the last-named paper, the all-pervading MR. WIMAN is to some extent at the bottom of it. According to the *Empire*, "the great North-Western telegraph monopoly in Canada, run by MR. WIMAN in connection with the still greater Gould telegraph monopoly in the United States, among other doings absorbed the Montreal Telegraph Company. And among the evils resulting from the foreign control of a joint telegraph system in Canada is that it is used as a tool by MR. WIMAN to aid him in his anti-Canadian schemes, so that no reliance can be placed upon anything coming through this channel, if the plot to absorb our country is in any way concerned."

THE three articles we print on defence questions demand further comment than we have space at present to make. The memorandum of the Colonial Defence Committee upon GENERAL EDWARDS' report on Australasian Defence leaves matters pretty much at the point reached by that officer. The Committee, who in more than one particular place a construction on GENERAL EDWARDS' views not borne out by the language of his report, go a long way round to differ from the General's reasoning, only in the end to reach the same practical conclusion. So far, no great harm comes of that; but there does seem room for fear lest the minimising line of argument pursued by the Committee may militate in Australia against the strong incentive to Federation found in the necessity of it as a means for combined defensive action. But the Committee recognise—and we are glad they do so—the advantage it would be for Australia, in carrying out a general scheme of defence, to be able, always for defensive purposes, to take the offensive against menacing positions in her immediate neighbourhood. Probably this phase of defensive operations was also present to GENERAL EDWARDS' mind when he spoke in his report of the advantage (not the "necessity," as the Committee's memorandum has it) of being able to concentrate a force of 30,000 or 40,000 men on a given spot.

IN connection with the same branch of Imperial defence it is satisfactory to learn, from the interesting speech of BARON DE WORMS on the occasion of MR. PARKIN'S lecture at Aldershot, that the question of the fortifications in Torres Straits and at King George's Sound is in a fair way to final settlement. It is difficult, however, to see what good purpose is to be served by the projected visit of inspection by the commandants of the several Colonial forces. The sites have been selected and surveyed by officers of such exceptional competence as SIR WILLIAM JERVOIS and SIR PETER SCRATCHLEY; what remains to be done is the completion of plans of the fortifications by engineer officers. Turning to the report on West Indian Defence, we find the Colonial Defence Committee entirely in their element, the completion of the defences of the Crown Colonies being the work they were originally appointed to carry out. But for dealing with Imperial Defence as a single great question we are as far off as ever from obtaining the appointment of a General Staff—perhaps further, since the Government has taken to putting forward

in that capacity a Committee which, however able and distinguished the individual officers composing it, is inherently incapable of fulfilling the functions for which a General Staff is required.

WE owe it perhaps to members of the League and others of our readers in Canada who belong to that party in Dominion politics that is now in Opposition, to deprecate any misconstruction of what may appear an intrusion into Canadian party politics, in an article we publish under the heading of "The United States and Canada." Of party politics, as such, whether in Canada or elsewhere, we always endeavour—not, we trust, unsuccessfully—to steer a clear course. But when parties are divided on matters of policy having an Imperial significance, we cannot refrain from discussing such matters, merely because they are also party questions. Rightly or wrongly, the supporters of SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S Government and policy accuse the Liberal Opposition of unpatriotic conduct in their attitude towards the United States upon the commercial question. In the States, the party that favours commercial union regard it as involving either immediate or ultimate political absorption, and there is no doubt that a section of the Liberal party in Canada complacently receive support from that side. We do not ask the Liberal party, as a whole, to accept the portrait drawn of them by their opponents, but we wish our readers to see how, in the eyes of those opponents at any rate, the policy of the Liberals presents itself as a treason to Canada and the Empire.

IN prefacing a quotation made last month from an article in *Young Australia* headed "Alliance or Union," which referred to a forthcoming Colonial Quarterly Review, we said we "hoped rather than expected" it would see the light. We regret now to find our anticipations only too certainly verified; because, as we then said, nothing but good could come of the discussion, from whatever point of view, of the questions with which we ourselves are concerned. The press had said the new Review would "oppose Imperial Federation," but would, nevertheless, "advocate an alliance between kinsfolk of the British race, on the ground that this idea is preferable to the more ambitious scheme of Imperial Federation;" and the *Pall Mall Gazette* had dubbed it the "Anti-Rosebery Review." But the *Athenæum*, on October 4th, was "in a position to state that the projected *Colonial Quarterly Review*, to which references had been made in the London and provincial papers during the week, was not intended in any sense to oppose LORD ROSEBERY and the Imperial Federation League." The main object, it was said, was "to provide a literary organ in London for distinguished Colonists." The difficulties in the way, however (the *Athenæum* went on to announce), of any undertaking of the sort were great, and, despite the interest taken in the proposed scheme by such men as LORD DERBY, SIR MOUNTSTUART GRANT-DUFF, SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, and MR. FROUDE, the Review was said to be not likely to make its appearance unless its promoters received more direct support from Canada and the Cape as well as from Australasia.

WE can only repeat we are sorry that this should be so. Not to be against us is to be with us. A policy of "Alliance" and a policy of "Federation" cannot be so very far apart. In a sense our contemporary, *Young Australia*, in the article we quoted from last month, is right in saying that alliance presupposes separation. But only in a sense. There is a sense in which this need not be so. It is not necessary that the parts of the Empire should first untie the bonds that now keep them together before entering into agreements for combining their forces for mutual defence, which means alliance for purposes of peace and war, or into commercial alliances among themselves, as parts of a whole, to the exclusion of foreign countries. And when these things have come to pass, we shall, to our thinking, be on the high road to Imperial Federation, whatever name we call it by.

WE give in our present number a complete report of all that was of importance in the Cape PREMIER'S speech at

Kimberley, upon the telegraphic report of which we commented last month in our leading columns. The expression about the flag, as to which the telegraphic summary left room for considerable misconstruction in the English press, turns out to have been precisely to the effect we surmised last month. Indeed, it required no very profound knowledge or exceptional acumen to prognosticate that Mr. RHODES had not been leaving aside as open the question whether the British flag should or should not continue to fly over South Africa. So far from sounding any note of doubtful loyalty to the Empire, Mr. RHODES' reference to the flag was as thorough-going and whole-hearted as the most perfervid Imperialist could wish. "If you take away my flag," he said, "you take away everything." There is no mistake, however, about his claiming the whole country up to the Zambesi for the Cape Colony alone. And he and others have talked as if the British capital provided for his Chartered Company, and the British Adventurers (in the good old sense) who form an important element in his pioneer force, had both been provided exclusively by the people of the Cape. The grant of the Charter, the Imperial power through which he was enabled to obtain his concession, and, above all, the million of money spent over Sir CHARLES WARREN'S expedition in keeping open the road that alone made the whole thing possible—all these things Mr. RHODES now conveniently ignores altogether.

THE EARL of JERSEY, the Governor-designate of New South Wales, at the presentation to him of an address by the Oxford Druids, said in the course of his reply that "he should endeavour to do his duty to the people of New South Wales and to the Empire to which they all belonged. If he could in any way conduce to the maintenance and improvement of the kindly relations which existed between the Colonists and the people of England, he was sure his brother Druids would be disposed to receive him with additional favour when he returned." Those are suitable sentiments to animate a newly-appointed Governor, and we are glad to know LORD JERSEY entertains them. His appointment appears to have met with general approval in New South Wales. The outgoing Governor, LORD CARRINGTON, has been patting his successor on the back, and giving him and LADY JERSEY "a good character" in Sydney. On the eve of going to press we learn with great regret that the new Governor's departure was postponed at the last moment, owing to the serious illness of LADY JERSEY.

A QUEENSLAND paper, we observe, seizes the occasion, though recording the acceptability of LORD JERSEY, to drag in by the heels a "warning" to the Imperial Government on the subject of the appointment of Governors generally, for the avoidance of "a cause of friction that would lead the Colonies to clamour for the right to appoint their own Governors." Under an Australian Federation they may have that privilege as regards Lieutenant-Governors. Meanwhile Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH has been telling people at the Commercial Union Club in Toronto that "when Canada elected her own Governor-General, the fisheries question would be easily settled." Would it? There would not then remain the temptation to American politicians to keep it open as affording opportunities for twisting the British lion's tail. But, though the caudal appendage of the Canadian beaver may not be as long as a lion's, his neighbours on the border would certainly find means of twisting it; or if they did not, it would not be for want of trying.

The Imperial Federation League may or may not be a useful institution, but no doubt can be felt as to the value of the table prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson showing the distribution of the trade of the United Kingdom. It has been compiled on different lines to any tables published, and is decidedly useful.—*City Leader*.

Drawing-room Meeting.—During Mr. Parkin's recent visit to the Manchester district, a drawing-room meeting was held, at the invitation of Miss Marsh Caldwell, at Linley Wood, Talk o' Th' Hill, Staffordshire, at which Mr. Parkin explained the objects of the League. About fifty ladies and gentlemen were present, among them being the member for the division, Captain Edwards Heathcote, and great interest was shown in Mr. Parkin's speech and in subsequent conversations with him. There is much good to be done by informal gatherings of this sort, and it is to be hoped the example will be widely followed.

CANADA AND THE MCKINLEY ACT.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S speech at Morrisburg in September, of which we had only telegraphic notes when we referred to this subject last month, contained some passages of considerable interest. Referring to the McKinley Bill, which had not at the time actually passed, the Canadian Prime Minister said:—

Well, we would rather that it did not pass, but we may make up our minds that the law is coming into force. We must not disguise from ourselves that that legislation, whether intended to be unfriendly or not I cannot say—I do not wish to attribute motives, at all events, with our present evidence; but whether it is intended to be unfriendly to Canada or not, its effect will be detrimental to Canadian interests. It will check, obstruct, and have a tendency to diminish the commercial intercourse between the two countries. That is no fault of ours. The first reciprocity treaty, that of 1854, although the terms were settled before I had anything to do with it, was passed by the Government of which I was a member. When the United States gave notice to terminate that treaty, we regretted it very much. It was by no act of ours that that treaty was ended. We know, as far as people can know from the language that is not written, that the great reason for the treaty being ended in 1866 was the irritation in the United States in consequence of the belief prevailing there that England favoured the South as against the North in the terrible war which had been waged in the States, and on that account they sought to punish Canada as being a portion of the British Empire. At all events, it was no fault of ours. Canada did everything to observe the strictest neutrality, and went further than international law would compel us to show how anxious we were to keep in perfect amity with them, and observe all the obligations that one nation owed to another, during that unhappy struggle between the North and the South. Still, for that reason I believe the notice abrogating the treaty was given.

After further reference to the long history of reciprocity negotiations with the United States, he continued:—

Of course they had every right to pass such measures as they believed to be in the interests of their country, and they were not bound to consider whether England or Canada, or the rest of the world, would be injuriously affected thereby. All they are bound to do is to consider whether any action they may take is for the benefit of their own country; and we must presume, therefore, that their legislation is for the benefit of the United States. It will restrict commerce between the two countries, but we cannot help that. We are not going to cry like children. We have to meet it in the best way we can. Already we are doing it to a certain extent, and there is no reason why we should not do now as we did after the denunciation of the reciprocity treaty of 1854. . . . In the same manly spirit as our people acted then, so we must act now. We must seek new channels of trade if old channels were closed to us.

He then pointed to the growing of barley for the English market, and other means whereby fresh outlets could be found, and went on:—

We must, therefore, meet this hostile legislation, not in a spirit of irritation, not in a hostile manner—because if the Americans think they should do this, they have a perfect right to do it—but by opening new markets. One of the most valuable consequences of the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway is this, that we have already opened markets both in China and Japan for a large portion of our manufactured goods. That trade, however, is merely in its infancy. Soon the Canadian Pacific Railway will have a magnificent fleet of vessels plying on the Pacific, and those steamers will open up the trade between Canada and China and Japan, and ultimately, I trust, with Australia. There is no limit to the opportunities before us of developing our trade and sending our manufactures to those Asiatic countries. It is not merely our people in British Columbia who will gain by that. There is not a man in Canada who makes a stove or an agricultural implement; not a man who works in brass or iron, who will not find a market by shipping across the continent for this Asiatic trade. I may as well tell you also that we are met by the most perfect spirit of reciprocity by our Australian fellow-colonists. They are anxious to have more intimate trade relations with us. I am an old man now, but I want to see that matter rounded off before I retire from public life. It is essential that we should have a cable between Australia and British Columbia. A cable is the precursor to trade. . . . After we have a cable between Australia and Canada, then comes the question of a steamship line between the two countries; and we will then have, besides the trade I have mentioned, a growing and increasing trade with our fellow-colonists in Australia.

Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice, also spoke in the same strain. Prior to the delivery of these speeches, the *Toronto Empire* had published an article much to the same effect:—

The McKinley Bill being avowedly designed for the purpose, among other motives, of showing commercial hostility to Canada until it shall crave admission to the Union, the Canadian advocates of this scheme are eagerly using the measure as a weapon to strike terror into the people of this Dominion. . . . Why should we be doleful over an obstacle being placed in the way of sending oats to the United States, when they can be sold at home at a far better price? What great deprivation would there be in the exclusion of our wheat and flour from the neighbouring Republic, where they have a far larger surplus than ourselves, with lower average price, and we have a practically unlimited market in the Mother Country for all we can spare? . . . The whole argument that we must suffer because we now sell a certain quantity of these articles to the United States is fallacious. Most that we thus sell might be disposed of as advantageously elsewhere, for our main productions are such as are very widely needed

and have a stable value with a steady demand. . . . A large proportion of our tabulated exports to the United States are such only in appearance, being really in transit to the consumers in other countries. . . . It would not be a loss but rather a gain if, instead of giving the United States a middleman's profit on these transactions, we dealt directly with the consumers in other countries. This we could do by means of quite possible energy and enterprise. At this very moment, for instance, we find more than one of the West Indian islands making advances to us to take our wheat, fish, lumber, etc., directly from us instead of obtaining them as now through the United States. This advantageous change can easily be effected, and it is but a specimen of the new channels which could be opened for our commerce.

The Minister of Finance, speaking a few days later at Sherbrooke, in the Province of Quebec, said :—

I do not think there is any conjuncture of circumstances which can arise which can make enemies of the people of the United States and Great Britain and her Colonies. (Cheers.) . . . At the same time, there is a policy which has been carried on by the dominant party of the United States—a policy which they carry on, I am bound to say to-night, not out of any spirit of retaliation against Canada, not out of any spirit of hostility to Canada, but as part of the policy which the Republican party believe in, which it has consistently advocated from the first, which it is still advocating, and which finds its latest expression in the McKinley Bill. . . . What will be its effect on the commerce of Canada? Now, the intelligent observer as he reads the newspaper and hears opinions expressed about the McKinley Bill, will find a great diversity of opinion in our own country. He will find some people who say: "There, we told you so. The United States has shown its hand. It has enacted legislation which will cripple Canadian trade, and there is only one thing left for us to do, and that is to annex ourselves to the United States." Happily, the class of papers or of people who say that openly are, I think, in a very small minority. (Cheers.) I have just one sentiment to utter for the man who, when affairs are going smoothly, and there is no hostile legislation, no threat, covert or intended, arrives honestly at the conclusion that it is best for this country to be annexed to the United States. I am not going to quarrel with him. But for a man or paper under the lash of a hostile tariff, which has been enacted by the country living near us, to crouch down in an abject way and say, "Let us be whipped into annexation," I say I have no respect for that man. (Cheers.)

After repudiating on behalf of his party a policy of opposition to reciprocity with the States on fair terms, and entering into the history of the question, the Minister proceeded :—

Now, Mr. Wiman says it remains for us to have unrestricted reciprocity. Mr. Wiman says there is no hope for the development of the resources of this country unless the United States develop them—unless we have unrestricted reciprocity. That is, unless we tear down the whole tariff on the whole range of articles passing between the United States and Canada, and raise a tariff of from 47 to 50 per cent. against our Mother Country and against every other country in the world.

A Voice : Never.

Hon. Mr. Foster : That may be all very well in Mr. Wiman's mind. He may hold that opinion honestly, but I do not believe it is an opinion concurred in by a majority of the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) . . . If you will take the articles upon which heightened duties have been placed by the United States, you will find that in nearly every case there is an illimitable market for such products across the Atlantic. (Cheers.) You will find they are such products as we are already exporting to that market. What it will mean is a large diversion of that trade from across the border to the infinitely larger market of Great Britain, or a market in which once we enter we have no cause of alarm that some sudden and unforeseen legislation will break up the channels of trade which we have been at so much expense to open. (Cheers.) There is an enduring character to the trade we develop with Great Britain arising from the great demand for our products, their financial resources, and their steady fiscal policy. We have not only to look towards this diversion which will take place, but we have to look to the extension of our trade—to other foreign countries.

Speaking at a "picnic" at Halifax, on October 1st, Sir John Macdonald said :—

The United States were determined to have Canada, and were trying by a restrictive trade policy to force Canadians to sell out their flag and their allegiance to their Sovereign. But Canadians were not so mean, sordid, traitorous, and unworthy of their ancestors as to sell their heritage for a mess of pottage or a pot of gold. What had Canada to gain by joining the United States, with its mass of foreign ignorance and vice? They would have revolutions, while she could sit calmly and quietly under the British flag and look with philosophy upon the struggles of a fierce democracy. The United States would only trade with Canada on two conditions—annexation to the United States, or separation from Great Britain and the erection of an independent Republic. The people would never consent to annexation, and Canada could not exist as an independent Power. The American lion and the Canadian lamb might lie down together, but the lamb would be inside the lion.

Sir John Thompson on the same occasion said :—

The destinies of this country are not to be changed or affected by United States bulldozing. We are determined to still wave the British flag, to still support Canadian institutions and industries, and be Canadians, even if it displeases Mr. Blaine. We are not going to become humble citizens of the republic at that gentleman's dictation. We are neither going to sacrifice nor sell our Canadian rights and privileges. (Cheers.)

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Hon. C. H. Tupper) also spoke, and said :—

There was no despair in this country at what the United States had done or what they may do. (Hear, hear.) All loyal Canadians are strong in the belief that we can do in the future as well as we have done in the past. We will still push forward and find in the West Indies, the Australias, China, Japan, and the Mother Country a market for all our surplus products.

Ministers spoke again to like effect at St. John, New Brunswick.

The Governor-General has expressed views similar to those of the Premier, Sir J. Macdonald, to the effect that the McKinley Tariff Bill would divert, but not destroy, Canadian commerce.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, addressing the Toronto Commercial Club, said :—

It was darkest before the dawn, and he discerned in the present signs of tariff reform the sentiment of the United States. When the Americans adopted Free Trade, Canadian Protection would be doomed. The motive for the McKinley Bill was wholly domestic and commercial, and was not prompted by any especial thought of the relations of the United States and Canada. To show that it was particularly without any political bearing, he read a letter from Senator Sherman announcing his intention to test the sense of the Senate upon the question of Canadian reciprocity.

Commenting on Sir John Macdonald's utterances, the *Canadian Gazette* says :—

But it may be asked, Are you quite sure that this is more than mere bravado? Is it wise for a handful of people such as the Canadians thus to stand defiant in the face of a host which is twelve times as numerous, and which enjoyed sturdy manhood when Canada was still in the control of a band of Jesuit missionaries and hordes of buffalo-hunting savages? The record of the past quarter of a century is more than sufficient answer to these queries. Canada has attained her present position in the rank of nations not by the help of, but despite the persistent opposition at almost every point of her southern neighbour.

The *Toronto Empire* says :—

If we have, as is said, to meet the competition of the world when selling the surplus products of our farms, Canadians will not shrink despondingly from that competition. Such competition will indeed not be aggravated one jot by an attempt to exclude us from the markets of the United States, where, as a general rule, we have had to meet not consumers in need of our superabundance, but rival producers with a still larger surplus for export. In the markets of the United Kingdom—to say nothing of the West Indies and other countries—we find, on the contrary, consumers who require not only all that we can supply, but far more than we can spare.

In an article headed "Stuffing the List," the same paper says :—

The truth is that all this padding is introduced into the list for the purpose of hiding the fact that there are very few cases in which the tariff changes can materially affect our farmers. Barley, eggs, and a few farm products of secondary importance are really all in regard to which they need feel any concern. . . . And even if our surplus barley and eggs were excluded from the United States, or were less in demand, or reduced in price through the McKinley tariff, there remains the strong probability that a remunerative market will be found in the Mother Country. There is no sufficient reason to dread that the McKinley Bill will strike so heavy a blow at our agricultural community that it cannot be warded off and rendered harmless.

Mr. Adam Brown, M.P., Commissioner to the Jamaica Exhibition, has been pointing to the field for Canadian exports offered by the West Indies, and, through them, by South America. He calls special attention to the lumber industry, of which Canada has a large export. At present she sells to the United States, who in turn ship the same lumber to the West Indies, thereby getting credit for it.

The *Toronto Week* writes :—

The sum of the whole matter is that, granting the premise from which all the Ministers reasoned, no true Canadian will gainsay their conclusions. That premise, as assumed by all, and formally stated by more than one, is, in effect, that Canadian statesmen have at all times been favourably disposed towards reciprocity with the United States, and have from time to time done all they could, with due regard to the dignity and self-respect of their country, to secure it, but that American statesmen have either persistently declined it or been willing to grant it only on terms which could not possibly be accepted, and that they still maintain that position. If this be so—if it be true that enlarged trade with the United States cannot be had on any terms, or can be had only on terms involving compromise of independence, or unfair and dishonourable discrimination against Great Britain—all true Canadians will be agreed that there is an end to the matter, and that, at whatever cost, Canadian independence, self-respect, and honour must be maintained.

A correspondent writes in the *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon* :—

This question, therefore, is not merely a fiscal question of Protection v. Free Trade, but one of first-class political importance, vitally affecting the permanent unity of the British Empire. As such, it is of surpassing interest to any man or woman who feels the deep throb of patriotic impulse towards Canada and the Motherland.

If we discriminate in our tariff let it be in favour of imports from any part of the British Empire. If we want Free Trade let us have it first with all those lands that own the rule of the Union Jack.

The *Gleaner*, a Liberal and Free Trade paper, published at the capital of Huntingdon, in Quebec, a county on the United States borders, takes neither the view of those who assert that the McKinley Bill will not injure Canadian interests nor of those

who regard it as a ruin-threatening evil. It looks for some disturbance of trade, and goes on to say:—

The underlying cause of the fears expressed of severe injury to Canada resulting from the McKinley Bill is the notion entertained by many who live at a distance from the frontier that the United States offer an unlimited market for produce, and at much better prices than can be obtained in Britain. The truth is that, depressed as our own farmers are, those across the lines are in worse plight. . . . Take it all round, the farmers of this district get fully more for their produce than those who reside in Franklin and adjoining counties. That being the case, it is unreasonable to assert the McKinley Bill can greatly affect the farming interest of Canada.

The *Montreal Gazette* says:—

No one in full possession of his senses will assert that such a disturbance as the McKinley Bill threatens to create will be unattended with unsatisfactory results. The trade in agricultural products with the United States was large because that market was mutually convenient to seller and buyer alike. If the artificial difficulties just created make other outlets more available, it is because a better one has been curtailed. But neither will anyone who cares to be responsible for his words assert that a political revolution will follow a loss of the Canadian farmer's profit on the very minor portion of his whole production that has heretofore found its market in the United States.

The *Halifax Herald* demands as almost imperative that Great Britain should take decided action in regard to the McKinley Bill, inasmuch as "it has been passed with the avowed purpose of coercing Canada into severing her connection with the British Empire, and becoming a part of the United States. It is, therefore, in its nature an act of war on the British Empire, with a view to bring about its dismemberment."

Among the home papers that have dealt at length with the position of Canada the *Times* says:—

If the Canadians were frankly to accept and carry out Free Trade, they would at once acquire so great an economical advantage over their trading rivals in the United States that they must practically exclude them from competition. At the same time, the tariff set up by the United States would soon begin to feel the stress of the rivalry with free production. In any event it must be a matter of extreme difficulty to exclude commodities taxed far beyond the legitimate bounds of a revenue tariff all along a frontier extending over 3,000 miles and for a very large part of the borderland unsettled and trackless.

And in another article recurring to the subject, a week later, the same paper says:—

In plain words, if Canada is not only to keep her place among the trading countries of the world, but to improve on her former position and to make the McKinley Tariff Act a benefit to her and not a loss, her most likely method is to take example and encouragement from the Mother Country and to adopt frankly and fully a policy of Free Trade. . . . The United States have withdrawn from the informal partnership, and Canada must now cast about to find some other occupants for the vacated place. She will hardly find a country better suited for her purpose than England is; more capable of taking all that she can produce and of sending her all that she can need in return for it. The matter is one about which sentiment and interest point the same way; and little as mere sentiment commonly counts for in commercial affairs, we cannot refuse to allow some importance to it here. A trade which helps to bind more closely the unsevered link between the daughter and the Mother Country has a value both politically and commercially, nor can politics and sentiment be easily dissevered where it is to the fact of national relationship that they both make their appeal. Not that Canada will be able at once to unloose all the commercial fetters with which she has hitherto consented to be bound. The progress must be gradual, but it may be steady none the less. It will be enough for the present if the direction and aim are right. The goal will be reached in due course, and at a constantly accelerated pace.

The *Standard* says:—

If she is content to wait, and, taking the advice offered by her leading statesmen at the meeting at St. John, makes no attempt to retaliate on her neighbour, she will in a very short time find her trade, in every shape and form, steadily and surely advancing.

The *Daily News* says:—

We are glad to see that on second thoughts the Canadians are regarding the new tariff with less hostile feelings. In the demonstration held at St. John, New Brunswick, on Saturday, some motives were attributed to the American Government of which probably no American statesman ever dreamed; but there was at the same time a tone of courage and hope which some of our own writers might wisely imitate.

A correspondent of the *St. James's Gazette*, signing himself "A Canadian," who has a right to be heard on this subject, writes:—

There never was a time when England and her Colonies had more cogent reasons for uniting in one grand scheme of British Imperial Free Trade, with Protection against outsiders! But England must lead the movement. The Colonies cannot abandon their Protective policy to become the slaughter-market for the surplus manufactures of the United States and other countries. The "most-favoured-nation" clause should be abandoned by England, and then the Imperial Federation could discriminate against foreign countries according to their own high tariffs. . . . It is believed that the McKinley Bill is instituted to force Canada into annexation; if so, Brother Jonathan mistakes the temper of Canadians. This Bill has excited a spirit of resentment in Canada that has only been exceeded by the American treatment of the fisheries question. If Canada is to be absorbed by

the United States, the latter must reckon on a more stubbornly contested struggle than that of the civil war.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—

The McKinley Bill will not alter the face of Europe, but it may quite possibly affect the future of Canada. Every candid man must admit that the future of Canada is largely bound up with commercial questions. Blood is thicker than water, but not so very much thicker perhaps than gold-water. The "Annexationist" movement in Canada derives such strength as it has from commercial motives. The future of the movement will largely depend on whether those motives become weaker or stronger. There are, of course, a great many considerations—political, religious, and economic—on both sides of the border which lie beyond the present argument. But, so far as our present point of view goes, one is bound to admit that the McKinley Bill will, in its effect on Canada, be a disintegrating force. Canada will be hit, and hit hard, by the new duties on agricultural stock and produce. If she were a "State," she would be within the corner; as a "Dominion," she is out of it. The Bill handicaps the blood-bond in its tussle, as it were, with the "cash-nexus." There are, indeed, sanguine observers who hope that the Bill will have a contrary effect. The *Times*, for instance, attaches great weight to the advice lately tendered by Lord Aberdeen to a meeting of Canadian farmers, to cultivate produce for the British markets. We trust that the Canadian farmers will take this praise-worthy advice; but when it comes to believing that they will be so enamoured of sending across the ocean to the cheapest market, that they will cease to hanker after sending across the frontier to the dearest, we do not feel by any means so comfortably assured. The British Free Trade market will not be an altogether acceptable substitute, we fear, for the attractions of an American Protected market.

The *Sunday Times* says:—

We have not had long to wait to see how it is regarded in Canada. The statesmen of the Dominion see clearly enough that the Bill is largely directed against the trade of Canada, and is designed to force that Colony, as the Minister of Justice, Sir John Thompson, put it, into selling its British birthright. But this Canada has not the slightest intention of doing, and if, as Sir John Macdonald says, the Washington Government will only trade with Canada on two conditions—Annexation to the United States, or Separation from Great Britain and the erection of an independent Republic—Canada will find markets elsewhere. This is the right spirit in which the Yankee attempt to "bulldoze" the Dominion should be met, and its existence is of good omen for that tightening of the bonds between England and her Colonies which we are all working for.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

TASMANIA.

IN the Legislative Council the PREMIER (Hon. P. O. Fysh) moved the Resolutions on July 15th. He said there was ample evidence on all hands to show that they were capable of doing what they had in contemplation, and as far as people of the rest of the world were concerned, there were not a few eminent men who were looking forward to the Federation of what Lord Carnarvon had said would in future become another home for the British race, and a help to the Mother Country, and what Mr. Parkin had styled the building up of one of the greatest democracies that the world would ever know.

The HON. ADYE DOUGLAS said that for defence they would be great gainers by Federation. What could Tasmania do outside of the Federation?

MR. ROOKE: Why, belong to England. (Laughter.)

MR. DOUGLAS said that was the case now. The Colonies were bound to advance in the future at a much greater rate than they had done, and he was in a position to say that in England at the Colonial Conference they were considered very valuable possessions. They had the Old Country at their back with her great navy, but notwithstanding this, he did not think there could be anyone who, if he had given any consideration to the question, could be an opponent to Federation.

The HON. H. J. ROOKE trusted that they were not going to put a tariff band around federated Australia, and shut out the products and manufactures of the Mother Country after the way they had been nursed and protected. Intercolonial Free Trade he hoped for, but, for protection against England, perish the thought! (Loud cheers.) In matters of defence they would be largely the gainer, but in this they should remember that they could not do without England. When the delegates from Tasmania went to the Convention he hoped they would carry with them the idea that Tasmania was loyal to the British Crown, and remember that they were Tasmanians. (Cheers.)

MR. JOHN WATCHORN hoped that the Tasmanian delegates would be able to do credit to themselves and their Colony, and whatever might be done there would never be any occasion to fear that Tasmania or any of the Colonies would endeavour to break the bonds which bound them to the Mother Country. (Cheers.)

MR. W. HART supported the Resolutions. Many persons outside thought that when the Federation was complete it would be a combination of the Colonies against the outside world. He would oppose such a Federation as that. (Hear.) To shut out the manufactures of the Mother Country would be a monstrous thing, and he should oppose any such proposal.

The Resolutions were moved in the House of Assembly on 3rd August by the Treasurer (Hon. B. S. Bird).

The HON. G. P. FITZGERALD said Sir Henry Parkes had made a great deal of capital out of Major-General Edwards' report on the defences of the Colonies, but, as a man of peace, he thought they ought

to do all they could to discourage this spirit, and instead bring in the Gospel of Peace. He knew there were some who desired, so soon as this Federation was formed, to seize every little island within a few days' steam from Australia. He was opposed to this desire to prevent other nations settling on these islands. If there was one thing more than another, in his opinion, calculated to speedily advance Australian progress and be beneficial to Tasmania, it would be the speedy occupation of these islands by any people who would bring habits of industry and thrift and good colonising properties to them. He would like to see those islands peopled by such a race, whether they were French or German.

MR. HARTNOLL said they should always be prepared for war, as without it they would not ensure peace. (Hear, hear.) Whilst the Colonies were under the great protection of England and the Union Jack they had nothing to fear. It was an important question for the Colonies to watch the islands in the Pacific, and he believed Federation would give to them better means of defence than they could have in their present isolated condition.

QUEENSLAND.

The Resolutions were brought forward in the Legislative Council by the Hon. A. J. THYNNE (Minister of Justice), on 22nd July.

He said the resolutions referred to a union under the Crown. Some men, and very worthy men, were favourable to a Republican form of government; but those men might be put out of consideration. The allegiance to the Crown on the part of the vast majority of the people of the country was very strong. If, however, the time should come, and it might come, when a separate Government would be established, the separation from the old country would, he believed, be peacefully effected. The reign of her Majesty the Queen, he was sure, would not see it.

MR. MACDONALD PATERSON said his mind was not ripened on the question of where the authority should be in a matter of territorial separation of any colony, but at present he thought the authority should be with the Federal instead of the Imperial Government. He was glad to hear the references to the union under the Crown; and though he was second to no one in his loyalty to the Queen, he thought the Federation was more the outcome of loyalty to each other in the country and those who were yet to come than to the Crown. . . . The result of the Convention would be looked for anxiously, and whatever the result might be he thought it would challenge the esteem of the world, and gain, he hoped, their love. He was sure no country would ever wish to attack happy, peaceful Australia.

MR. A. C. GREGORY thought no Federal Government could be successful unless as an element of a practical Imperial Federation.

MR. H. H. WILSON enumerated the points with which he thought a Federal Government might deal, saying there might be some international matters to refer to the Privy Council, but the Federal Government would be the power to act in matters affecting the ordinary affairs of citizenship.

MR. BRENTNALL joined his congratulations with those who before him had expressed a wish to see the Colonies united under the Crown, and said there was in Australia a deep consonance with the spirit which included the reference to union under the Crown in the resolution. He anticipated that the time would come—and he did not look forward to it with alarm—when the national growth of the Colonies would lead to another and more momentous movement than the present. If that time should come, no doubt the Australian statesmen of the future would, like the Australasian statesmen of the present, rise to the height of the occasion, but he was sure there would be nothing to disturb the present friendly feeling towards the Mother Country.

MR. MORETON said that Federation would render it unnecessary to go to England so often for sanction in carrying out their business; there were many people in the Colony who were favourable to a greater measure of independence than at present, but he hoped to see, for many years, the old flag floating over them. He looked forward to the time when the English-speaking races would be united for mutual support and benefit.

MR. MACANSH hoped that their Federation would be as an Australian nation, without any Imperial Federation in it. He believed the time would come, and saw nothing disloyal in wishing to see the time, when Australia would become an independent nation, separating peacefully from the Mother Country (as a son growing to manhood started out on his own account), but attached to the land from which it sprung by the strong bonds of love, and the bonds of blood. Men of his age could not hope to see it in their lifetime, but their children no doubt would.

MR. HEUSSLER said that as a sort of doxology to the debate he would say a few words. He hoped to see union under the Crown, though some people were favourable to establishing an independent nation. If Australia were independent there would be no necessity for a Defence Force at all, as the nations of the earth would be so jealous of each other that there would be nothing to fear from them. He hoped the Federal Parliament would be a strong one, so that the different Colonies would not be able to secede.

VICTORIA.

The Resolutions were brought before the Legislative Council by Mr. Cuthbert.

MR. FITZGERALD, in the course of his speech, said:—Under the new Constitution, the present Parliaments must not be reduced in dignity, nor should their powers of local legislation be interfered with. Each Colony should have power in the Federation in proportion to its progress. The people of Australia desired, at the same time, not only to see the tie which bound us to England preserved, but strengthened. Great as had been the progress of the Colonies, it was believed that

their progress would be greater when they were united. Under union they would follow the pursuits of peace, and still further develop the great resources of the country. . . . As regarded the question of defence, the Colonies had too long relied on England for defence, and it was one of those questions to which the Federation of the Colonies would give a great impetus.

MR. COOKE, who said he spoke as one born in the Colony, said:—Unless some great danger impended there would never be a great army in Australia. The people of the Colonies would not submit to taxation for such a purpose unless there was great need for it. It was as well, however, to look facts in the face. Germany had large possessions in Africa. That Power also held a considerable portion of New Guinea. If she became a great Colonial Power, in the event of European complications Australia might be involved. France had made some claims on the islands of the Pacific, and in view of these facts the Australian Colonies should be in a position to act together as one people. (Hear, hear.) So long as we were connected with the Empire—and he hoped the connection would continue for many a day—we should be able to speak with one voice to the Imperial authorities. We should be able to say to them, "This is the voice of Australia." (Hear, hear.)

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Upon the resumption of the debate in the Assembly on 28th August, MR. FLETCHER said they should not decide anything until the people of the Colony had had a voice in the matter. If there was any attempt to bring the Colony more closely under the Crown, then he was sure the people of the Colony would not listen to it, and he would be one who would do his best to retain the liberties they now enjoyed.

THE HON. W. McMILLAN (Treasurer) said he did not consider that it was any aspersion on the loyalty of a free man, in a free country, to criticise plainly and candidly the constitution under which he lived. He could quite understand that a man, theoretically a Republican, should at the same time be a loyal citizen of Her Majesty the Queen. Therefore, as they had brought forward resolutions containing the words "under the Crown," he considered that every man had the right in that debate to utter his opinion, whether he occupied the extreme position either on the one hand of a theoretical Republican, or on the other of an Imperial Federationist. A man might be a loyal Australian and yet consider that a change should take place in the constitution of this country when the time was ripe. Furthermore, a man might be a true Australian and yet have a sense of the chivalry of the past, and might desire to keep united with that country from which they had obtained everything, and to keep themselves free to become citizens of the great empire which would in the future keep the peace of the world. . . . Now, what was their position in the Colonies? They had during a series of years, after in the first place having obtained partial independence, worked out their own political independence, so that at the present time there was scarcely a prerogative left to the Governors of these great Colonies. What was the difference between the small link that bound them to the Crown and absolute independence? It was simply this—the protection of the Empire. Now, he would like to point out to some hon. members who talked about separation from the Crown the position they occupied. A most extreme party in that house and country would proclaim for separation, at the same time that they would claim Australia for the Australians. He would like to know what it was that kept alive this Monroe doctrine in this Colony but the flag of England. (Hear, hear.) Let them be once separated from England, and they lost all the position of their neutrality with other nations, and they lost all the position of maintaining this island-continent pure for the British people. ("No, no.") Why, gentlemen might have shouted "No, no," twenty years ago. During the last twenty years a craze for colonisation had taken hold of nearly every civilised nation of the world, and they were looking out where population could take root—where new fatherlands could be established on the same principles as the European establishments. If they were separated from the Mother Country to-morrow, would anyone say there would not be nations looking about for the land from Cooktown round by Western Australia to South Australia, and they would be dependent on a mere handful of people to hold the territory. ("Certainly.") He would like to know what those hon. gentlemen would do while the people were landing on these shores.

MR. WALKER said he was going to take a certain course, because he saw more in the resolutions than was expressed in the wording of them. The Premier, in the first instance, had tried to divide the Opposition on the matter. This Federation movement was very popular in England, and the reason of it was that a market might be kept open for the trade of Great Britain. England saw that the independence of the Colonies was coming. The Government felt how hollow was their plan. They recognised that there was no public desire for Federation such as was proposed. They recognised that it was a fad of the Premier's. They had Federation of the Colonies under the Crown at the present time. The only good that could come out of Federation was separation and independence. For the sake of titles some people would sacrifice the national interests of this country. He would have no Federation governed by home officers. If they would have a Federation at all—if they were to join hands and hearts under one flag—let them get as far away from the old world as they possibly could, and isolate their island home in the Southern seas, and try the experiment of a nobler constitution and a nobler race of people than the world had yet seen. . . . The Premier had stated that this was a matter of sentiment. No doubt he was right. It started in sentiment, and it was now a mixture of sentiment and militarism. . . . Again, the question arose—and it was well worthy of careful consideration—"Is this a move towards Imperial Federation?" There was no doubt that Federation received an impetus from Major-General Edwards; and in truth the whole movement had its birth in Imperialism, and was intended to help on that cause. Even the leader of the Federation movement (Sir Henry

Parkes) had so expressed himself as to impress upon English newspapers the idea that he considered Australasian Federation a step towards Imperial Federation. It was rumoured that the various Australian Governors had received instructions from the English authorities to forward and encourage as much as possible the Australian Federation movement, as this was considered, in England at any rate, the prelude to Imperial Federation.

MR. BLACK hoped that the resolutions would be carried by a large majority, and that the time was not far distant when we should find the whole of the Colonies joined in one great Confederation under the British Crown. (Hear, hear.)

MR. WILKINSON said it was undoubted that a sentiment of nationality was growing up in Australia, and upon this, Federation, which in principle commended itself at the present time to four-fifths of the people, would follow as a natural result. This would probably mean separation from the Old Country, but it certainly would not mean any lessening of the friendly ties which at present bound England to her Colonies.

MR. SCOBIE said Federation was a thing that must come in the future. The political tendency now was towards large and consolidated nations. This would compel Australia to consolidate also—not only among the Colonies, but with the Mother Country as well.

The debate was brought to a conclusion on September 10th, when—MR. STEPHEN said he cordially approved of Federation as a means of realising the national hopes of Australians, and as a step towards the drawing together of the English-speaking race into one mighty Empire. Such a union would be Australia's surest defence against all outside nations.

MR. MILLER partly believed in the resolutions, and partly he did not. He thought the words "under the Crown" were unnecessary. He believed that General Edwards was sent to Australia to further Imperial Federation, but he did not believe in Imperial Federation.

The Resolutions were finally carried by a majority of 97 to 11, Sir H. Parkes pairing, in favour, with Mr. Dibbs against them. By the adoption of an amendment to Resolution 2 (nominating delegates) the appointment was decided by ballot, and resulted in the election of Sir H. Parkes and Mr. W. McMillan, members of the Government, Mr. Abbott, and Mr. Dibbs, leader of the Opposition.

Commenting the next day on these results, the *Sydney Morning Herald* says:—"The overwhelming majority by which the resolutions were passed, and the large number of members who recorded their votes, enable us properly to discount much that was said by way of criticism and qualification and opposition during the discussion. A great deal of that may, in the light of last night's division, be regarded as mere dead letter. Talk of this kind upon a subject which in its present shape and as a practical question was new to a large number of the members is now to be construed by its outcome. Its outcome is a vote of ninety-seven votes for Federation to eleven against it. When extreme Imperialism, 'red-headed Republicanism,' as it was grotesquely designated by a speaker last evening, the spirit of provincialism, and individual eccentricity could only bring together eleven members to oppose the resolutions, we see to how little purpose was an immense amount of the talk to which they gave occasion. . . . A new position was created by the vote of last night. Accepting, as Mr. Dibbs now accepts, his nomination as delegate from a House which had just before affirmed the policy of Federation by so decisive a vote, he does so coupled with the obligation to give loyal effect to the unmistakably expressed will of Parliament. We may safely hold in the case of Mr. Dibbs, as in that of many other hon. members, that the vote of last night will pass a sponge over the slate on which many of their former opinions on this rapidly developing matter stood recorded."

MR. RHODES AT KIMBERLEY.

THE full report of the new Cape Premier's speech at Kimberley that excited so much adverse comment on this side fully bears out the interpretation placed by ourselves upon the enigmatic telegrams before us when writing in our last issue. With some omissions at the beginning and end of the speech, the following is an almost complete report of what Mr. Rhodes actually said:—On assuming the Government and announcing our policy, we stated that we intended to pursue a

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY.

What we meant was that we felt we should do all in our power to draw closer and closer the ties between us and the neighbouring States. In pursuit of that we have arranged to meet in December at Bloemfontein, and we hope we shall extend the railway from Bloemfontein to the Vaal River. We have, as far as in our power lay, when consulted, advised in the interests of peace in connection with the neighbouring State of the Transvaal. You are aware that there have been very long negotiations as to the future of Swaziland and the extension of the Transvaal to the east coast. In all this when we have been consulted we have kept but one object in view—we felt that we should draw closer and closer to the people of the Transvaal. It has been said that they are not at present satisfied with what is termed the Swazi Convention. I may tell you that we feel that if fair privileges are granted to every citizen of the Transvaal, the Transvaal will not be dissatisfied with the terms England will deal out to that territory. (Cheers.) But in everything that we have advised with regard to this Convention we have kept one object in view—not to get into bloodshed. (Cheers.) We hope that the result of the

Swazi Convention may be that the Transvaal may obtain satisfaction as to her aspirations, which will completely satisfy her; but we hope in addition to that that we may obtain with her

A SOUTH AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION.

(Hear, hear.) What we mean by that is that we shall have the same duties, and free trade in so far as the products of South Africa are concerned. And if the Transvaal joins that Union—you are aware that the Free State and Bechuanaland belong to it—Natal must then join it. (Cheers.) It is true that from the energy of her citizens, proportionate to the smallness of their number, Natal has been inclined to dictate to the older State of the Cape Colony; but without any dictation we feel that if the Free State, Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and Cape Colony are all members of one Union, the sister colony of Natal will also join with us. And that will be the one great step towards what we hope for—the Union of South Africa. (Cheers.) The next step is the union of all our railway communications. We are now negotiating, as I have already told you, for an extension of the railway from Bloemfontein to the Vaal River with the hope that it will connect with the Delagoa Bay line. It is true the Colony of Natal might unite and take away a considerable portion of our trade, but when she enters the Union we shall have a complete Customs Union. If we can have a complete Customs Union and a complete connection of our railway system, I think we shall be getting fairly on in the way of a union of South Africa. It is customary to speak of a United South Africa as being within the near future. If we mean a complete

UNION WITH THE SAME FLAG,

I see very serious difficulties. I know myself that I am not prepared at any time to forfeit my flag. (Cheers.) I repeat, I am not prepared at any time to forfeit my flag. I remember a good story about the editor of a leading journal in this country. He was asked to mend his native policy. He was asked to allow a supervision as to his articles in reference to native policy, and he was offered a free hand with everything else. "Well," he asked, "if you take away the direction of my native policy, what have I left?" And so it is with me,

IF I HAVE TO FORFEIT MY FLAG, WHAT HAVE I LEFT?

If you take away my flag you take away everything. (Cheers.) Holding these views, I can feel some respect for the neighbouring States, where men have been born under Republican institutions, and with Republican feelings, and we must remember when we talk loudly about their independence and self-dependence, and tell them that they must accept our flag, they, too, must have their feelings on the subject. So, when I speak of South African Union, I mean that we may attain to perfect free trade as to our own commodities, perfect and complete internal railway communication, and a general Customs Union stretching from Delagoa Bay to Walvis Bay, and if our statesmen should attain to that, I say they will have done a good work, and we shall have each State trusting to its flag, and having a respect for each other's flag. (Cheers.) The question of the flag may be settled in the future; but if it is not, and we obtain the points I have pointed out, we may be well satisfied, and call that a United South Africa. (Cheers.) It has been my good fortune during this Session to meet from both sides of the House and from both sections of the House great kindness with regard to the development of

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY.

(Cheers.) I had thought that one would meet with great opposition. I was amazed, on the proposition of the Bechuanaland Railway, with the unanimity with which it was received by the House. But the people of Cape Colony felt, as a whole, that it should have a share in the development of the north. The Cape Colony felt that it had every kindly feeling towards other States, and especially the Transvaal, but it also felt that it was not going to be isolated, but that it was going to take its share of the north; that it was not going to lie down and be cut off from the interior, and it saw that if it did not move it would be met with hostile tariffs, it would be cut off from the north, and therefore when the matter came before the House, whether it was English or Dutch, the Cape Colony was united upon it. The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope were pleased that a mining community should have started the development to the north. They have given us every assistance; and they wish us every success; and I feel sure that within our lifetime

THE CAPE WILL BE STRETCHED TO THE ZAMBESI.

(Cheers.)

"A Travelling Correspondent" of a syndicate of Australian papers sends them several columns on "St. Paul's, the late W. B. Dalley, and Imperial Federation." An historical description of St. Paul's, as the largest, the oldest, and the easiest to get "copy" about of the three, occupies about four-fifths of the letter. The share of Imperial Federation consists of a quotation from a novel in which the hero and heroine say they "don't like it," and an expression of the writer's own agreement with them.

IMPORTANT MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

A LARGELY attended and influential meeting was held on October 21st, at the Town Hall, Manchester, to hear an address by Mr. G. R. Parkin on Imperial Federation. His Worship the Mayor (Alderman Mark) presided, and there were also present the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester, the Right Rev. Bishop Cramer-Roberts, Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., Mr. Elliott Lees, M.P., the Mayor of Salford (Mr. B. Robinson), Mr. G. R. Parkin (of the Imperial Federation League), Professor Boyd Dawkins, Miss Emily Faithfull, Mr. Faithfull Begg, Canon Woodhouse, Dr. Royle, Colonel Mellor, the Mayor of Chorley, Professor Munro, Mr. Talbot Baines (Leeds), Mr. Henry Holbrook, Mr. G. F. Fisher, etc.

The MAYOR, in opening the meeting, said that, so far as he understood the objects of the Imperial Federation League, he was entirely in accord with them, and he had had therefore much pleasure in affording facilities for holding that meeting at Manchester. (Applause.) There might be differences of opinion as to Imperial Federation, and some would go to a very much greater length in the direction of commercial union. (Hear, hear.) He was of opinion they could, with a fuller development of the mutual interests of Great Britain and her dependencies, be very much independent of the rest of the world—(hear, hear)—and he would particularly suggest they ought to have a very much cheaper communication both by post and by telegraph. (Applause.) That had been in his mind for years, long before he knew anything about Imperial Federation. They ought to have cheaper intercommunication with their own Colonies, independent of the rest of the world, whether they could make it pay or not. (Applause.)

MISS EMILY FAITHFULL said letters of apology for enforced absence had been received from the Duke of Westminster, Lord Cranborne, Lord Egerton of Tatton, the Hon. Algernon Egerton, Sir Thos. Sowler, the Dean-designate of Manchester, Mr. J. W. Maclure, M.P., and Mr. Broadfield. The Bishop of Salford (the Roman Catholic) had sent the following letter from St. Bede's College:—

DEAR MISS FAITHFULL.—I shall probably be far away at the date of your meeting in behalf of Imperial Federation. I regret that it will not be in my power to take any active part in its proceedings. The project for binding together the whole Empire by a few simple, strong, and tangible bands—and this upon the demand of all parts of the Empire—has my very warmest adhesion. Professor C. Ransome's proposed charter seems to offer a broad and practical scheme, such as ought to commend the assent of those who are anxious to strengthen the Empire. I am one of those who believe that God has raised up the British, as centuries ago He raised up the Roman, Empire, to become His instrument of mercy and salvation. This is a far higher and nobler motive than any sentiment of British pride or love of gain. It alone would justify the formation of an Imperial Federation. (Hear, hear.) Everyone must see that unless this huge colossus of the British Empire becomes federated and bound together it must fall to pieces by its own weight. The task of bracing it together is comparatively easy now. When it begins to give and part, it will be too late to cement the union. It seems to me that the providential mission of the Empire depends upon its union, and its union depends upon Imperial Federation. (Applause.)

MR. FAITHFULL BEGG made some introductory remarks, in the course of which he said there was probably no place throughout the British Empire where they could more efficiently inaugurate the series of addresses and meetings which they hoped to hold during the coming winter than in this great city of Manchester. (Hear, hear.) This subject of Imperial Federation had made as great, if not greater, progress in this country in recent years than any other subject which had come up for discussion. It was no exaggeration to say that in the last generation few had even conceived the idea of a great Federation of the British Empire, and even of those who had conceived that idea and were inclined to look upon it with favour, there was no doubt that a majority were inclined at that time to look upon it as very much in the nature of an amiable dream. But events had moved very rapidly since then, and to-day they had an organisation, the special object of which was to advocate this subject, an organisation which he had no hesitation in calling a very powerful one, and which included in its ranks, not only men of literature and of science, but notable men connected with all the great political parties in the State. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) It was complained against them that this subject partook largely of the nature of sentiment, and that they had no plan. He considered that any subject, even if it was a sentimental one, which had succeeded in taking deep root in the minds of the people—a sentiment which was so widespread and profound—was a subject well worthy of the attention of every serious person. (Applause.) The League had hitherto abstained from coming before the public with anything definite in the nature of a scheme or a plan; but personally he believed—or, at least, he hoped—that the time was nearly ripe for something in the nature of a programme. If they could go to the country with a definite scheme, they would command, he believed, a support which they could not hope to command while they remained without a plan and without a programme.

The conclusion of the speaker's remarks was received with applause.

MR. PARKIN, who was warmly received, said he felt a peculiar interest in speaking to a Manchester audience upon the subject of Imperial Federation, because if the arguments which he had to advance had any weight they must apply with tenfold force to the men who lived in this great working centre of the British world. He sometimes saw in the papers a kind of cold sneer at Imperial Federationists, as if they were a set of dreamers. He contended, however, that Imperial Federation was a question which they must face within a measurable time, and within a time that must be measured very shortly. (Cheers.) Fifty years ago the growth of such places as Manchester, Leeds, and Bradford entirely changed the political complexion of this country. What did the people say? They said that those great cities, with their enormous populations, could not be represented in Parliament in the way in which they were represented before. They

therefore had the great sweeping Reform Bill of fifty years ago, whereby the great cities were raised into positions of power. The political position of Great Britain to-day was this, that they had on the northern half of North America a nation which, by its mere weight and gravity, must dominate the policy of this country in that part of the world. The same might be said with regard to Australasia and South Africa, and he claimed that in a nation whose Empire extended over the world, and had vast populations growing up in all directions, it was impossible for the political system which bound them in the past to hold them in the future. (Hear, hear.) They had now eleven millions of people—English-speaking, self-governing people—in their Colonies. Within the next twenty years they would probably have in the Colonies as many people as there were in Great Britain at the present time. He asked if it was possible to imagine that the overburdened working-men of this country would go on allowing the great Colonies to be free from that share of the burden and responsibility involved in questions of Imperial defence, and of the commerce of this country, or, on the other hand, whether those great Colonies were going to allow their international interests to be entirely controlled by the voice of the Motherland. He asserted that it was impossible for Englishmen, trained in ideas of representative government, to evade the argument that they must have reconstruction, and that they must meet the question face to face, whether those new countries were to separate and form independent communities, or whether they were to be consolidated into one great harmonious State, presenting a united front to the world. (Hear, hear.) They were the greatest industrial race in the world, the greatest democratic race of the world, and if they failed in power to meet this question now they would disgrace the ancestors who had founded this great Empire. From an industrial point of view, he conceived that Federationists had a heavy weight of argument. How many men realised the amazing change which had come over this country within the last fifty years? Statistics showed that fifty years ago one-third of the working men of this country were agriculturists, and that another third were artisans. To-day the agriculturists only numbered an eighth, while the artisans numbered three-fourths of the working population of the country. Had there ever been a nation on the face of the earth that existed under such artificial conditions as the British nation existed at the present time? Britain had become the workshop of the world; but they had built it up as a race of traders, and they must retain the Empire in the interests of the trade which they had built up. That vast number of artisans meant that this country was dependent upon the outside world for food, raw material, and markets. As the greatest industrial race they were face to face with the greatest military combinations of the world, and the position was such that they must organise and consolidate their strength in order to retain that position. (Cheers.) The Irish question was a great and absorbing topic, and on that subject he found Englishmen and Irishmen were agreed upon one point—that England could not allow Ireland to become a separate nation. He thought that was the universal opinion. (Hear, hear.) He claimed that England could no more afford to let Canada go, or South Africa go, or Australia go, than she could let Ireland go. (Cheers.) There were people who said that our Colonies made us vulnerable. He argued that it was not the Colonies, but the commerce, which made us vulnerable. (Cheers.) The commerce of England was everywhere, and a nation situated as this is must have its coaling and naval stations at distances of 2,000 miles (the limit of the coal-carrying capacity of our ships of war)—in fact, must circle the world with its defensive positions as well as its commerce. Our Colonies were the greatest strength we had. (Hear, hear.) But there came the most important question, perhaps, to this community, that of trade. They heard much of Free Trade and Fair Trade. His own firm conviction was that at any moment in this country the question of safe trade might become a more crucial one than Free Trade or Fair Trade. (Hear, hear.) The Irish question, great as it was, was a mere twopenny-halfpenny matter compared with the great interests at stake in building this great Empire together. (Applause.)

The BISHOP of MANCHESTER (Dr. Moorhouse), who was very heartily greeted, moved the following resolution:—

That in order to provide for the maintenance of common interests and for mutual defence, and thus secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation has become essential.

He said he was asked only the other day how it was possible for England to be safe when we were not growing food for our people, and might be put in a state of starvation by the first war. His answer would be very much the same as that of Mr. Parkin. We were prepared to safeguard the fields where our harvests were grown in any war. We did not grow them, it was true, in the English counties, but on the vast plains of Australia, on the great prairies of Canada. There, however, we had inexhaustible resources. We commanded the sea routes, the naval stations, the stores of coal, and the greatest Navy in the world; and were ready to protect the men who found markets there, and who brought back the food which would maintain our people. And if we perished we would perish together, because we knew we should perish unless we continued together. (Applause.) This was a very great question indeed, and he hoped that the representatives of both political parties would make it a plank in their platform. He thought the time had come to declare very clearly what they meant by the Federation of the Empire. A movement which had no definite aim, which directed attention now to one thing, and now to another, would never win so much as that direct opposition which stimulated the energies of its advocates, and directed public attention to its claims. And in this case of the movement for Imperial Federation there was a special reason for such definiteness. All wise advocates of the movement were agreed that it had no chance of success unless it received enthusiastic support from the Colonies. And assuredly that support would never be given to a pig in a poke, or to a pig out of a poke for that matter, unless it were a very acceptable animal. (Laughter.) He very much doubted whether the majority of Englishmen understood the point of view from which this question was regarded in the

Colonies. Suggestions were still being made that the Colonies might be satisfied with some representation in either of our Houses of Parliament, or by some representation by their Agents-General at a Colonial Council. All such schemes were futile, because they were sure to be unacceptable to the people most concerned in Federation, and without whose hearty consent and support there never could be any Federation—our Colonists. (Hear, hear.) Englishmen should understand that to Colonists with a constitutional government their Parliament was to them exactly what the Parliament of England was to England. Their Parliament legislated for them just as our Parliament legislated for us—and our Parliament had no control whatever over their legislation. If anyone urges there is the veto of the Crown, he answered so there was the veto of the Crown in the case of legislation by the English Parliament; and any rash use of that veto might be as fatal to union in the one case as in the other. The Colonists did not wish to be represented in either House of our Parliament. They had a Parliament of their own. What they wanted—what they would be satisfied with—what alone would meet the necessities of the case, was the creation of an Imperial Assembly like the Reichstag of Germany or the Congress of the United States, where England and her Colonies would all be represented in proportion to their wealth and population—in proportion to their stake in the Empire. (Applause.) They wanted nothing strange, nothing impracticable, nothing which was not being successfully managed to-day in two of the greatest countries in the world. They wanted an Imperial Assembly for Imperial purposes, in which all the parts of the Empire should have due representation. (Hear, hear.) The experience of the past had shown that all imperfect Federation—all mere voluntary meetings for consultation, like the old German Bund—were practically useless. If an Empire was to have lasting cohesion, to inspire the feeling of patriotism, to be worth anything in the stress and strain of Imperial danger, it must be an organic Federation—a Federation which was as much a part of the Empire's life as the Parliaments were of the separate life of its greater portions. (Applause.) He believed that one of the most formidable hindrances to the increase of Federation purpose in the Empire was the autocratic feeling which had been growing up for some time in the English House of Commons. That powerful Assembly, strengthened incalculably of late years by the popularisation of its constituency, had won so many victories over the other powers of the State, and had so clear a consciousness that in the event of conflict it could break them all to pieces, that it was itself in sore danger of becoming the victim of a blinding arrogance. Was it to come down, its members were in danger of thinking, from its real, if unavowed autocracy, to be a legislative body only among other legislative bodies, in some Imperial Congress or Reichstag? He answered that it must, if it cared more for the national welfare than for itself—more for the people who elected it than for its own corporate power or privileges. No one wished to interfere with the right of the English Parliament to control English affairs. But when questions arose of an Imperial character, questions of Imperial defence, or of the declaration of Imperial war and the like, the House of Commons must abate somewhat of its pretensions, and be satisfied with that degree of authority in an Imperial Assembly which its representation of so mighty a constituency must always secure to it. (Hear, hear.) What was the alternative? What must be the effect of grasping at an impossible autocracy before the next generation were in their graves? In fifty years perhaps, certainly before too years were passed, there would be more people of English blood and speech in our great Colonies of Canada, Australia, and the Cape than there were in these islands. Did anyone imagine that these energetic communities of the greatest race in the world would submit to be treated as possessions, and not as integral and important portions of the Empire? Such an idea was absurd. If we were not wise in time, and did not concede while concession would be generous, what our greater Colonies had the right to demand, they would inevitably fall away one after the other from the unity of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) And did anyone doubt that in such a case this country, which could only feed its people by means of a world-wide commerce, would be in danger of sinking into the condition of a second-class power like Spain? (Applause.) Division sealed the doom alike of mother and daughter—Imperial Tyre and Colonial Carthage. Surely, with such awful world-battles threatening us in the near future, we ought not to be so blind—either we in England or our sons in the Colonies—as to fail to read the lesson of Imperial Federation writ so large in the fortunes of the ancient Queen of the Sea. (Applause.) Our papers were filled just now with the difficulties of a little fragment of this great question—the question of Home Rule for Ireland. What was the best method of solving that difficulty? He said, create a great Imperial Reichstag, which should contain representatives for Imperial purposes from all local Parliaments, with representation proportionate to their importance, and the question was solved. Ireland could have a local Parliament; and Ireland could not break away from our Empire, every member of which, Canadian and Australian, as well as English, would be interested in preventing her from breaking away. (Applause.) Commerce was essential to the existence of England, and such measures as the McKinley tariff had shown us how seriously our commerce might be crippled by hostile tariffs. What was the best way of keeping open our Colonial markets and keeping down such hostile tariffs? Again he said, Imperial Federation.

The conclusion of the Bishop's address was greeted with loud applause.

SIR W. H. HOULDSWORTH, M.P., seconded the resolution. He said they could not look at the relation of the Colonies to the Mother Country without feeling that the problem of federation or separation would soon be before them. There must be in the future some system of Imperial Federation, or there would be separation. He would not deny that the House of Commons, as stated by the Bishop of Manchester, was to some extent autocratic, but there was a power greater than the House of Commons, and that was the people who elected the members of that assembly—(hear, hear)—and if the people took up the idea of Imperial Federation, the House of Commons would give way

as it had done before when the will of the people had been expressed at the polling booths. (Cheers.)

The MAYOR said an amendment had been handed in to him by the Mayor of Chorley. It referred to the complex questions of fair trade and preferential import duties, and he did not think he ought to allow such an amendment to be submitted to the meeting.

The MAYOR OF CHORLEY said he had obtained the permission of the League, through Miss Faithfull, to move the amendment. He should be extremely sorry if the Mayor did not allow him to move it.

The MAYOR said he had not been consulted in the matter. It was his own personal ruling, and that was the way he decided.

At the suggestion of the MAYOR OF CHORLEY, the MAYOR read the amendment, which was as follows:—

That in the opinion of this meeting, Imperial Federation, unless accompanied by commercial union, by means of preferential import duties, will not be acceptable either to the United Kingdom or to the Colonies.

That opened an entirely different phase of the question, and he decided it should not be discussed.

The resolution was then adopted.

MR. PARKIN said he would like to take part in the very fullest discussion on the question of the bearing of Imperial Federation on "Fair Trade."

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Parkin.

Commenting on the meeting, the *Manchester Guardian* says:—"There was much to be agreed with and nothing to be severely criticised in the speeches delivered yesterday at the Imperial Federation meeting in the Mayor's Parlour. We are all at one upon the desirability of a still closer future tie between all the races that speak English. But when we look at the attitude of Australia towards this question of Imperial Federation . . . we are a little inclined to amend the wishes expressed by the Bishop of Manchester and Sir William Houldsworth, and to call upon the Imperial Federationists to be indefinite at all costs. A definite scheme offered to Australia at the present moment might have very unfortunate effects. . . . We are glad of yesterday's meeting because we believe that Mr. Parkin's eloquence is greatly advancing this sentiment of union."

The *Manchester Courier* says:—"The Bishop of Manchester made an important speech—a speech which will be read with keen interest not only in this country, but throughout the Colonies. . . . The importance of the speech of Bishop Moorhouse lies in the fact that he, at any rate, has made a specific proposal, and has spoken, of course, with the more authority because of his past Colonial experience. The Colonists, according to the Bishop's view, distinctly do not want to be represented in the English Houses of Parliament, nor do they wish to be represented by their Agents-General in some Colonial Council. . . . What they want, it appears, is the creation of an Imperial Assembly like the Congress of the United States, or like (we prefer this parallel) the Reichstag of the German Empire."

The *Manchester Examiner* says:—"Nothing could have been more effective than Mr. Parkin's exposition of the various cogent reasons for Imperial Federation. . . . The Bishop dealt with the whole question in a manner that cannot fail to arrest attention. Fortified by his Australian experience, the Bishop rushed in where statesmen have feared to tread, and boldly sketched out the system of Federation which he believes to be required by a state of circumstances that he described with undeniable power, and an earnestness that rose to eloquence. . . . It was, perhaps, just as well that his proposal formed no part of the resolution moved by the Bishop, otherwise the cordial unanimity which was the prevailing note of the meeting might have been varied by a little useful discussion. . . . The question of Imperial Federation has been put fully and fairly before a Manchester audience; it has received a gratifying measure of assent; and if the scheme suggested by Bishop Moorhouse offers many points for criticism and grave doubt, at all events it has the merit of presenting plenty of matter for consideration."

The *Leeds Mercury* says:—"It is a matter for great satisfaction that so clear and effective a survey of this great subject has been placed before an audience so highly representative of the best intelligence and enterprise of Lancashire as that which assembled yesterday at the Manchester Town Hall. . . . The all-important point to be borne in mind in regard to this question is that it is not one to be considered in a dilettante or academic manner, but one requiring, without delay, the concentrated attention of the practical intelligence of the British race throughout the world. The urgency of the problem was enforced with great power by the Bishop of Manchester, who made a speech which demands the most earnest consideration of all patriotic citizens in general and all Imperial Federationists in particular. . . . Without pronouncing, as yet, a definite opinion as to whether an Imperial Parliament such as that contemplated by Bishop Moorhouse is the best solution of the problem of the maintenance of national unity, we venture to express the earnest hope and belief that there is spreading widely in this country a clearer and fuller recognition that the self-governing Colonies must be admitted into an organic participation in the control of Imperial affairs, which must involve a reduction of the technically absolute authority which this country has hitherto enjoyed in that domain."

Sir John Macdonald, speaking on October 1st at Halifax, said:—"Look at what England is doing for us to-day. England has no special interest in the fate of the seals, yet Lord Salisbury's Government is insisting in a magnificent manner on maintaining and enforcing Canadian rights to the seal fisheries. What would Canada do in the Behring Sea controversy without England at our back?"

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

The following, among a host of similar passages that might be quoted from the Canadian Press, have a bearing on the McKinley Tariff Act, which is perhaps better seen by keeping this special aspect of the matter apart. Commercial Union, or unrestricted reciprocity, with the States, is the policy of the Liberal Opposition in the Dominion Parliament, and they charge the Conservative Government of Sir John Macdonald with having been opposed to reciprocity, and with being accordingly responsible for the action of the United States Legislature in regard to those portions of the new Tariff Act that are peculiarly hostile to Canada. The supporters of the Government repudiate this charge, claiming to have been always favourable to fair measures of reciprocity, and retort upon the Opposition that their party, or at least the left wing of it, unpatriotically favours Commercial Union with the States in spite of, if not for the sake of, its ultimately resulting in political annexation :—

The *Evening Gazette* of St. John, New Brunswick, writes as follows of Senator Sherman's Reciprocity Resolution :—

Senator Sherman has done a great service to Canada and to the cause of truth and honesty by the introduction of a resolution in favour of reciprocity between Canada and the United States which he placed before the Senate yesterday.

The great merit of this resolution lies in the fact that it at once puts an end to all uncertainty as to the views of the United States Senate in regard to reciprocity with Canada. It has been introduced as an additional section to the McKinley Bill and if agreed to, it will pave the way to a complete understanding between the two countries in respect to trade. If, on the other hand, the resolution is rejected, it will silence at once and for ever those who have been declaring that Canada alone stands in the way of a reciprocity treaty.

The same paper reprints from the *Halifax Herald* a "Short History of Reciprocity" as affording a complete answer to the statements of those who lay the blame of the failure of reciprocity on the Government of Canada.

The Sherman Resolution having been dropped, the *Toronto Empire* writes :—

Whatever they may pretend after the event, there can be no doubt that the Canadian allies of Mr. Wiman are glad that Senator Sherman's resolution was dropped. . . . If the Sherman resolution had been rejected by Congress, it would have put an end to the Grit fable that the United States is willing to negotiate for closer trade relations. If it had been carried, its acceptance would have enabled the Macdonald Administration to meet this advance half-way, as they have always been willing to do; and this would have destroyed the other Grit fable of unwillingness on the part of the Conservative Ministry of Canada even to consider the extension of our commercial relations with the United States. Neither of these results would have suited the Canadian Opposition, so, at their instance, their friends in Congress quietly drop the resolution.

And again :—

In expressing its regrets that the Sherman resolution was dropped, the *Chicago Tribune* shows its fear that inaction by Congress may impede "the Canadian Liberals" when advocating reciprocity. Our *Chicago* contemporary also makes the following very significant remarks :—"If there are Congressmen who favour the final union of the two countries under one flag, they may rest assured that the only satisfactory way of bringing it about is through reciprocity. From commercial to political union is but a step. Whatever prevents the former makes the latter less possible."

It may be seen that the *Chicago Tribune* fully coincides with Mr. Wiman that commercial union is the right road to annexation.

And once more :—

The new device now employed is to say that the Conservative Government, even if negotiations were set on foot, would not accept the kind of reciprocity advocated by the Wimanites. They certainly would not accept an arrangement tersely described by the *Washington Post* as "the reciprocity which shall serve as a threshold to annexation," nor would they hesitate in the choice suggested by the *New York Sun*, which says : "There is no middle place for Canada. For us she must be either incorporated with our union or be deemed a foreign country. It is for Canadians to say whether they choose to be treated as brothers or as strangers."

Mr. Laurier, the present leader of the Opposition in the Dominion House of Commons, and Sir Richard Cartwright, who at one time led the party, have both taken occasion in expressing their views on the McKinley Tariff, to repeat and emphasise their adhesion to the policy of unrestricted Reciprocity with the States. Mr. Laurier, in a speech at Abbotsford on October the 8th, expressed his belief that the passing of the McKinley Tariff Bill would prove disastrous to Canada, and that her only salvation was in unrestricted reciprocity with the United States in natural products and manufactured goods.

Sir Richard Cartwright, speaking more recently, denounced the trade policy of the Dominion Government :—

The policy of the Liberal party, he declared, was unmistakable. They demanded free commercial intercourse with the United States, and as a means to that end Canada should have the right to negotiate her own commercial treaties, which was a step towards national manhood. The United States was their natural market, and was worth more to Canada than the trade of the rest of the world. In conclusion,

Sir Richard said it was his belief that if the people, by their votes, declared that they desired unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, they would have no difficulty in obtaining such a boon.

The Government papers naturally make the most of such passages as those quoted from American papers to fix a charge of "annexationism" on the whole Liberal party; pointing to the left wing of the party, and their foreign allies, and applying to the leaders the maxim *Noscitur a sociis*. Mr. Wiman, with whose name our readers are already pretty familiar, plays a large part in this association of ideas. Thus, the *Empire* has articles headed, "Wiman for Annexation," "How the Grits would win," "The Wiman-Laurier scheme," and so forth, and gives prominence to an "interview" reported in the *Chicago Times* in which, in the words of the report, "Erastus Wiman, the citizen of Canada, whose home is in New York," wound up an expression of his opinions as follows :—

With a verdict in favour of Sir John, Canada would practically turn her back upon the United States for all time. Imperial Federation would grow, isolation and a high customs barrier would continue to exist; while if the Liberal party could be successful, Canada, with a smiling face, would turn towards the United States, ready to be wooed and won when the proper time comes.

In the articles just referred to, the following passages occur :—

The *Chicago Tribune* plainly sees and makes no attempt to conceal the scope and intention of the recent movements of agitators in the United States who covet Canada, its rich resources, and its markets.

Mr. Laurier and his lieutenants are to be foisted into power in Canada by the intervention of foreigners, who only require in return for their services that our country shall be surrendered to them by their creatures.

Mr. Wiman, as he swears, is aiming at annexation, and his scheme is based upon the assistance of the Liberal Opposition of Canada, who have already adopted his scheme as "the sole plank in their platform."

Just as we go to press, Reuter telegraphs, at the length of a whole column of the *Times*, a speech of Mr. Wiman's addressed to the members of the Iron and Steel Institute, whom he was entertaining at Niagara Falls, in which he speaks of the peaceful absorption of Canada by the United States through commercial processes, while his British guests are assured that Canada would still remain "the brightest jewel in the British Crown without a red-coat and without a ship of war."

THE DEFENCE OF AUSTRALASIA.

In addition to Mr. Parkin's lecture and Baron H. de Worms's speech at Aldershot, reported elsewhere, the past month was rife with other matters of unusual interest in relation to Colonial defences. First, in point of importance, comes the correspondence relating to the inspection of the military forces of the Australasian Colonies by Major-General J. Bevan Edwards, C.B., which was issued as a Parliamentary paper, in the last days of September.

General Edwards's proposal on questions common to the whole of Australia were, it will be remembered, briefly as follows :—

1. Federation of the forces.
2. An officer of the rank of lieutenant-general to be appointed, to advise and inspect in peace, and command in war.
3. A uniform system of organisation and armament, and a common Defence Act.
4. Amalgamation of the permanent forces into a "fortress corps."
5. A federal military college for the education of the officers.
6. The extension of the rifle clubs.
7. A uniform gauge for the railways.
8. A federal small-arm manufactory, gun wharf, and ordnance store.

And the General concluded this portion of his report in the following terms :—

"In making these propositions I wish it to be understood that I do not commit myself in any way as to the sufficiency of these forces for the defence of Australia. The proposals which I have made are based upon the number of troops now maintained by the different Colonies; but what the actual strength should be depends upon political considerations and the possible combinations among the different foreign Powers."

"If the Australian Colonies had to rely at any time solely on their own resources, they would offer such a rich and tempting prize that they would certainly be called upon to fight for their independence; and, isolated as Australia would be, without a proper supply of arms and ammunition, with forces which cannot at present be considered efficient in comparison with any moderately trained army, and without any cohesion or power of combination for mutual defence among the different Colonies, its position would be one of great danger. Looking to the state of affairs in Europe, and to the fact that it is the unforeseen which happens in war, the defence forces should at once be placed on a proper footing; but this is, however, quite impossible without a federation of the forces of the different Colonies."

This report has since been submitted to the Colonial Defence Committee, whose memorandum on the subject, recently transmitted through the Colonial Office to the various Australasian Governments, contains the following observations :—

The general requirements of defence which present themselves to the Australasian Colonies depend solely upon the probable nature and

strength of the attack. No country can be provided against every remote contingency which may be suggested, and reasonable probabilities, rather than possibilities, form the ultimate basis of the war preparations of every great Power.

The Colonial Defence Committee have in various memoranda expressed their views as to the conditions of probable attack in Australasian waters.

It may be useful, however, to recapitulate these conditions.

On account of their geographical position, and of the now considerable population in all these Colonies except Western Australia, there is no British territory so little liable to aggression as that of Australasia. In view of the armed forces maintained, and the strong spirit which animates them, territorial aggression, except on a large scale, is out of the question. To endeavour to place small bodies of troops on shore would be to court disaster, with consequent injury to the prestige of any Power which attempted such a policy. Any force destined for aggression, even if safely landed, must be of a strength sufficient to conquer and hold either an important strategic point, or a considerable portion of territory, under the certain condition of losing its communications by sea.

Field operations on Australasian territory would require a large expeditionary force of all arms, fully equipped; and the idea of attempting such operations with the small landing force available, even from a strong squadron of cruisers, may be altogether dismissed.

It is evident that transport for a large expeditionary force could not be prepared in any of the advanced bases of any Power without the fact being known, when a corresponding redistribution, if necessary, of the British Navy would be made.

Such an expedition, whether despatched from an advanced base or from Europe, could not hope to reach its destination until the British Navy had been definitely worsted. Even then the difficulties and the risks would be so considerable that, in view of other enterprises of a more hopeful nature, it is almost inconceivable that the attempt would be made. History affords no parallel of such difficulties successfully overcome.

Attack upon the Australian littoral thus reduces itself to raids by an enemy's cruisers based upon his defended ports. Such raids might be undertaken to obtain coal, which might be urgently required, or with the object of attempting to extort an indemnity under threat of bombardment. Coal, if on shore, could not be seized, even in a port possessing no coast defences, without landing men, and, in view of the small crews carried by cruisers, this proceeding would be highly dangerous in face of armed and organised resistance. It is inconceivable that any Australasian town would consent to pay blackmail, which the British race have not submitted to for upwards of a thousand years. Moreover, in view of the difficulty of obtaining fresh supplies of ammunition, and the fact that the expenditure of the whole of the shell carried by a squadron of cruisers would fail to work serious destruction upon any large town, and that such a proceeding would inevitably provoke serious reprisals, it is in the last degree improbable that a bombardment would be attempted.

As regards liability to cruiser raids, the primary factors are the distance of the bases and the relative naval strength of possible enemies to that of the British Squadron in Australasian waters strengthened by the aid of the funds provided by all the Colonies except Queensland.

The nearest French port is Nouméa, distant about 780 miles from Brisbane, 1,100 miles from Sydney, and 1,100 miles from Auckland. The next in point of distance is Saigon, 3,700 miles from Brisbane, and 4,800 miles from Auckland. The other bases of France, Réunion and Diego Suarez, are distant respectively 3,400 and 4,300 miles from Perth.

Nouméa does not, however, possess the qualifications of a base, and the position of the French in New Caledonia in the event of war would be necessarily precarious. Defence rather than aggression would be their probable object. Saigon falls within the scope of the British China Squadron, and could not be made use of as a base till that squadron had been defeated. Réunion and Diego Suarez are too far away to serve as bases without intermediate links, which do not exist.

Vladivostok, the only possible base of any other great Power, 4,900 miles from Brisbane, is closed by ice during from three to four months in the year, and the line of action therefrom passes through waters defended by the British China Squadron.

Finally, although raids are not absolutely barred by the presence in the waters of a superior force, the risks they entail are thus greatly increased, and the temptation to undertake them is definitely lessened. The naval force of Great Britain is far superior in Australasian waters to that of any other Power or combination of Powers, and its strength can, if it were necessary, be increased more rapidly than that of any other Power.

The above conditions appear to the Colonial Defence Committee to supply a solid basis upon which the standard of the armaments of the Australasian Colonies may safely rest; but, although they have been set forth at various times, there has been an evident tendency to ignore them, as was pointed out in the Colonial Defence Committee's remarks on Major-General Schaw's report on the defences of New South Wales. It is unfortunate that these principles have not been more widely grasped, since their realisation would unquestionably have prevented the great exaggeration of danger and the erroneous conception of what is really to be apprehended, which have from time to time been manifested.

Unobstructed routes for the transport of their products are of vital importance to the Australasian Colonies, and the most probable danger lies neither in territorial aggression nor, so long as sufficient land forces are maintained, in raids upon Colonial ports, but in the loss of mercantile ships in the neighbourhood of the ports. One of the principal results of the large supercession of sailing vessels by steamers for the purposes of the mercantile marine is that ordinary peace routes need not be adhered to in ocean passages, so that the capture of vessels on the high seas becomes largely a matter of chance, and the performances of the *Alabama* could not now be repeated. On the other

hand, this new condition increases the danger to trade at points of necessary convergence and in the vicinity of ports.

Defence against dangers of this nature can only be provided by naval means.

With these considerations before them, the Colonial Defence Committee are unable to concur with Major-General Edwards in his expression of opinion that it is necessary to contemplate the concentration of a force of "30,000 or 40,000 men" for defence against territorial aggression. This appears to be a contingency so excessively improbable that it need not be taken into account as one of the requirements of Australasian defence.

The military preparations of these Colonies should, in the opinion of the committee, be based on other grounds. Australia and New Zealand possess an enormous coast-line, with numerous points against which such raids as have been referred to might possibly be directed. In the absence of any organised force on shore, even a small number of men landed for a short time would be able to inflict grave damage. To meet these requirements, it appears to be essential to provide an adequate force, well organised and capable of being rapidly mobilised, since it is at the outset of war that the probability of a raid is greatest. So soon as the command of the sea in this quarter of the world has been fought for, or conceded without fighting by an enemy, the probability will diminish.

In the event of a great war, the military resources of the Empire will be heavily taxed, and the responsibility for land defence must necessarily rest with the Colonies, which have willingly accepted it. As it would be of great importance to dislocate the industrial machinery as little as possible, reliefs of garrisons and posts would doubtless be required, entailing the maintenance of a higher total strength than would be necessary in the case of a standing army.

In carrying out the military defence of the coast-line, occasions may evidently arise where a transference of troops from one Colony to another may be desirable. The committee, therefore, consider that assimilation of organisation, as urged by the Royal Commission in 1882, is of great importance. The defence of continental Australia, including Tasmania, cannot be satisfactorily dealt with in piecemeal fashion; and by adopting a common system and providing for the easy transference of troops from one Colony to another a definite gain of strength would be obtained. From this point of view, as well as in a commercial aspect, the assimilation of railway gauge, which Major-General Edwards has urged, appears highly desirable.

Finally, the Colonial Defence Committee desire to point out that the rôle which the Australian Colonies will probably play in the event of war is not likely to be limited to the passive defence of ports little liable to attack. These Colonies will doubtless desire that solid guarantees for future security should be taken, and it is evidently essential to success in this sense that their land forces should be organised on a common basis, so as to be capable of being brought together for concerted action. The possibility of being able to take a vigorous offensive at the outset of war against points which might subsequently prove menacing would be a strategic advantage of the first importance.

For the above reasons, the Colonial Defence Committee, while differing from the line of argument followed by Major-General Edwards, concur generally in the strength of the forces he lays down.

In connection with this report and memorandum come two items of news from Australia. It appears that in March last, a meeting of the delegates to the Federal Conference was held, at which the proposals for the defence of King George's Sound and Thursday Island were discussed. It was then decided that the military commandants of the several Colonies, in conjunction with a representative of the Imperial Government, should visit those places, and also Port Darwin and Hobart, and should afterwards hold a conference in Melbourne. The matter remained several months in abeyance (through the action, the *Argus* says, or, as we should rather say, the inaction, of Sir Henry Parkes in not replying to letters sent to him on the subject) until late in August, when it was again taken up. As there had been changes of Government in both Queensland and South Australia, Mr. Gillies wrote to them through the Defence Department, inquiring whether those Colonies were still favourable to the military commandants visiting King George's Sound, Port Darwin, Thursday Island, and Hobart for the purposes stated, and if they replied in the affirmative it was thought probable that the proposed meeting would be held in Melbourne towards the end of November or the beginning of December. The Imperial Government had offered to contribute £2,600 towards the armament of the places stated, and as soon as the Defence Department received the replies from the other colonies a cable message would, if the answers were favourable, be sent to the Imperial authorities asking them to appoint a representative to act with the military commandants. From the speech of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies at Aldershot, we now know that a naval officer has just started, or is on the point of starting, upon this mission.

The following item of news, also from the Melbourne *Argus*, is of interest in its bearing on the necessity, so strongly insisted upon by Sir Charles Dilke, of providing bases of supply, as well as docks and arsenals, in Eastern seas. It is stated that, in answer to an inquiry as to whether Victoria could, in cases of emergency, draw on India for a supply of military stores, a reply has been received in which the Government of India expresses its willingness to assist the Victorian Government in that direction as far as may lie in its power. It is stated, however, that at present India could not furnish this Colony with any guns, gun-carriages, or rifles, should they be required; but it is able to supply it with ammunition for both guns and rifles,

and also with tents, harness, &c. It is also suggested that if this Colony thought of purchasing an extensive supply of stores, it should appoint a small commission of experts in India to inspect them before their despatch from that country. The Minister of Defence has written a letter of thanks to the Governor-General of India, at the same time intimating that, as it would only be in a case of extreme urgency that this Colony would draw supplies from India, it was not considered advisable to appoint a commission to inspect the stores before shipment.

THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee for September was held in Toronto on Thursday, September 18th, 1890.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison was elected chairman.

After formal business being transacted, a letter from the Earl of Rosebery was read acknowledging the receipt of the resolution passed at the June monthly meeting (reported at p. 190 of the JOURNAL.)

The matter of a badge for members was dealt with, and the secretary instructed to communicate further with the League in England on the subject.

The question of Canadian-Australasian trade and cable and steamship lines was discussed at length, and the following resolution, proposed by Mr. J. M. Clark, seconded by Mr. E. E. Sheppard, was carried unanimously:—"That, in the opinion of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, it is of the utmost importance that the Canadian Commissioner to Australia, appointed last session, should proceed thither without delay, in order to be present in Melbourne next February (when the Confederation Conference is to be held in that city), so as to be able to represent Canada in any discussions which may take place with regard to trade matters in general, cables, lines of steamships, or any other questions affecting this country."

A copy of the above was ordered to be sent to the Premier of Canada.

The position of Canada commercially and the best policy to be pursued in view of the present state of affairs, and particularly in view of the measure then before the Congress of the United States, called the McKinley Bill, were earnestly discussed with a view to deciding whether it was advisable for the League as a body to take any action with regard to the matter; and it was resolved to adjourn the meeting for a few days, a sub-committee being appointed meanwhile with instructions to submit a recommendation on the subject.

The meeting then adjourned.

The following reply to the letter conveying the above resolution on Canadian-Australian trade to the Premier of Canada was subsequently received by the secretary:—

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS, CANADA.
OTTAWA, September 26th, 1890.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, conveying to me a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Federation League in Canada. In reply, I beg to say that, on communicating with the several Australian Governments, the Cabinet here was informed that, in the opinion of those Governments, it is expedient to postpone the visit of the Canadian delegation until after the results of the Federation Conference are known.

In conformity with that suggestion we have deferred, but not abandoned, our intention of sending a delegation to Australasia until it is convenient for the Governments there to receive them.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JOHN R. MACDONALD.

R. Casimir Dickson, Esq., Toronto.

The adjourned monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held in Toronto on Friday, September 26th, 1890, at 8 p.m.

Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P. (President), in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The sub-committee appointed at the last meeting submitted their views to the committee, and it was decided to issue a circular to the Canadian press embodying the views of the League in Canada on the present situation, and inviting discussion thereon. The form of the circular was then settled, and the same ordered to be printed and distributed.

The meeting then adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

The following is the text of the circular distributed in accordance with the last resolution above recorded:—

In the year 1864, when notice was given to abrogate the Reciprocity Treaty, the Canadian people forgot all party divisions and political animosities, and united together to confederate the scattered provinces and encourage trade between them, and our great Dominion of Canada was thus formed.

The Imperial Federation League has been established to promote the solidifying of the whole British Empire, so as to increase its strength and power. The Canadian branch of the League has adopted the view that one most important part of that Federation is to promote such tariff changes as would give to each part of the Empire advantages in the markets of all.

Canadian trade has hitherto been divided principally between Great Britain and the United States, and the Congress at Washington has just passed a Bill which will affect materially the trade of Canada, and will necessarily, to a great extent, cut off the United States markets from the Canadian people.

Now, when a large portion of our export trade is seriously affected by the McKinley Bill and the disturbing influences which have led up to it, has not the time arrived for another step forward to be made, and

should not all Canadians, irrespective of party, unite to urge the adoption of the greater scheme of Imperial Federation, to open up new channels of trade with the scattered Colonies of the Empire and with the Mother Country, to encourage and foster trade in directions where it would not be subjected to sudden and uncontrollable interference by foreign legislation?

Imperial Federation would settle and end the uneasy, restless feeling which is now injuring trade and checking enterprise; it would strengthen the national confidence and security; it would spread the trade of Canada, the world's fifth Maritime Power, over every sea and to the most distant land; and would be a guarantee of peace. Competitors as we are with our neighbours in foreign trade, it would give Canada advantages which would turn a great tide of prosperity into this country.

The Mother Country and our Sister Colonies are all seriously affected by the recent legislation at Washington, and no time could be more opportune than the present for the Canadian people to urge the importance of some scheme of Imperial combination for the advancement of the trade interests of all.

PORT ARTHUR (ONTARIO) BRANCH.—For the first time since its formation, on March 21st, 1888, this branch has been cheered by the presence and counsel of prominent members of the League from other parts of Canada. The treasurer of the Canadian League, Mr. H. H. Lyman, with his father, the Chairman of the Montreal Branch, and Messrs. Roswell and Walter Lyman, on their return from a trip to the Pacific Coast spent two days here, and on August 8th addressed the members of the Port Arthur Branch. The remarks of Mr. Lyman, senr., were eminently sound and judicious. The treasurer's address was of a most interesting character, and Mr. R. Lyman's also very effective. The thanks of the meeting were cordially given to the visitors. A number of ladies were present. One of these, Miss Victoria McVicar, has consented to become secretary of the League here in place of Mr. Keefer, who has been compelled to resign through pressure of business engagements.

LORD ABERDEEN AT TORONTO.

ON the occasion of opening the Exhibition at Toronto in September, Lord Aberdeen made, in the course of a long speech, the following observations on Imperial Federation. He said:—

"But, ladies and gentlemen, having touched upon this subject of closer acquaintance between the Colonies and the Old Country, I am unwilling to sit down without at least some reference to the remarkable indication of a desire in that direction which of late years has found expression both in Britain and the Colonies, in the form of a well-known movement in favour of Federation. (Applause.) I am perfectly aware that in some quarters this movement is regarded with doubt or even misgiving; but looking to the general feeling in Canada towards the Mother Country, I cannot but think that any hesitation or distrust concerning this movement must be caused either by doubts as to the feasibility of any special scheme that has been propounded, or by an impression that the tendency of the movement would in some way be unfavourable to the autonomy of Canada or the development of Canadian national spirit and prosperity. As to the first obstacle, it ought to be clearly kept in view that we have not arrived at the point of formulating any special scheme. The present function of the Federation Society is not so much to lay down a plan but a principle; and when a more compact volume of public opinion is created in favour of that principle, the methods of carrying it into practice, difficult though they may be, will in due time be devised and worked out. (Applause.) Then, as to the other difficulty, surely there has been some misapprehension, fostered probably by the ambiguous sense of the word Imperial. A very eminent Australian statesman, when speaking recently of this subject, stated that in his opinion 'there could be no federation by a great central Power with a number of weaker Powers.' Assuredly not. I for one reject absolutely the notion that a closer union of the British Empire by means of Federation would be tolerable on any footing that did not imply and secure that the advantages should in the fullest sense be mutual and equally shared as between every portion of the empire. Indeed, speaking for myself, I would advocate that if there is to be any balance or bias it should be in favour of the youngest, the outlying branches of the British family. (Cheers.) And this cohesion of the fabric would, I believe, be absolutely in harmony with the maintenance and development of the individual States or nations composing it. It would, indeed, be surprising if you, as Canadians, had not a national ambition combined with your loyalty to the British throne and British Constitution." (Applause.)

Howsoever that may fare, let John Bull keep on his hair,

And Miss Canada with flouts be not too handy, O!

Common sense is safe commander, and we need not raise our dander

At the tariff tricks of Yankee doodle dandy, O!

Yankee doodle! Yankee doodle dandy, O!

And may it ever prove in trade fights, or brotherly love,

Bull can keep upsides with Yankee doodle dandy, O!—Punch.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE, LONDON, W.

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Vice-President.—THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M.P.

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JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. (Vice-Pres-
ident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

Publications of the Imperial Federation League.

Titles of Publications relating to the British Colonies, their Government, &c., in connection with Imperial Policy. Compiled by JAMES R. BOOSE. Under 2 oz. 6d.

Speeches by the Earl of Rosebery. President of the Imperial Federation League, at Leeds, October, 1888; and at Edinburgh, October 31st, 1888. Revised and reprinted from "Imperial Federation." Price 2d. each.

Full Report of the Speeches at the Mansion House Meeting, November 15, 1889. Under 2 oz. 2d.

The Formation and Conduct of Branches. Price 1d. Under 1 oz.

The Imperial Federation League in Canada. Constitution, Rules, &c. Under 3 oz. 4d.

The following Leaflets are supplied gratis:—"Objects of the Imperial Federation League"; "What is Imperial Federation?"; "A Charter of National Unity"; "Lord Rosebery on the Imperial Conference"; "Distribution of the Trade of the United Kingdom"; "What Women can Do to Keep the Empire Together"; and "The Canadian Loyal Address to the Queen."

Report of the Conference on Imperial Federation, held July 29th, 1884. Price 6d. Weight 8 oz.; on thin paper, for transmission abroad, 3 oz.

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The Case for Canada. By PRINCIPAL GEO. M. GRANT, D.D., of Kingston University, Ontario. Under 2 oz. 2d.

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Analysis of the Maritime Trade of the United Kingdom. By SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G. Under 2 oz. 2d.

The following publications may also be had at the Office of the League:—

Our Colonial Expansion: Extracts from "The Expansion of England." By PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY. Price 1s. Under 5 oz.

Imperial Federation. By the MARQUIS OF LORNE. Price 1s. Under 10 oz.

Our Colonies and India: How we Got Them, and Why we Keep Them. By CYRIL RANSOME, M.A. OXON. Under 6 oz. 1s.

A Synopsis of the Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire. Prepared by SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B. Price 2s. 6d. Under 12 oz.

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Imperial Federation of Great Britain and Her Colonies. By SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. Under 24 oz. Price 6s.

A Vision of Empire. By JAMES STANLEY LITTLE. Under 2 oz. Price 6d.

England and her Colonies. Five Prize Essays on Imperial Federation. Published by Messrs. Sonnenschein & Co. for the London Chamber of Commerce. Price 1s.

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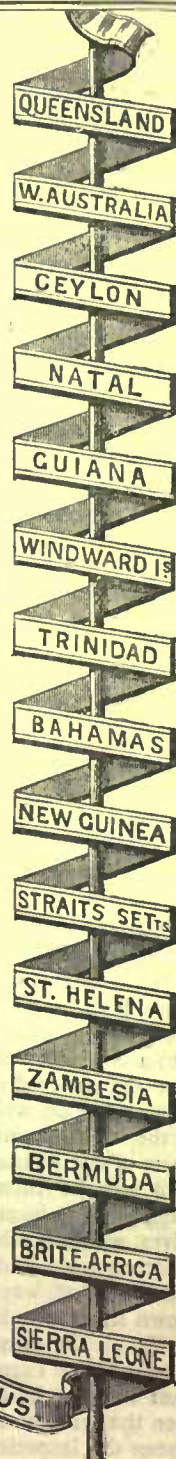
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Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER 1, 1890.

THE ATTITUDE OF NEW ZEALAND.

THE New Zealand Legislature has adopted the attitude towards Australasian Federation assumed by her representatives at the Melbourne Conference. The Colony will not at present join any Federal Government that may be established in Australia; but will not, on the other hand, stand entirely aloof from the movement. She does not intend to join now, and does not at present think it likely she ever will; but circumstances may cause her to modify this view in the future, and she wishes the door left open—as the Federating Colonies themselves are willing, so far, to leave it. Moreover, the Federation of Australia is a matter which cannot but concern her, indirectly if not directly; and for these reasons, and even as a matter of courtesy and good-feeling, she will be represented at the Convention, where her delegates will, so to say, hold watching briefs. Although there was not really any doubt as to this being the line that New Zealand would take, it was not authoritatively laid down by Parliament without a hitch. The resolutions committing the Colony to send delegates to the Convention, when introduced by the Government in the House of Representatives, were, on the first division, rejected by the vote of the House. There appears, however, to have been a misunderstanding, the intention having been only to negative the proposals of the Government as to the number of delegates to be appointed. The forms of the House permitted the whole issue to be again submitted for decision, when it was decided that the Colony should be represented at the Convention, though not by the full complement of seven delegates, but by three only, with limited and defined powers. The policy of New Zealand is intelligible enough. The fiscal and commercial consequences of either alternative cannot be foretold with any certainty. It may be that considerations of this nature may ultimately induce or compel New Zealand to enter the Federation; but meanwhile she retains her freedom of action. As regards Defence, the primary ground of Federation in Australia itself, it is clear that across twelve hundred miles of sea there is no room for unity of organisation on the military side; while as for Naval Defence, the Colonies have at present no navies to federate. Apart from these specific matters, there exists also in New Zealand a feeling that as time goes on, the social and political development of her own people and that of the peoples of the Australian continent will proceed along widely divergent lines. New Zealanders are conscious, like Canadians, of an origin different from that of the Australian communities; and they believe that their aspirations and ideals are different, not to say higher. The feeling is connected both with moral and social as well as political ideals. One side of it may perhaps be illustrated by the story of a new American consul being entertained on his arrival at Melbourne, and greeted by one of his entertainers, who said he was proud to shake hands with him, because he came from a country where there were no gentlemen. That would not have been a recommendation to a New Zealander.

Not altogether distinct from these feelings is the other great ground upon which, as will be seen from the extracts from the debate printed in another column, so many members of the House based their objection to throwing in their lot with the Australians. They were afraid they might be dragged away from the Imperial connection. Now, for ourselves, we do not believe the Australians either would or could break from that connection, and that many of those who looked that way are beginning to see that "running their own show" would not be the simple matter it seemed. But it is, all the same, full of encouragement to find the strong repulsion exercised upon some of the leaders of political thought in New Zealand, and not a few of them, by even the remote suggestion of such a contingency. We have seen the Imperial connection supported by speakers in all the Legislatures of Australia when addressing themselves to the question of the "Union under the Crown." But in New Zealand it was made the touchstone of the whole

issue. And there is a warmth of expression and a soundness of ring about the speeches of the New Zealand politicians that seems to go beyond anything we have been hearing before—except, perhaps, from one or two speakers in Tasmania. Captain Rundle, the Colonial Secretary, who introduced the resolutions, and Mr. Ballance, the leader of the Opposition, who followed him, spoke as strongly and uncompromisingly as it is possible for men to speak, and so did several other members. To read some of the language of private members is good for sore eyes. Take this from the speech of Mr. Hobbs, who considered any formal bond of Imperial Federation unnecessary:—"To my mind it appears to be almost an insult to one who, though not born in Great Britain—I have never been to the Old Country, and am now something like sixty years of age—still may claim to have that feeling for the Old Country which goes further than any political union that may be proposed and adopted; and I think I am speaking the voice of young New Zealand when I say that they are loyal to the backbone. I venture to say that any man who will preach in this House the doctrine of Republicanism, or dismemberment of the Empire, will get no sympathy from young New Zealand."

The Colonial Secretary, however, and the leader of the Opposition went beyond these strong assertions of loyalty to the Mother Country and to the Imperial connection. They went on to express their belief in, and adhesion to, the idea of Imperial Federation as affording the means and form whereby, and in which, the connection is to be maintained. Captain Russell said:—"I venture to say that we should do wrong if we did anything at all that would tend to weaken the chances of Imperial Federation. I believe Imperial Federation is much more valuable to New Zealand than any other form of Federation, and I go further and say that if we help to bring about Imperial Federation, it will be the first step towards the great Federation of the English-speaking peoples, which will do more for the advancement of good government and civilisation, and the peaceful settlement of all disputes, than anything else that we could possibly devise." Mr. Ballance put aside the latter part of these remarks, as we should be inclined to, with the observation that "we are talking now as practical politicians;" and went on to ask, What is immediately within our grasp? What can be accomplished within ten, twenty, or thirty years? He answered his own question by expressing the belief that, though a paper Federation might be very far off, yet a real Imperial Federation was near at hand. "Our true Federation, our true means of defence, must be the defence which springs from the unity and from the solidarity and power of the British Empire. I believe in Imperial Federation. I believe the time is coming when the Colony will be drawn closer to the Mother Country, not by any great scheme which may be devised by statesmen, but from the natural tendency of things—from our dependence on the Mother Country and her dependence upon us—the interdependence of the different members of the Empire. Those are the bonds and the cords that are drawing the members of the Empire closer together. . . . This is our Federation; this is the Imperial Federation developing continually, and which is making this Colony and the Mother Country more interdependent." But though Mr. Ballance is all for Imperial Federation, it is evident that he scarcely attaches quite the same meaning to the words that we do. Not so much because he does not believe that it will be accomplished "by any great scheme devised by statesmen." As to that, we believe that those who desire a political end must, in the long run, use the ordinary political means. We quite agree with Mr. Ballance that Imperial Federation can only come about as the result of the natural tendency of things—of the interdependence of the different members of the Empire—by a continuous development. But it is the work of statesmen to watch, and not only to watch, but to foster and assist such tendencies, such developments; and, when opportunity offers, to give them, not only direction, but, sooner or later, once and again, to give them form, and convert them into concrete political facts—even sometimes, perhaps, to commit the enormity of giving definiteness and certainty to the relations so established, by putting the general terms and conditions of them in writing, be it in protocols, or minutes, or statutes. Where we should differ from Mr. Ballance is in this, that he thinks we have got

already the true principle of such an Imperial Federation as ought to govern the relations of the parts of the Empire to each other, of the Mother Country to the Colonies, and that all that remains is to let that grow and develop. We, on the other hand, hold that the present relationship is a false one, and cannot last—cannot, without a change of principle, develop into a sound and permanent union. We have, it is true, in the Australasian Naval Defence agreement a recognition, to a degree “just enough to swear by,” of one of the two sides of the principle we believe the only possible one. That agreement recognises the principle that the Colonies must bear some share, at any rate, of the obligations of the Empire, though in effect this particular agreement relates to one part only of their obligations, the defence of their own shores, and imposes upon them scarcely more than a nominal contribution to that part. We want to see that principle fairly and fully recognised and acted upon; and further, to see the correlative of it, the right of the Colonies to a voice in the control of Imperial affairs, equally recognised and acted upon. And of the recognition of this latter principle we have not yet reached the stage even of a nominal instalment.

THE HOFMEYR GERM.

WE have more than once lately called attention to schemes of Imperial trade, seeming to owe their genesis to the fecundity of the germ formally introduced into the political organism of the Empire at the Conference of 1887. While the American Tariff Act has been setting everybody to work devising means of counteracting its effect, and many have proposed wide schemes of commercial union and Imperial Zollvereins, we are glad to observe that others are content to put forward again schemes based upon Mr. Hofmeyr's idea, which, in itself, is certainly more practicable and probably more useful than the more heroic measures advocated in some quarters. It is especially satisfactory to find the principle of the Hofmeyr scheme recognised in a letter to the *Times* by a writer of the school of Mr. Farrer Ecroyd, who, from his economic associations and alliances, could hardly have been expected to condescend to so partial a measure of reciprocity. The principle of the Hofmeyr scheme is one which thoroughly commends itself to this Journal, and we believe we may say to the League at large, as it also commended itself to the general sense of the delegates from Canada, Australia, and the Cape at the 1887 Conference. It is gratifying to find, if we may judge from this letter of Mr. Ecroyd's, that those whose economic tenets would carry them very much further are coming to recognise what we have always regarded as the true lines along which all Imperial trade movements can alone move with any visible prospect of success.

The letter addressed by Mr. Ecroyd to the *Times*, in October last, though containing much economic matter of a controversial character, contains nevertheless an interesting exposition of the application which he would advocate of the Hofmeyr idea—to which, however, curiously enough he makes no specific reference—and it is this to which we have thought it instructive to call attention. We ought, says Mr. Ecroyd, to say to our Colonies and dependencies, “We freely accord henceforth a preferential treatment equal to 15 per cent. *ad valorem* to your food products and manufactures (it is not in our power to do so in regard to the raw materials of our great industries) over those of Protectionist foreign nations. We drive no bargain with you, but we invite you to accord a like advantage to our manufactures and food products, and those of all other portions of the Empire, over those of Protectionist foreign nations. Adopt or maintain in each Colony such fiscal arrangements as you deem most suitable. If, in any case, you admit our manufactures duty free, we invite you to impose a duty of 15 per cent. on the like foreign manufactures; if, in another instance, you charge 20 per cent. on our productions, we invite you to charge 35 per cent. on those of foreign nations.” The writer unfortunately introduces into his proposal those general doctrines of Reciprocity, or what is called “Fair Trade,” which would take it out of the category of any plan which, like Mr. Hofmeyr's, is based upon political and Imperial, rather than upon economic grounds.

But he embodies the very essence of the Hofmeyr scheme when he proposes that out of the revenue derived from these special differential duties there should be set aside an ample fund for the fortification of our naval and coaling stations, and for the defence of our commerce at sea. He goes on to suggest the disposal of a surplus, which upon a true application of the principle underlying the Hofmeyr scheme—confined as it is to the collection by means of discriminating duties against aliens of an Imperial revenue for defensive purposes—would not exist. Another adaptation of the same idea, also without acknowledgment of origin, is put forward in the *Manchester Courier* and other northern and midland papers in a letter from Mr. G. A. Haig. His version of the scheme is as follows:—(1.) Give notice to terminate at the earliest lawful date all commercial treaties with foreign countries. (2.) Inform all our Colonies that Colonial goods shall, as soon as our treaties expire, enjoy a 10 per cent. preference in the United Kingdom over foreign goods, because we intend to impose on all foreign goods imported here (fibres alone excepted) a “special duty” of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, which shall be in addition to any “ordinary” Customs duty now payable or which may hereafter be imposed thereon, and from this “special duty” all Colonial goods shall be free. But raw fibres used for making textile fabrics or paper we are obliged by the exigencies of our position to except. (3.) The produce of this special duty to be paid into a fund to be called “The Imperial Defence Fund,” which shall be devoted solely to the defence of the Empire—that is, the support in all parts of the Empire of the army, navy, militia, volunteers, our great naval and military arsenals, the fortification of coaling stations and strategic positions—in fact, everything appertaining to the defence of the Empire. (4.) Suggest that each Colony should impose, in addition to all “ordinary” Custom duties now payable, or which may hereafter be imposed in such Colony, a similar “special duty” of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on all foreign goods imported into such Colony, and from which “special duty” all British goods shall be free. (5.) The produce of this “special duty” in the Colonies to be paid also into “The Imperial Defence Fund,” and each Colony so contributing to this Imperial Defence Fund to be entitled to a voice in the disposal of it. (6.) The Imperial Defence Fund to be kept entirely separate from the “ordinary” revenues of the United Kingdom and of the various Colonies, and to be in the hands of Commissioners representing all those who contribute to it, the Prime Minister, the Colonial Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Minister-at-War representing the United Kingdom, and each Colony contributing appointing one representative, but all voting in proportion to the amount contributed by their respective principals. These Commissioners would form the nucleus from which the future “Imperial Council” would spring, at, let me hope, no very distant date.

Though we prefer in principle the latter of these two applications of the Hofmeyr idea, we are not to be understood as endorsing either of them. The Hofmeyr principle, as briefly defined by ourselves above, we unhesitatingly adopt. The particular extent and form to be given to any scheme based upon that principle is a question which can only be settled by means of further conference between those responsible for the government of the various groups concerned. All and any forms of Imperial Reciprocity, however far beyond this they may go, or however fall short, we should welcome in so far as they mark and foster a spirit of unity. But we cannot too often make clear our position, that we do not regard Commercial Union as in any way constituting a condition precedent of Imperial Federation, or even as in any very direct way leading up to it. We should be rather inclined to say that it is more likely to follow Federation than to precede it. There are those who tell us that it is through the door of a commercial union of the Empire alone that the way to Federation lies. But we have to remember that, while these are saying, “If you would have Federation—see, it is here!” others are calling to us and saying “See it is there!” It is not long ago that one of the Agents-General was crying out that to talk of Federation was ridiculous while the laws

of the Empire were not assimilated on the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and demanding with an admirable modesty that the state of the law at present affecting a poor thirty-five million of people at home should at once be brought into harmony with that of the more important three millions in Australia. We have to take a wider platform than that which supports any of the pet theories of this or that school. As we said last month, we welcome the McKinley Tariff because of its general tendency to throw the component parts of the Empire more together, and because it opened many eyes for the first time to at least one element, though not a necessary element, of national unity, and generally brought the whole question of the solidarity of the Empire into fresh prominence. So likewise we welcome the evidence contained in the two letters above quoted of a recognition, on the part of those whose one idea of national unity lies in some form of commercial union, of the desirability of limiting the extent of their demands in that direction; and, though Mr. Ecroyd has not yet shaken himself free even of the old international character of Fair Trade which has been gradually sliding into the "Imperial," yet the partial adoption of the Hofmeyr basis of revenue for defence shows the direction in which he at least is tending, and the same tendency towards a purely Imperial objective is particularly noticeable also in the declarations of others who, with Mr. Ecroyd, began at quite an opposite pole of thought.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

No. VI.—(*Conclusion*).

BY JEHU MATHEWS.

To sum up what has been said upon the fiscal question before bringing these papers to a close:—I would propose that in order to secure a sufficient Federal revenue the Federal Legislature should enjoy unlimited power of taxation; but that, in order to secure an equitable distribution of taxation, each Province should be liable for only a definite proportion of the Federal expenditure, such proportion to be re-adjusted after each decennially recurring census; that to hinder attempts to escape payment the whole customs and excise revenue should be collected by officers of the Federal Government, the amount voted to it retained, and the balance handed over to the local governments, with the proviso that in case there were a deficit the Federal Legislature should provide such substitute as it saw fit; and that in order to prevent the commercial interests of one Province being sacrificed to those of another, each should, under certain limits, be left free to arrange its own tariff. Were this done no Province could be over-taxed without the fact becoming at once apparent; no difficulty about ways and means could arise, as Colonial customs alone would supply about treble their ordinary liabilities, and English customs and excise an amount fifty per cent. in excess of the demands falling on them; whilst no sectional dispute as to tariffs could arise with each section competent, within limits accepted by all, to arrange its own. My reasons for hoping that such a financial and commercial policy would work successfully, are the fact that under it only one of the many points on which financial and commercial controversy usually arises would remain open—that of the total amount to be expended; and the further fact that each Province could scarcely fail to see that disruption would almost inevitably entail an expenditure in excess of the amount of its contribution, besides a forfeiture of the direct benefits of Federation. Possessed of these guarantees against discord in those cash matters on which the Britons of the nineteenth century are usually most keenly sensitive, we might, I think, trust to experienced concord in the past, and improved relations in the future, for guarantees of harmony on diplomacy and armaments.

Could we draw thus near together we might, I think, reach as much corporate unity as would be needful to enable us to work a Pan-Britannic Federation profitably. I do not present these views as embodying a full and complete scheme of Federation, nor do I even mean to say that

with all I have sketched, completed in all its details, I would myself be fully satisfied. To form the best practicable scheme of Union would furnish work for the wisest and most patriotic statesmen, soldiers, jurists, and thinkers, from every corner of the Empire; and before they could draft the best scheme, they would have to consider the chance of getting it adopted. Now in forming any scheme of corporate union the facts should be remembered that the more intimate the alliance sought, the more numerous will be the sacrifices or concessions needed from the parts to the whole; the more difficult, therefore, will be attainment of its adoption; and, probably, the more difficult may be its realisation. For these reasons I have not in these papers either sought the best scheme of union myself, or exhorted the League to do so. What seems to me to be wanted is an understanding amongst our members as to the least intimate form of Union which can be effective. We all know that the proposed Federation must be a sovereign State, and that every such State is a corporation, or body of men, who for certain purposes must act as one. Macaulay tells us that "there cannot really be more than one supreme power in a Society," and that "very few propositions in politics can be so perfectly demonstrated as this, that Parliamentary government cannot be carried on by two really equal and independent Parliaments in one Empire;" while, on the other hand, Mill explains that the object of Federation is "to prevent wars amongst the members, and for the sake of more effectual protection against the aggression of powerful States." Agreeing with both of them, I would think that to secure the requisite co-operation we must act as one on diplomacy, armaments, finance, and commerce; and to prevent the apprehended discord we must have some one authority representing all, and supreme, for these purposes, over all the parts.

Now I neither presume to say, nor do I in secret believe, that if the League is to be a success it must think as I think on these matters. But I have no hesitation in saying that, in order to effect anything, it must adopt some definite position; at least, on all the questions which I have been examining. And in support of this view, I would cite to members and leaders the words of a foremost statesman and historian of the last generation on the conditions of effective co-operation—always and everywhere. Guizot, when examining the unity of the mediæval church, writes as follows:—"A common conviction—that is to say, an identical idea acknowledged as true—is the fundamental basis, the secret tie, of human society. One may stop at the most confined and simple association, or elevate oneself to the most complicated and extensive. We may examine what passes between three or four barbarians united for a hunting expedition; or in the midst of an assembly convoked to treat of the affairs of a great nation; everywhere, and under all circumstances, it is in the adhesion of individuals to the same thought that the fact of association essentially consists; so long as they do not comprehend one another they are mere isolated beings placed by the side of one another, but not holding together. A similar sentiment and doctrine, whatever may be its nature or object, is the first condition of the social state; it is in the midst of truth only, or what they take for truth, that men become united, and that society takes birth." Now, have League and leaders reached any clear understanding as to what is the truth in regard to Imperial Federation? If so, what is it? If not, what is the object of their existence? What policy or doctrine do they propose to impress upon the minds of our countrymen as desirable to be turned into a fact by legislation? What do we want to do? Reformers or innovationists of any sort can generally answer a like question very easily. They usually make war on something which they seek to destroy, and simply exclaim, "Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?" We, however, have advanced so far towards a common conviction as to know that we are not seeking to destroy so much as to construct, or, at least, reconstruct. And that being the case, we must, if we would vindicate our action and obtain support, explain for what purpose we would reconstruct the British Empire;

¹ "History of England," Chap. xxiii.

² "Representative Government," Chap. xvii.

³ "History of Civilisation in France," Lecture XII.

show that it is for a good purpose, and prove that such reconstruction is practicable. This requires a clear enunciation of the policy which we desire to see followed; and the time when it should be forthcoming, in the interest of our own movement, seems to me to have arrived. I repeat that I do not allege it to be our duty to propound a complete scheme of Union, but I do think that both statesmen and people have a right to expect from us a statement of what we desire to see effected by one. At all events, it seems clear that they are now looking to us for such statement; and, if so, omission to respond would almost certainly subject us to the judgment, "Weighed, and found wanting." Acceptance of such judgment would be confession of defeat. If we have the old blood in our veins, we shall, I think, scarcely accept defeat before we have well begun to fight for an enterprise in testimony to the real, practical expediency of which we can quote the words of one of the most prosaic of British Premiers: "Great changes have been made; great changes are impending. Amid these changes there is no greater benefit to mankind which a statesman can propose to himself than the consolidation of the British Empire."¹

Toronto, 1890.

MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

MR. (or, as it seems we ought to style him, Dr.) Bakewell's imaginary conversation on the "Loyalty of the Colonies," noticed in these columns at the time of publication, calls forth two rejoinders in the November reviews. In the *Nineteenth Century* Dr. Barry, late Bishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia, has a valuable article in reply. Self-interest, he says, the one standpoint of Dr. Bakewell's "Colonist," is not everything, though that also in his estimation points in the direction of unity. There are higher and nobler feelings and aspirations, and he repudiates on the part of the Colonies such meanness and narrowness as is often attributed to them; for which reputation, however, we must observe parenthetically, they have only themselves to thank, inasmuch as their leaders are too often ashamed to speak to their populace of anything else but self-interest. Bishop Barry holds—and, we are happy to believe, rightly holds—that the latent loyalty of the Colonies would be evoked and strengthened, not weakened, by stress of national danger or emergency. Putting "patriotism," which implies brotherhood, for "loyalty," which he says implies sonship, this sentiment he believes will be the inspiring one of the future. He entirely favours the policy of a political federation of the Empire, but regrets the name "Imperial"—as who does not? "But," he adds, "under whatever title, I hold it absolutely necessary that some true federation between the Mother Country and her free Colonies should be realised, so that all shall have some share in determining the national policy, which in its results must be applied to all." And he says that as the Colonies grow, "the only possible alternative of closer unity or fatal disintegration will be more and more plainly forced upon us." A vast confederation of English-speaking States, including the United States, Bishop Barry regards as a vision, and one not very attractive to English minds and hearts—and "why," he pertinently asks, "give up for that a bond that is already a reality?" Imperial Federation is at present in the air; but "what is in the air is apt, for good or evil, to manifest itself in due time visibly and tangibly upon the earth." What we have to do now is to familiarise ourselves (and, we might add, others) with the idea, and grasp it firmly; the growth may be slow, but the question is one that *must be faced*. The article concludes with the following passage:—"To make a small country great was the aspiration of ancient statesmanship. It will be a poor statesmanship, in these later days, which will not strain every nerve to prevent a great Empire from being broken into fragments weak and small. If only those who lead show here a bold and generous leadership, I for one believe that there will be loyalty and patriotism enough to respond to it heartily, both here at home and in the many new Englands with which we have fairly girdled the world."

Major G. E. Clarke, R.E., writing in the *United Service Magazine* on the "Navy and the Colonies," replies to Dr. Bakewell's plea for independent Australia by taking him on his own ground of self-interest and setting forth the advantages which the Australian Colonies reap from remaining part of the Empire. He summarises them as follows:—(1) Their commerce, which is their very life, will receive the protection of the greatest naval Power of the world. (2) The necessary standard of the local defences of their ports is reduced to a minimum. They require to be able to resist a cruiser raid, and no more; since no hostile fleet can reach them in force, except on condition of defeating

and destroying strong British squadrons. (3) Military establishments calculated to resist an expeditionary force need not be maintained. (4) Rumours of French or German aggression in the Pacific need not involve them in increased military expenditure, and the waste which all scare-measures invariably entail. (5) Difficulties with China imply work for the Foreign Office at home, and nothing more. (6) The Cape, the first halting-place of their main war trade-route, is part of themselves. (7) Protected coaling-stations, capable of sheltering their trade, stand ready all over the world, without entailing the smallest burden on their finances. (8) At the worst, war insurance rates will only be those which the Mother Country might have to pay, and would diminish as soon as the naval might of the Empire had gained time for full development. What would be the insurance rates demanded of a South American Republic at war with a great naval Power?

The opening sentence of Major Clarke's article contains a vast amount of truth in a very few words. He begins by saying, "The most probable dissolvent of the Empire is ignorance." He is speaking of the ignorance which exists in all quarters concerning the Empire at large; but he soon goes on to speak of another kind of ignorance—ignorance of history of affairs, of the world. It is sheer ignorance which allows Dr. Bakewell's "Colonist" to say that, in the event of war, "we should declare our independence at once, and with that issue a declaration of neutrality; neither party would care to attack us, for our naval force, small though it would be" (a second-class torpedo-boat in the case of New Zealand, Major Clarke throws in parenthetically) "would suffice to enable us to obtain respect as independent republics." There are persons capable of accepting this remarkable plan of campaign. But, as Major Clarke asks, what Power would recognise for a moment the "declaration of neutrality" issued by one of the Australian Colonies—self-proclaimed a State—with the avowed intention of avoiding consequences? Another phase of ignorance is touched on, in the hazy notions entertained of the grounds of Australasian security. Neither "Globe Trotter" nor "Colonist" in Dr. Bakewell's dialogue perceives that it is not only, nor perhaps even principally, upon the Australian squadron, but on other squadrons, maintained by the British taxpayer, that the security of the Colonies really depends. The necessary standard of defence for their ports is determined absolutely by the effectiveness of those squadrons. Why, if this protection were withdrawn, "nobody would care to attack Australia," Dr. Bakewell has not explained. Instead of leaving them alone, other Powers would, as Major Clarke replies, turning on him his own phrase, destroy them "on purely commercial principles." Major Clarke reaches the conclusion that most people now come to who think on the subject at all, that in the near future the alternative before us will be Imperial Federation or partial disintegration. He claims for the Colonies a nobler future than that of the South American Republics, as parts of an Empire "which can exist only under the ægis of the flag which Dr. Bakewell discards."

Major-General Strange continues in the same magazine his paper commenced last month. He declares that of all the disunited States of Greater Britain, Australasia appears to be the most disunited. The chief cause of the reaction against Imperial Federation in Australia is, he thinks, first, the abandonment of Northern New Guinea to the Germans, and secondly, the despatch of French *républicains* to New Caledonia. The only remedy against the occurrence of such difficulties would be the insistence by the Colonies upon a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire. If Australia were to cut the painter, her present population would be the richest and most defenceless people in the world, having no army, navy, arsenals, or ammunition sufficient for a week's fighting. Germany, he thinks, will inevitably annex Holland, and from Java and New Guinea would be strongly tempted to advance upon unprotected Australia. The new generation is much less patriotic, and the only chance of uniting the Empire is while the old Colonists still live. History is not one of the subjects taught in the State Schools of Victoria, and but little of it in the other Colonies. When speaking on this subject to a wealthy and cultivated Australian, a graduate of Oxford, he was told, "They did not desire their young people to waste time over the histories of played-out old peoples, but to make history for themselves." He got no clear answer to his query, "What sort of history do you suppose will be made by a people who are not only ignorant of the history of the great race from which they sprang, but of all other races?" Let the reader picture to himself the mind of a young person, almost devoid of historic knowledge, living in a far-off Colony, where nature assumes a somewhat monotonous aspect, where there are no historic associations. As our appreciation of general literature is mainly due to such historic knowledge, is it surprising that the young Australian of both sexes, though musical, is not an imaginative or reading person? Upon these practical but unimaginative people depend the future relations of their country to ours. The old Colonist is passing away, and is succeeded by his sons, who talk as if they, and not their fathers, had built up the marvellous growth of the Antipodes.

¹ Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 202.

Mr. Moreton Frewen, in the course of an article in the *Fortnightly* on the national policy of the United States, says:—"The difficulties [which confronted Hamilton and Madison in 1787] were exactly those in kind, but infinitely greater in degree, which to-day attend the construction of a federal constitution for Great Britain and her Colonies. Then, as to-day, there was no question of a forcible absorption; if the thirteen States were to come together, it was necessary to persuade them that there was a cash value in federal unity. The American constitution was accordingly drafted on the principle *do ut des*—of free exports for free imports: any State that joined the Union could sell freely in every market in the Union, but the goods of any recalcitrant community were to be boycotted. . . . And this vastly unsentimental link, Free Trade within, Protection without—the system which England, though in the throes of a constitutional crisis, not only will not imitate, but which to-day she advises America to discard—how admirably it has continued to serve its purpose. It has attracted, and still must attract, the greater portion of all the immigration from foreign lands, and, having once attracted the settler, it serves no less to keep him." . . . "Had England also opened her market freely, but to Colonial produce only, it is safe to say that millions of our emigrants who have swelled the muster-roll of the United States, would still have been citizens of the British Empire, and our trade with our own Colonies would have been enormously larger." Mr. Frewen appears to expect that the effect of the McKinley Tariff will be to detach Canada from the Empire. It must be remembered that he had written his article before the people of the United States had shown that they agreed with the view taken of it, and pressed upon them, by public opinion in England. He believes, however, that though it may lose us Canada—a result he scarcely deprecates with the emphasis to be expected of an Imperial Federationist, treating it rather as Canada's affair only—the McKinley Tariff is more than likely to win over to a wiser and a greater Britain, not Canada alone, but also Australasia and South Africa.

In the *Review of Reviews* Mr. Henniker Heaton has an article on "Ocean Penny Postage." At the Jubilee Postal Dinner, in January last, the Postmaster-General challenged him to prove that the Colonies—especially India and Australasia—could show a sufficient "area of productivity," or in other words, that there was a reasonable probability of their furnishing correspondence enough to make the penny rate remunerative. The figures which he proceeds to set forth give eloquent refutation to this doubt. And if the 5d. and 6d. rates have not been able to prevent the rising of the tide, what may we look for when the flood-gates are opened by the institution of the penny rate? The Secretary of the Post Office, Sir A. Blackwood, declared that the officials "kept no statistics of their foreign and Colonial mails despatched and received, that it was not necessary, and that it would involve great expense!" Mr. Heaton, therefore, made it his business to procure directly from the Colonial and Foreign Governments concerned, the statistics denied him at home, and in every case met with the utmost courtesy, and was supplied at once with the fullest information. "This was especially the case," he says, "in the United States and Canada, where I have recently completed the task I had set myself of investigating these figures. And I find that there is on the average an increase in the correspondence that reaches our shores of about 100 per cent. in ten years—in some cases 300 per cent. We know that the mails sent out from this country stand in proportion to the incoming mails as five to four, or thereabouts, and we see at once how irresistible are the instincts and influences which produce this never-ceasing ebb and flow of human intercourse, by which the wants of the civilised world are made known and supplied."

"There is a rumour," Mr. Heaton says, "and it comes to us from various directions, that the American Government, which includes among other able men, in Mr. Wannamaker, the Postmaster-General, a statesman of unsurpassed astuteness and far-sightedness, is about to negotiate a Convention establishing a penny transatlantic post to Europe, generally, so as to include Germany. As such a service would be far less costly than the domestic Mexican and Canadian penny post of the States, and would both stimulate American manufactures and gratify millions of citizens who have connections in Europe, we cannot wonder at the adoption of a measure that must be both profitable and popular. But one may be excused for regretting that the historic leadership of Great Britain in all matters of postal progress is at last to be tamely abdicated, and that her primacy among the Anglo-Saxon nations is to be abandoned in favour of a young and aspiring nationality, which, though closely akin to us, has never scrupled to sacrifice our interest to its own convenience." Upon this the Editor makes the following comments:—"Ocean Penny Postage is coming, but not, I regret to say as a patriotic Briton, through the initiative of my own country. The honour, thanks to the obstinacy of Mr. Raikes, and the lack of resolution on the part of his colleagues, is destined to fall to the American Republic. Ocean Penny Postage is good, no matter how it is obtained, but it is difficult to repress an

expression of poignant regret that the boon should be attained shorn of the advantages which might have accompanied it had the Ministers of the Queen been capable of a broad and generous resolution. The leadership in the cause of cheap international postage might have been ours, and by making the English-speaking world the area within which a penny was the universal medium of postal communication, we might have affirmed before all men that greater brotherhood which knows neither Empire nor Republic, but makes of one family all the English-speaking nations of the world. According to Mr. Henniker Heaton's report, which I publish below, the American Government is fully resolved to introduce a Bill in the next session of Congress, establishing penny postage between America and Europe. The suggestion to make the penny post continuous with the English-speaking race met with no response at Washington, for Mr. Henniker Heaton was promptly reminded that the American Republic was by no means exclusively English-speaking. The German element was too strong to allow politicians even to entertain for one moment any extension of cheap postage to England without also including Germany. Thus it is not only that the leadership of the English-speaking races has been allowed to drop from the hands of Britain, but it has passed to those of a Government which is largely Anglo-German."

PATRIOTIC TO THE CORE.

THE above is one of many headlines in which the *Empire* characterises a great oration delivered, on October 13th, at the National Club in Toronto by Principal Grant, of Kingston, upon the "National Position and Aim of Canada." The address was indeed one that justified the enthusiastic reception given to it by the audience and the press. It was the first of a series of addresses on Canadian subjects instituted by the National Club. Mr. Barlow Cumberland, president of the club, introduced the speaker of the evening, the audience having first of all sung "God Save the Queen." Dr. Grant's address was of considerable length and covered a wider range of topics specially Canadian, than those great national and Imperial questions that have a close interest for others beyond the borders of the great Dominion. We should like to be able to report him more fully on these latter questions but must ask our readers outside the Dominion to be content with sufficient extracts to show the general tenor of the speaker's observations. Readers in Canada have of course long ago had the verbatim report of the whole speech in their own newspapers.

"Different estimates" (said Dr. Grant) "are made of what our immediate future is likely to be, and no wonder, for our political position is perhaps unique in history. As a matter of fact, we are something more than a Colony and something less than a nation. A Colony is a dependency, we are practically independent. A nation has full self-government, not only as regards local questions, but as regards all foreign relations, including peace, war, and treaty making. We have not ventured to undertake those supreme responsibilities, either alone or as a partner, and therefore we are not a nation. Our actual position is veiled by the kindly courtesy of the Mother Country. It is the custom to associate a Canadian representative with the British ambassador when negotiations affecting our interests are carried on with other States. This year, too, Lord Salisbury, after submitting since 1886—in our interest as well as in the common interest—to aggressions that would not have been allowed to any other Power on earth for a week, at last was constrained to inform Secretary Blaine that the country that continued to capture Canadian ships on the high seas must be

PREPARED TO TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES.

(Cheers.) So far nothing more could be desired; but we cannot forget that Lord Salisbury—nominally responsible to the Queen—is really responsible to the British House of Commons, and that neither in that House nor in the Queen's Privy Council have we any constitutional representation. Few will maintain that the position is satisfactory either to Canada or Britain. In these circumstances men cannot avoid speculating concerning our future, nor is it any wonder that diverse views are entertained concerning what that future is likely to be. Every day speculation is going on. Every one else takes a hand in it, and why should we keep silent? Only a month or two ago the most distinguished student of history in Canada told an audience that political union with the great Republic to the south of us was our manifest destiny. The newspaper that published his address did not agree with him, but declared editorially that "Canada's ultimate destiny is to become a great independent nation." How fortunate that the adjective 'ultimate' was inserted! . . . In considering the position of Canada my first question is whether ground can be found on which men of different views will consent to stand. There is such ground. Whether we separate from the Empire to form an independent State, or remain in the Empire, gradually evolving into a position of closer union and equality of constitutional privilege and responsibility, it is equally a matter of the first importance that Canada be united and strong. No matter, then, which of the two destinies we believe the future to have in store for us, our duty is

TO BE "CANADA-FIRST" MEN.

This is ground that both Unionist and Separatist can take honestly. If a man professes independence with the intention of immediately breaking Canada up and handing it over in pieces to another Power,

he, of course, cannot take this common ground. But it is quite needless to say that there are no such men in Canada.

"There are two parties to the existing union between Britain and Canada, and if one of them—represented by our House of Commons—has no desire to break the union, the other has just as little. Last month I was in Halifax, and took a sail on the harbour. Near the dockyard six ships of war, each a match for a fleet of the last generation, slept on the water. Beside them lay two or three modern torpedo boats that had just crossed the Atlantic, and not far off was a dry dock built at the joint expense of the British and Canadian Governments and the City of Halifax. Beyond the harbour at York Redoubt, and on the opposite point of McNab's Island, Britain is now spending a part of its great special war vote, extending the old forts and fitting them with new armaments. There is

NO SIGN ANYWHERE

that separation is thought of by responsible persons. And does the separatist fancy that the greatest Empire in the world will dissolve itself at the first summons? that its Government will give up without a struggle impregnable positions, the headquarters of its North America and West India squadrons, the Atlantic terminus of its alternative route to that crowded East, where its interests are becoming vaster every year? that one of the parties to the existing contract has the right to terminate the connection in a fit of irritation, or that, if it should deliberately make up its mind to that as a policy, it could remain a friend, or actually hope for assistance should assistance be needed soon afterwards for the preservation of independence? All this, however, by the way."

"Admittedly, this platform is not wide enough for the annexationist. His platform is different, whether it be considered good or bad.

... But, though the annexationist must be left out of count tonight, this probably does not matter much. During the last fifteen months I have been in every Province of the Dominion, and after inviting the frankest interchange of opinion everywhere, I came to the conclusion that there is less thought of annexation now than at any time during the last forty years. The growing sentiment of Canadian nationality is quietly killing it out."

"Next to our need of a better understanding of one another is the need of a right attitude to other countries, especially to our neighbours. ... The schism that took place when the thirteen Colonies broke away from the Empire has been a grievous bar to their own development on the best side, and to the progress of humanity. No greater boon can be conferred on the race than the healing of that schism. That is the work that Canada is appointed by its position and history to do, if only it has a great enough heart for the work. How to do it will tax our wisdom as well as our faith. One thing is clear. We can do nothing if we barter our honour for some hope of immediate gain. The man who does not respect himself will never be respected by others. Much more is that true of the nation. The man may have death-bed repentance and a future life, but there is no life for the nation in the hereafter. What is the right attitude for us? To guard the independence we have gained in the course of successive struggles, and to guard our national as carefully as we would our individual honour. Language is sometimes used that looks in the direction of

SURRENDERING OUR FISCAL INDEPENDENCE

to a foreign Power, and at the same time of discriminating against our own Empire and the rest of the world. The first means national extinction, and the second is as unreasonable and as impossible as it would be for Britain to discriminate against us. The fewer restrictions on trade the better. Free trade would be good for us and better for our neighbours, and next to free trade are fair treaties of reciprocity. But let us not use ambiguous language. Let us not call that unrestricted trade which means free trade with one foreign nation and prohibited trade with our own commonwealth and every one else. That would ensure for us the contempt of the one foreign nation and the righteous indignation of all others with whom we are now trading. I need say no more on this, for I believe that the independence and honour of Canada are safe with Canadian statesmen of both parties. If, however, any of them should waver, the people will not. ... I have spoken of the high aim that Canadians should carry in their hearts, and always keep before their eyes, when they think of the future. A great people will have a worthy aim, and such an aim will prove an ennobling inspiration. ... We are to build up a North American Dominion, permeated with the principles of righteousness, worthy to be the living link, the permanent bond of union, between Britain and the United States. That ideal may be far in the distance. So is the pole star. Yet sailors steered by it for centuries."

"But, you say, we must think of the present more than of the future. You ask me whether I have nothing to say with regard to our present duty. Here we are face to face with serious problems affecting our daily life, and pressing us in their most acute form, through the recent legislation of our neighbours. What should be our attitude with regard to these? ... As regards the United States, its action has been long considered and fully discussed, and there is not the remotest likelihood of its being changed in a hurry. ... Once they were sure that our destiny was 'to drop like a ripe plum' into their mouths—a nice fate, by the way, for the plum; but now they see that we are making a nation. Mr. Blaine expressed the general view when he declared openly that this was wholly incompatible with our having free trade with them. As he puts it, we cannot be 'Canadians and Americans at the same time.' Well, we

MEAN TO BE CANADIANS, ANYWAY.

(Cheers.) That is the present position in the United States. It is folly for us to shut our eyes to the facts. ... In stating the case, I have no intention of finding fault with the United States. Our own attitude proves that if we had been in their circumstances, we would have acted in precisely the same way. We, too, are afraid of com-

peting with what our neighbours call 'pauper labour,' or even of competing with what one of our newspapers calls 'the pauper hens of Holland, Germany, and France.' While our neighbours were preparing their unfriendly Bill, we gave them all the excuse that could have been desired by placing new taxes on their corn and pork; at the very moment when we are more dependent than ever on the open markets of Britain, some of us propose to shut our doors against her, as the price of conciliating those who announce that we cannot be Canadians and Americans at the same time. The United States may be selfish in politics, but they have never proposed anything quite so selfish as that."

"I have indicated the United States position. The policy of Britain we all know. We are between the two. What course shall we take? If we imitate the United States, we shall proceed to double our duties on almost everything that we tax now. Every sane man will admit that we cannot afford that. We simply cannot afford to make living in Canada dearer. If we imitate Great Britain, we shall at once reverse all our previous policy. Almost every one will admit that we cannot afford so violent a disturbance as that. Is there any middle course?"

"For answer, I shall indicate three points that I have thought out, though there is barely time now to do more than state them. First, that to fill the gap made by the McKinley Bill in our volume of trade, we must look chiefly to an increased trade with Britain. In one way the country that lies alongside of us for three or four thousand miles is certainly our natural market, but it is just as certain that Great Britain is also

OUR NATURAL MARKET.

She is ready to take almost everything we produce, and distance by water is of far less consequence than distance by land. It is clear, too, that we must buy more from her as well as sell more to her if we are to largely increase our dealings. Secondly, if we are to have commercial union with only one country, it would be more natural to form such a union with Great Britain than with the United States. There would, in that case, be less disturbance even of our manufacturing interests; for the differences between Canada and Britain have led here to lines of manufactures in which, under any arrangement with her, we could easily hold our own, or even preserve an unchallenged supremacy. These lines of manufacture would be at once multiplied and strengthened by the introduction of the one article of free iron from Great Britain. On the other hand, there is not a single line of manufactures in which the United States are not our keen competitors. With regard, again, to the manufactures in which Britain excels us, not only would consumers, in the event of free trade, get the benefit of cheap goods, but the merchants, especially along the border, would find their business increasing by leaps and bounds. Besides, in any such union with Britain we could depend upon her stable trade policy and her friendliness, both matters of importance, as the history of our relations with the United States for half a century abundantly shows. Thirdly

RETALIATION BY US WOULD BE RIDICULOUS.

I do not say that retaliation is out of the question in every case. Sometimes it is the best way of bringing others to a reasonable frame of mind. Cobden could never have made his celebrated convention with France if Britain had been previously admitting all French products free. He had something to offer that it was worth France's while to accept. In the same way Canada and Britain will not get any reasonable measure of free trade with the United States till unitedly they can offer something which in the opinion of Congress is as good as that which we want from them. If, then, Canada would agree to abolish its duties on British products and manufactures, or even keep on them a small revenue tariff for a short time, and if Britain would agree to discriminate against countries refusing any reasonable reciprocity with her and with us, that would give us the weapon we need. That course would have other advantages. In my opinion it would be the best course, not only for Canada, but for Britain."

"If you agree with me on these points, it follows that we should approach the British Government with a reasonable offer, and find out whether any arrangement can be made. We have approached Washington time and again. Ought we not to

TRY LONDON

now? We are dogmatically told that Britain will never discriminate. It will be time enough for us to believe that when we are willing to share in the sacrifice that any change requires, or when she herself says so. At any rate, that which is worth getting is worth asking. It is clear to me that our policy should follow henceforth the British rather than the United States system. It is clear that if we are to throw in our lot fiscally with any other nation, we should do so with the Mother Country. ... Our policy must be decided. Since our neighbours will not trade with us, we must do everything in reason to open the avenues of trade, not only with Britain, but with related countries. Commercial treaties with the West Indies on one side and Australia on the other, a fast steamship service across the Atlantic, the deepening of the St. Lawrence canals, a cable and a line of steamships to Australia and New Zealand, a railway to Hudson's Bay, are all moves in the right direction."

Natal.—In all the speeches of Sir J. Robinson and Mr. Escombe there has been no contention that if there was a native war Natal could fight her own battles. If it had been so contended, no one would have believed it, and Mr. Escombe took the more manly course of contending that the Home Government would always have to assist with troops in case of native wars, whether the Natal Government had responsible government or not. That is unquestionably true too; but then the Imperial Government, aware of this, and knowing how little would bring about a war on the Natal border, will pause before they give the government of the natives into the hands of Escombe and Robinson of their own accord.—*Diamond Fields Advertiser*.

CANADA AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

MEETING IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

AT the offices of the London Chamber of Commerce, a meeting of the City of London Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on November 5th "To draw attention to the recent expressions of loyalty to the Motherland by leading Canadian statesmen." Sir John Lubbock, M.P., presided, and among those present were Sir R. N. Fowler, M.P., Admiral Sir John Hay, M.P., General Laurie, M.P., Canada, Senator R. R. Dobell, Quebec, Sir Henry Doulton, Colonel Howard Vincent, M.P., Sir John Simon, Colonel Ward, and Messrs. W. Herbert Daw, Clarence F. Leighton, J. G. Barry, W. Gee, Peter Redpath, M. Mowat, Norman Shairp, David Evans, J. W. Butterworth, Evelyn Hubbard, Kenric B. Murray, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce; Arthur H. Loring, Secretary of the League; and C. Freeman Murray, Secretary of the Branch. The receipt of telegrams or letters was announced from Sir A. Rollit, M.P., the Earl of Winchelsea, Sir Mark Collet, Mr. Sutherland, M.P., and Sir Fowell Buxton, all of whom regretted their inability to attend the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN, after thanking them for the honour they had done him in electing him president of the Branch, stated that meetings were not held in that place unless the Chamber were quite sure that they were acting in accordance with the wishes of the citizens generally. (Hear, hear.) Even if the Imperial Federation League did not succeed in their aim, even if nature forbade it, and the difficulties of distance proved insuperable, still it would be well to have made the attempt. Our fellow-countrymen over the water would feel that, at any rate, the final separation was due to no want of warmth or goodwill on our part, and this would tend to maintain those friendly feelings which helped so much to facilitate the settlement of those questions which must occasionally arise. He, however, believed that few of them took so gloomy a view of the future. (Hear, hear.) Imperial Federation was a step forward. An American orator was said to have boasted that the United States were bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the south by the Pole, on the east by the rising sun, and on the west by the Day of Judgment. (Laughter.) So far as the American's boundaries were accurate or geographical, our Empire had even wider limits. We were, moreover, still extending our bounds, but even more important than the acquisition of additional territory was to consolidate that which was already our own. (Hear, hear.) He had been very sorry to see that Mr. Gladstone had recently deprecated the idea of a customs union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Mr. Gladstone said that, while increasing our trade with the Colonies, it would infallibly contract that with the rest of the world. Why should it do so? He was astonished that any Free Trader should take such a line. The union with Scotland and Ireland did not diminish our foreign trade. The more all artificial barriers were removed the better. (Hear, hear.) There was, he feared, no immediate prospect of such a step, but he would gladly hope that some of them might live to see it. Every one must feel that the wider we extended our union and the more we abolished all restrictions on intercourse and free trade the better. (Hear, hear.) . . . He thought that the great work which the League had to do at present was to educate public opinion. The immediate object of their meeting that day was not, however, to discuss the steps which might be taken to promote the great aim they had in view, but to express the gratification they had felt at recent utterances of Canadian statesmen, and especially at the friendly and loyal resolution which had been unanimously adopted by the Canadian Legislature. They might rest assured that they in London, and, indeed, throughout the United Kingdom—an expression which he hoped would one day receive an even wider meaning—heartily reciprocated their expressions of good will. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) They were proud of their Canadian fellow-countrymen; and he hoped, as he believed, that time would unite them more and more firmly together, and that for ages and ages to come they and their brethren over the water might form part of one great and powerful, because united, Empire. (Cheers.)

SIR R. N. FOWLER, M.P., proposed the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, heartily reciprocating the recent expressions of loyalty by leading Canadian statesmen and the loyal vote of the Canadian Parliament, considers that the present is an opportune moment for consultation with the Imperial Federation League in Canada as to what steps would best promote a closer union between Canada and the Motherland."

After apologising for the unavoidable absence of the Lord Mayor, the speaker said he thought that they must all feel that this was a very important meeting, and that it was the great desire of every Englishman to bind closer together the various parts of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) The Colonies had endeavoured to establish communications between the western shores of the great Dominion of Canada and the Colonies in the southern ocean—New Zealand and Australia. This was a step towards binding together the different parts of the British Empire. He regarded Canada as one of the greatest dominions on the face of the earth. . . . They must all feel that the tie between Great Britain and Canada was one of the most important connections in existence, and it was of vital importance that the good feeling which existed between the two great countries should be maintained, increased, and strengthened. (Hear, hear.) He had, therefore, the greatest pleasure in proposing the resolution.

MR. F. FAITHFULL BEGG, the chairman of the Council, seconded the resolution.

He stated that they had been careful in framing the resolution so that it should be of advantage if it were passed. It set out what had

been in entire accord with the Imperial Federation League in the past. The League had never tried to force matters forward, but had confined itself almost exclusively to collecting opinions and in trying to foster the spirit which they believed existed, and out of which would grow that closer union which they had been so constantly advocating. An exemplification of this was found in the great conference which the League promoted in the Jubilee year. The Australian Colonies were now engaged in an effort to federate themselves, and he believed, from what he had read in the Colonial papers, that they would succeed in that aim; but it was perfectly clear to the authorities at the headquarters of the League that while this effort was progressing it would be impossible to advocate, as they had intended to advocate, the holding of another great conference. This, however, was a sufficient reason for their taking advantage of the interim to seize upon such opportunities as the present to forward the cause which they had at heart. (Hear, hear.) He thought that beneath the loyalty of the Canadians there was something still wider and deeper than that word indicated. He believed that they might say that the Canadians were thoroughly patriotic, and that it was out of their deep-seated patriotism that their loyalty sprang. Having referred to the feeling which was excited in the Dominion by the Trent incident, he observed that even if it should be necessary, in order to promote the objects of the League, that they should sacrifice a small amount of the principle of what they had been accustomed to call Free Trade, so important did he consider the question of the Federation of the Empire that he thought they might fairly consider whether they should not do so. He believed that the League must shortly be prepared with a programme with which to go to the country.

GENERAL LAURIE, M.P. (Canada), in supporting the motion, thought he was bound to assume, knowing what had occurred in Canada, that the special expressions of the Canadian statesman which had been referred to were brought out by the so-called McKinley Tariff Act—a subject which he thought taught them a lesson of considerable importance.

He altogether dissented from the view that this Act had been conceived in a spirit of hostility to England or to Canada. . . . The citizens of the United States had done what they could to benefit the industries of their own country, and to trade with one another rather than with outsiders; and this, he took it, was at the bottom of any work which the Imperial Federation League could do. He stood in a somewhat peculiar position, because in Canada he was an Englishman, while here he was a Canadian. He was not there to speak about Free Trade or Protection, as to which the Dominion held one view and England another. Canada had a very large expenditure to meet, and he was sure that they would recognise that the Canadians were doing their duty fairly and well as citizens of the British Empire. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Indirect taxation was the method which they had adopted for meeting the necessities of their position; and in connection with indirect taxation they were undoubtedly protecting their own industries. Canada wanted to deal with England and other parts of the Empire preferentially, but the British Government in 1862 and in 1865 interposed two treaties, which prevented them from dealing with the Mother Country unless they gave the same advantages to Belgium and the Zollverein. The Canadians had shown their desire to remain a portion of the Empire; and he did not think that it was possible for any part of the Empire to give a better proof of its loyalty than the Dominion gave at the time of the Trent affair, to which reference had been made. (Hear, hear.) There were considerable difficulties to face in pressing Imperial Federation upon Canadians generally. An expression had been used which in itself was quite right—"a union of the English-speaking races;" but in Canada there were 1,200,000 French-Canadians who were as loyal to the Queen as any man in Yorkshire or Kent, and such expressions were apt to cause irritation. He had heard it said, for instance, that this was an attempt to force the English language on the French-Canadians. The true way in which to build up Imperial Federation was by closer trade connections. Englishmen had it in their power to give advantageous trade relations to the various outlying portions of the Empire, and through these trade relations they would come into closer union with each other. (Cheers.)

MR. DOBELL also supported the resolution, and said he entirely endorsed all the observations of General Laurie.

If, however, the Canadians were true to themselves, he firmly believed that they would not find their trade dissipated, as many seemed to imagine. (Hear, hear.) He thought they ought to try and have closer and larger trade between themselves—not only between Great Britain and the Colonies, but between the Colonies themselves, when they would not feel the effect of such legislation as that which had just befallen them by the action of the United States. He thought that if a conference could be held in London, with delegates from the different Colonies to discuss simply and purely trade questions, it would have a very beneficial effect. The Colonies were more than satisfied with the result of the conference on Imperial defence, and he believed that the result of another conference on purely fiscal questions would be equally successful.

On the motion of ADMIRAL SIR JOHN HAY, who expressed a hope that the result of the meeting would be to strengthen the union between Great Britain and Canada, seconded by SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he was sure that they had listened with very much interest to the speeches of their Canadian friends. (Hear, hear.) Naturally there must be some differences of opinion in regard to tariff questions. There were many in this country who believed that, great as the progress of Canada had been, it would have been even greater if she had followed the example of the Mother

Country in adopting Free Trade. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) These, however, were points on which they could not be quite agreed; but a conference such as that which had been suggested might arrive at a satisfactory solution of such difficult questions. He trusted that their friends would carry back with them the feeling that in this country the expressions of their leading citizens in their anxiety to draw closer the bonds which united the two countries to each other were heartily reciprocated.

A FEDERAL CONSTITUTION SKETCHED.

THE Bishop of Manchester's demand for a plan of Federation—for something in black and white to help people to get the thing into their heads—has met with a prompt response from Professor Cyril Ransome, who, it will be remembered, not long since published a summary styled "A Charter of National Unity." His later contribution to the cause may be regarded as an amplification of that charter. Professor Ransome has made his scheme public through the correspondence columns of some of the leading papers in Lancashire and Yorkshire. His scheme of "A Federal Constitution for the British Empire" is formulated under the following heads:—

1. The Parliament of each self-governing section or self-constituted group of sections of the British Empire to have, subject to the veto of the Crown acting by the advice of the Imperial Cabinet (see below), exclusive and complete control over all its affairs, except those which are reserved for the Imperial Government.
2. The Imperial Government to consist of the Crown, the Imperial Ministry, and the Imperial Parliament.
3. The functions of the Crown with respect to the Imperial Ministry and Parliament to be what they now are with respect to the Ministry and Parliament of the United Kingdom.
4. The Imperial Ministry to consist of a Minister of Finance; a Minister of Foreign Affairs; a Minister for War, who shall have control over the Imperial Army; a Minister for Naval Affairs, who shall have control over the Imperial Navy; a Minister of Crown Colonies and Dependencies (the holders of these offices to be *ex officio* members of the Cabinet); a Minister of Internal Communications, and such others as may from time to time be found necessary. The Ministers to be appointed by the Crown, and responsible to the Imperial Parliament.
5. The Imperial Parliament to be elected on the basis of allowing to each self-governing section or group of sections, one representative for, say, every 250,000 inhabitants (special arrangements being made in the case of sections where the mass of the inhabitants are neither British nor European), the method of election to be decided upon in each case by the section or sections concerned.
6. The Imperial Executive to have power, subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament:—
 - (a) To deal with all matters of Imperial concern, such as the relations of the Empire and of every section of the Empire with foreign Powers, and with all territories declared to be the common property of the Empire, or under its protection, *i.e.*, Crown Colonies.
 - (b) To declare war or make peace.
 - (c) To provide and equip an Imperial Army and Navy, and to direct their operations.
 - (d) To carry out such measures as are deemed advisable for the furtherance of internal communication by ocean posts, telegraphs, or otherwise.
7. The Imperial Parliament to have power to raise an Imperial revenue, and to appropriate it to specific purposes, and to legislate on all matters reserved as Imperial affairs.
8. An Imperial Court of Appeal to be created:—
 - (i.) To determine all questions of dispute as to the interpretation of the Constitution, or as to the distinction between local and Imperial affairs.
 - (ii.) To determine disputes between different sections of the Empire.
 - (iii.) To determine appeals against the decisions of sectional courts.
9. The seat of government to be fixed by a vote of the Imperial Parliament.

In introducing it to the public, Professor Ransome writes:—

In his speech at Mr. Parkin's meeting, the Bishop of Manchester gave public expression to a thought that has been growing in many minds—*viz.*, that little progress will be made in popularising the idea of Imperial Federation until some scheme has been put forward which, however it may have to be modified in detail, will serve to fix the attention of the masses, and exhibit in a concrete form what Imperial Federation may ultimately become.

Though such a scheme admits of endless variety of detail, the broad lines are simple enough. We in Great Britain must be prepared to grant to the Colonists a full share in the management of Imperial affairs; in return, the Colonists must pay their full share of Imperial expenses. Neither of these can be attained without a reconstruction of government in the direction of creating a body which, as the Imperial Parliament, would stand towards the local Parliaments of the Empire in something of the same relationship as the Legislatures of the separate Canadian Provinces stand to the Parliament of the Dominion. Such a change would doubtless be a revolution. But what is the alternative? It is childish to expect that Colonies already equal to some sections of the British Isles in wealth and population, and in the aggregate only excelled by England, will always be content to take their policy from Westminster; and, on the other hand, that Great Britain will always be content to pay the expenses entailed on her by the defence of herself and of the Colonies, and of the ocean traffic of the whole Empire. The two maxims of the British Constitution, "What concerns all must be treated of by all," and "What is for the good of all must be paid

for by all," are violated by the present one-sided arrangement, and the stability of the Constitution can only be restored by such a reconstruction as shall make these principles the basis of some new arrangement.

The choice is between reconstruction and disintegration; and it is because I believe that the disintegration of the British Empire would be disastrous, not only to us and to the Colonies, but to the world-wide interests of peace, progress, and civilisation, that I ask you to give publicity to the following scheme.

In conclusion, I should like to say that I do not put forward this scheme with any idea of giving rigidity to the aspirations of Imperial Federationists, but simply as an aid to the popular imagination, and in full recognition of the fact that both in outline and details the form of Federal Constitution can only be finally arrived at after the fullest opportunities for the development of public opinion, and free consultation among the representatives of all sections of the Empire.

Commenting upon Professor Ransome's letter the *Leeds Mercury* in a leading article says:—

Until very lately, as our readers are aware, the leaders of the movement in question have carefully abstained from putting forward any plan for the embodiment of the great idea of which they have made themselves the advocates. There are still strong arguments in favour of their adherence to that policy, and it may well be that for some time to come the Imperial Federation League, as a body, will refrain from committing itself to any definite suggestions as to the manner in which its principles should be carried out. In the last resort, in any case, the work of modifying the Constitution of the British Empire is one that must be dealt with by the collective statesmanship of that Empire, duly authorised to undertake the task by the accredited representatives of public opinion in its leading sections. No voluntary association, however wide its basis and influential its membership, can do more than prepare the way for the practical treatment by responsible statesmen of this vast and complex problem. But, while admitting all this, as it is fully admitted by Professor Ransome, the fact remains that among the warmest and most thoughtful friends of the great cause which Mr. Parkin has worthily christened that of National Unity, there has been developed a sense that the mere statement, however forcible, of general principles, however sound and incontrovertible, will not suffice to secure for the question that commanding position in the attention of the British public, here and throughout the Colonies, which it deserves, and which it must attain if any satisfactory progress is to be made towards the realisation of the Federationists' ideal. . . . In our judgment, such an "aid to popular imagination" as is offered by the scheme advanced in Professor Ransome's letter is calculated to be of very material service in bringing the public to recognise that, difficult as the problem undoubtedly is, and grave as are the changes which, to satisfy the principles of the Imperial Federationists, must ultimately be introduced into the present Imperial Constitution if Imperial disintegration is to be prevented, the question nevertheless is not beyond the reach of British statesmanship. Of the scheme before our readers it may at least be affirmed that it only demands of the Parliament and people of this country such a sacrifice of their present technically exclusive authority over Imperial affairs as is called for by the steadily growing magnitude and importance of the self-governing Colonies, while on the other hand it only demands of the Colonies such material contributions towards common purposes as are justified by their wealth and by the benefits which through the Imperial connection they obtain. With these observations we commend to the careful attention of all friends of national unity the carefully thought out sketch now laid before them by a highly competent thinker on Imperial subjects.

The *Liverpool Daily Courier* also devotes a leader to the scheme propounded; it says:—

Mr. Cyril Ransome has not invented a perfect machine. He would probably be the first to repudiate the idea that his "constitution" should be regarded otherwise than as bearing about the same relationship to the complete organisation that the first steamship that crossed the Atlantic can claim to the most perfect ocean racer of the present day. He has, however, supplied a rough draft, and it is concrete and tangible. . . . Here is the new departure proposed, and it is obvious that a commencement had to be made somewhere. Mr. Gossip, Mr. Nicholls, and others in Australia, as well as Lord Rosebery and others at home, will now have a distinct theory to consider. They may not like it; but it will possibly stir their ingenuity. It must at all events help, as the writer modestly claims, to concentrate and give practical form to popular imagination in a dreamy state. Men who are without original ideas of their own—who lack the power of initiation—are sometimes transformed into ideal statesmen by the operation of a germinal idea from another source. Who can foretell, then, what may be the influence of this draft "Federal Constitution for the British Empire."

Mr. M. D'Arcy Wyvill, candidate for the Otley division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the course of an address given to the electors, speaking of Imperial Federation, said this subject included four subjects, all of which he should like to see carried out. These were—a general system of defence of the Home Country and our Colonies, a central council representing all our Colonies, a customs union with India and our Colonies, and a uniform postage and telegraph system.

Mr. Scott-Scott, who is well known in the island from his former connection with the Primrose League, has been appointed organising agent for the United Kingdom for the Imperial Federation League. The non-party character of this organisation is shown by the fact that while the Earl of Rosebery is its president, it has for its vice-president Mr. Edward Stanhope, M.P. Imperial Federation is undoubtedly a growing question.—*Isle of Wight County Press.*

THE CITY MEETING.

PRESS OPINIONS.

MORNING POST.

MUCH . . . must depend upon the development of events, and it may perhaps be admitted that a few more such measures as the adoption of the McKinley Tariff would do much to bring a Federation of the component parts of the British Empire within the region of practical politics. . . . It is certainly at first sight somewhat astonishing that a special expression of loyalty should be looked upon as necessary in any British Colony, or that, having been duly recorded, it should be thought necessary to explicitly recognise it in this country. The conditions of Canada, however, are peculiar, and it must be remembered that the resolution in question was called forth by the frequent and persistent attempts to represent the Dominion as being anxious to be attached to the United States. This mischievous heresy was freely promulgated, but if it was not killed by the vote of the Legislature, it must surely have received its *coup de grace* from the more recent utterances of Canadian statesmen. . . . The days when a certain school in politics looked upon Colonies as encumbrances are gone for ever, and the desire of every Englishman at the present day is to see the Colonies and this country brought into closer connection. The first steps may be a long way from an ideal Federation, but there is an ancient proverb which warns us of the necessity of hastening slowly which has a peculiar applicability to this case.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

Naturally those who hope that our Empire may be bound still more closely together are affected at times by the pessimist prophecies of political Cassandras. They cannot help attaching some weight to the arguments of men like Mr. Goldwin Smith and others, who, having some Colonial experience, appear to revel in the task of showing that Greater Britain must necessarily drift into fragments. Sir John Lubbock therefore made a sensible choice when he took as the starting-point of his speech the disparaging criticisms of these prophets. Whatever be the outcome in its more practical proposals of the Imperial Federation movement, he showed that it must do a great amount of good. Even, he observed, if we do not succeed, even if nature forbids and the difficulties of distance prove insuperable, still, it will be well to have made the attempt. . . . The distances between different portions of our dominion need not trouble us in any serious degree. Melbourne and Montreal are brought close to us by the modern facilities for ocean transit. Sydney and the St. Lawrence are not practically further away than Edinburgh and Aberdeen were a century ago. After all, what Imperial Federationists aim at is no absurd interference with the internal concerns of the various Provinces of the Empire; it is only that degree of union for mutual help in need which will ensure for ever to every part of our dominions the possession of its goods in peace.

YORKSHIRE DAILY POST.

The subject of Imperial Federation, which was reopened yesterday at the rooms of the London Chamber of Commerce, has of late begun to assume a more tangible and definite form. In saying this we must not for a moment be held to assert that the scheme of Imperial Federation between England and her Colonies is one which is growing ripe for execution, or is even appreciably tending in that direction. But at the same time it must be acknowledged that for various reasons it is more and more emerging from the somewhat hazy region of academic theory and patriotic sentiment, and entering into that of practical discussion. . . . If the ground is still far from ready for the seed which the Federation League is desirous of sowing, signs are not wanting that the fallow is being slowly broken up. . . . If we and our dependencies are ever to be knit together in closer bonds than those of mere language and kindred, it can only be on the basis of a commercial union advantageous to both parties in the partnership. As Mr. Gladstone pointed out in his recent speech at Dundee, a certain number of somewhat plausible objections may be urged against such an arrangement. . . . In Mr. Gladstone's opinion a closer trade connection with our Colonies on the principle of free, or almost free, imports would imply a heavy protective tariff against other nations. But an Imperial Zollverein would mean nothing of the kind. The system of free trade to which we are pledged towards the whole world would go on exactly as usual. We should not adopt a plan of boycotting as regards foreign states because we had agreed with our own Colonies to supply their wants at a cheaper rate than Germany or America could do. . . . From the business side, therefore, we can have but little doubt that Imperial Federation would be a paying concern. As commerce as a general rule has been opened up with the sword and must be guarded by the sword, it remains to view it from the aspect of military utility. This is a question which most Colonials are rather fond of ignoring except in so far as it relates to the defence of their own shores by their own efforts. . . . But any ventures for a closer alliance, commercial or military, must

come from the Colonies and not from ourselves. It is useless to hold meetings and pass resolutions here in England unless we are thoroughly in touch with Colonial sentiment. So far as can be judged, that sentiment, if not on the side of Imperial Federation, is at any rate not actively opposed to it. Our Australian possessions have shown some disposition in favour of political unity among themselves, and the one movement may pave the way for the other.

NOTTINGHAM EVENING POST.

Imperial Federation is not dead, but we cannot truthfully say that the League is progressing very rapidly towards the attainment of its ideal. Sir John Lubbock at the meeting the other day suggested the formation of a customs union between the different parts of Greater Britain, but that, of course, is useless from the point of view of practical politics until the Colonies stand on the same fiscal platform as the rest of the Empire. . . . After all, Federation is a magnificent programme; but even if the British voters went for it *en masse* that would not force the Colonies to agree to it. The fact is, we must have a practical scheme before us, and then the work of education can begin. If the plan is in accordance with the spirit of the times, then the tendencies of events will help it onward, but until our Federal friends themselves know what they want, how can they expect people who have never given the subject a moment's serious consideration to help them?

GLOBE.

Sir John Lubbock considers that a ray of light is afforded by the idea of a customs' union. We are entirely of his opinion that this sort of Federation would greatly quicken the advent of the other sort. But until those Colonies which favour Protection are willing to stand on the same fiscal platform as the rest of the Empire, the coveted British Zollverein will retain its present dreany character. . . . Mr. Begg . . . urges the League "to be prepared with a programme with which to go to the country." Heaven forefend! We have already far too many sections and shibboleths in the political world. Besides, not one elector out of a score has anything more than a very vague notion of what Imperial Federation means; the majority require to be educated in its scope and purposes before it is made a platform question. Even, however, if the British masses voted for it *en bloc*, there would still remain the Colonies to be dealt with. Until their approval is secured, the Mother Country can do nothing but hope for a happy solution of the greatest of all political problems.

NEWCASTLE DAILY JOURNAL.

General Laurie, very naturally, as a Canadian, advocated commercial union between the Colonies and England as preferable to a similar arrangement between Canada and the United States. It is idle, however, to entertain any project of fiscal combination with our Colonies whilst retaining in substance our present system, not very accurately called one of free trade. A bargain of any kind implies that our trade is not to be left to shift for itself, and to be the sport of accident, or the victim of tariff plots abroad; and it is needless to say that the obstacles this reflection suggests in the way of a commercial union of the Colonies and the Mother Country are vastly greater than those that were encountered and overcome in maturing a scheme of Imperial and Colonial Defence.

DAILY GRAPHIC.

There was much that is encouraging in the proceedings at the meeting of the City branch of the Imperial Federation League yesterday afternoon. As Sir John Lubbock expressed it, "Imperial Federation is a step forward," and so far as the project of a customs union with the Colonies can be regarded as advancing the cause, the result of yesterday's deliberations is more than hopeful. The consensus of opinion in favour of strengthening the relations between England and Canada was not merely a complimentary recognition of Canadian loyalty and patriotism. There are, no doubt, great difficulties in the way of forming a united trade policy between the Mother Country and the Dominion. . . . As regards Federation, however, the suggestion that the plan should emanate from the Colonies is distinctly apposite. Colonials, for all their patriotism, have a rooted aversion to being treated like children.

BRISTOL TIMES AND MIRROR.

The effort to bind together the various parts of the British Empire by a united trade policy is deserving of every support. This is the opinion of a large number of Canadians; and it ought to be the opinion at home. It is true that some of our Colonies are in favour of a protective policy, as best suited to their present needs. But we are always telling them that they have prospered in spite of protection, while they retort upon us that we have prospered in spite of free trade. In Australia there are two large contiguous Colonies, Victoria and New South Wales, in one of which protection prevails and in the other free trade. Well, it would be impossible to say which of these Colonies is the more prosperous. All that can be said is that the one prospers in spite of protection, and the other in spite of free trade. This principle being admitted, there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in coming to some

arrangement which, by erecting mutual commercial interests, would knit together what Lord Randolph Churchill once called in a happy phrase, "the scattered dominion of an Imperial throne." There has been abundant evidence lately that all disquieting rumours affecting the loyalty of the Canadians to the British connection are weak inventions of the enemy, the wish being father to the thought. There is nothing, in this direction, which need stand in the way of the objects promoted by the Imperial Federation League.

MIDLAND EVENING NEWS.
(Wolverhampton.)

The agitation in favour of bringing about the commercial Federation of the British Empire is making satisfactory progress. A more hopeful tone pervades the speeches of politicians who refer to the subject than was the case even twelve months ago. The McKinley tariff has accomplished some good to the British people in this particular, for it has reduced the number of opponents to the establishment of a system of free trade within the Empire, and it has added to the strength of those who believe that Federation is one of the best ways of combating the commercial hostility which is being displayed towards this country by other nations. . . . We welcome, therefore, the intimation that this matter is not to be allowed to rest quietly, and that a conference of representatives of the Colonies, having satisfactorily settled the naval defence question, another similar conference is to be held to consider what steps would best promote a closer union between Canada and the Motherland. We discover a healthy sign in the earnestness which Sir John Lubbock, as an old Free Trader, displayed when dealing with this matter. . . . It is the duty of English statesmen to encourage the Colonists in the proposed Federation of the Empire on a trading basis. The sooner it becomes an accomplished fact all the better will the condition of our home workers become, and we shall no longer be compelled to depend upon foreigners for food, who may one day become our enemies, bent upon doing their best to starve the British people into compliance with their wishes.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR HENRY LOCH in his capacity of High Commissioner of South Africa went, in October, upon a very extensive tour through Bechuanaland and the other territories stretching away to the north. Speaking at Vryburg, the capital of the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland, His Excellency said:—"It must be remembered, and I trust the gentlemen who reside in British Bechuanaland will remember it, that it is the British taxpayers who for some years past have been coming forward, each year with larger amounts, to assist in the government and development of this country; and that they derive, individually, no benefit from that expenditure. That expenditure on their part is liberally and unselfishly given in the interests of their fellow-countrymen out here, for they look upon the people of British Bechuanaland as part of themselves, and as part of the Empire to which they themselves belong; and it will be a very great gratification to me to be enabled to state—which I can do conscientiously and from my heart—to state to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen the great loyalty of her subjects in this part of the world. I do not intend to follow the vice-Chairman on questions of politics, but he alluded to annexation and connection with the Cape Colony. That, gentlemen, is not a question upon which I propose to touch. It is not a matter which will be carried out without the consent of the people of this country. (Cheers.) But I should wish the people of this country to remember that we live in cordial friendship with the Government of the Cape Colony, and that it is due to the Government of the Cape Colony that they now have a railway to Vryburg. (Cheers.) That railway will, I believe, tend greatly to the wealth of the inhabitants of Vryburg; and without overlooking the independent character of the Colony of which I have the honour to be Governor, still I think you will agree that it is our duty, and my duty, to live on terms of cordial friendship with the Cape Colony, and to work together with them not only for the benefit of British Bechuanaland, but in such a way as may be beneficial to the Cape Colony also.

"It is impossible to say, gentlemen, how far in the future the dominion of the British Empire may extend. (Cheers.) The Zambesi is, I believe, at present the limit that has been put upon it in South Africa. But, gentlemen, I do not believe that the Zambesi will be the limit in the future of the British Empire in South Africa—(loud cheers)—and I certainly trust that there may be a union of all the States and Colonies of South Africa—a union that will bring them into relationship with each other, for the benefit of themselves individually, and for the benefit of South Africa generally. (Renewed cheers.) I thank you, gentlemen, for the reception you have accorded

me, and trust that this may not be the last occasion when I shall pay a visit here." (Cheers.)

The Cape Premier, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who was travelling with Sir Henry Loch, said, speaking on the same occasion:—"When I think, Mr. Chairman, that the last time I left this country I was informed by a high Imperial officer that I was dangerous to the peace of the country (loud laughter), and when I think I am here to-day and have brought you a gift—as the High Commissioner has kindly put it—a gift from the Cape Colony of a railway, a gift from the Cape Colony to Stellaland, I think I am entitled to say that I have wiped out that remark that I was dangerous to the peace of the country (loud cheers). And I think when I remind you that, owing to the cordial manner in which the High Commissioner has worked with the Government of the Cape Colony, and with the Government of the Free State, he has been enabled to arrange a customs union with those States, I think that you need not feel any distrust, or doubt, that the Cape Colony is anxious to be too grasping with reference to your little State. Whenever the time may occur that you are anxious to join us, I think I may say we shall be only too willing to let you join; but do not think for one moment that with an octopus grasp we are trying to seize you against your will. We are simply trying in every way—by the railway and by the customs union, we are simply trying to make you a part of the system of South Africa. I could not help hearing to-day the intense feeling that has been expressed as to that.

. . . It is a pleasing thing to see that these three great systems in this country are the united system of a sphere governed by a Charter; a system of a Crown Colony; and last, but not least, a system of self-government as represented by the Cape of Good Hope. . . . I would point out to you, Mr. Chairman, that these three classes of government happen most fortunately at the present moment to be working in complete accord. There has been a great deal said about the desire of the Cape Colony to annex and absorb you. I can assure you, to-night, we shall never take that step until you are anxious to join with us; but you must all feel it is a matter of time—all matters rest on the word 'time.' (No, no.) I know, in looking to the future, that the Charter must change, first perhaps to a system of Imperial government, but finally to self-government; and I remind you that the period must also come to you in the course of time. When your territory has been developed, and when you possess the men who have leisure to deal with the government of the country, you must proceed from direct government to self-government; and I feel, too, that this is the desire and wish of Her Majesty's Government, based on the word 'time,' when the time arrives for it, and when it does I feel you will join with me in remembering and recognising the debt we owe Her Majesty's Government, who in the period of your infancy has spent her wealth for you, has conducted you through your boyhood, and who, when you are ready for self-government, will grant it you without one word (cheers) as freely as year by year she has given her wealth and resources to this country." (Loud cheers.)

The *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, the important organ of Colonial opinion published at Kimberley within the confines, it must be remembered, of Cape Colony, writes upon this:—"Gratitude to the Mother Country for its untiring efforts to develop and benefit South Africa is not a very common sentiment out here; and we are glad that the Premier's closing words were such as to remind Colonists that we are sometimes (like Mankoroane) more ready to grumble at the real or fancied mistakes of the Home Government, than to dwell on our immense obligations to it for protection and assistance." The *Bechuanaland News* in a quasi-editorial note, writes as follows:—"The Cape Colony cannot expect to extend as such to the Zambesi, but if in a few years' time British Bechuanaland had Zambesia adjoined to it, we should be one of the most important States in the future United States of South Africa. As it is, our interests are quite distinct from those of the Colony, which would endeavour merely to make our country a track to the richer regions beyond, without attempting to develop our own resources and without spending a single penny more than could be helped upon us. Against this we must most strongly protest and not sit mute as we have hitherto done." The *Advertiser* says as to this:—"The idea of a separate Colony, which seems to be favoured in some quarters, would be so uneconomical, so disastrous to the country itself, and so outrageously unjust to the Cape Colony, that it should be banished at once." And in a further article, again:—"The streams of population and enterprise are already flowing to the north, but it is the railway built by the Colonial Government which has made this possible, and when in due course the Cape Colony has attached Bechuanaland to itself the northward current will set in yet stronger." The expenditure of the British taxpayer's money in Bechuanaland, referred to by Sir Henry Loch, is evidently not regarded by the writer as of much account. As his paper had said in the passage first quoted, "gratitude to the Mother Country . . . is not a very common sentiment" out there.

NOTICES.

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Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER 1, 1890.

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittainick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."
JOHN MILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR readers will unite with us in feeling the most sincere sympathy with the PRESIDENT of the LEAGUE in the bereavement he has suffered by the recent death of the COUNTESS of ROSEBERY. The Executive Committee, which met, for the first time since the recess, the day after the sad event, marked its sense of the President's loss by adjourning without doing any business, having first placed formally on record its deep sympathy with LORD ROSEBERY in his present bereavement. The following expression of sympathy was at the same time adopted in the form of a resolution, and ordered to be forwarded to LORD ROSEBERY:—"That this Executive Committee of the Council of the Imperial Federation League expresses its deep sympathy with the President, the RIGHT HON. the EARL of ROSEBERY, in the bereavement under which he is now suffering, and desires, with all the respect due to so great a sorrow, to offer him its sincerest condolence." Members of the League everywhere will, we are sure, approve of this action of their representative Committee; and will feel that in this resolution the Committee gave expression to a sympathy shared by their fellow members in all parts of the Empire.

It is announced that the reduced rates of postage between the United Kingdom and Australasia are to come into operation on the 1st of January. This will not at present, it appears, apply to New Zealand, as regards the Suez route, but that Government has come to an arrangement with the Imperial Post Office as regards the other routes (*via* Plymouth and *via* San Francisco), and has engaged to propose to its Parliament next session the repeal of the sixpenny rate by Suez, so that the reduced rate homeward may apply all round. Arrangements are not yet complete, either, for Western Australia. The matter of the cable guarantee is still under discussion in Australia. MR. J. B. PATTERSON, Commissioner of Trade and Customs in the late Victorian Ministry, recorded a minute to the effect that the Colony should only consent to bear a share in the

cable guarantee, in view of the proposed reduction in the tariff, if all the other Australasian Colonies signified their intention of joining in the guarantee. New Zealand and Queensland have since both declined to accede to the proposal. The Postmaster-General in the new Cabinet, MR. J. GAVAN DUFFY, has, however, expressed himself in favour of the cable guarantee, notwithstanding the refusal of Queensland and New Zealand to bear a share.

FROM Canada we learn, by a recent Reuter's telegram despatched from Ottawa, that the Government contemplates reducing the rate of postage from three cents to two cents for letters between any part of Canada and the United States, and that this step will probably be followed by a penny postal rate to Great Britain. The *Canadian Gazette* referred to this intention more than a month ago. We hope it may prove true. Turning to another form of communication, the proposal for a submarine tunnel between the nearest points of Scotland and Ireland has been revived, and an important meeting was not long ago held in Belfast in support of the scheme. The effect of this would be still further to shorten the Atlantic sea-route by making Galway and other ports on the west coast of Ireland the termini on this side. Quite apart from the benefits thus conferred on some poor districts in Ireland, the completion of such a scheme, taken in connection with the swift lines of steamers about to be put on the Atlantic service by the Dominion Government to work with the Canadian Pacific Railway, would effect almost a revolution in our Imperial lines of communication. Writing on the subject to the *Times*, SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, M.P., expresses the opinion that this scheme, by bringing nearly every part of the British Empire into close commercial proximity, seems to promise an earlier attainment of the great end of Imperial Federation than any that has hitherto appeared possible.

At the end of our notice of the magazine and review articles of the past month, will be found a reference to some further notes on Transatlantic Postage. We need not repeat what is there said, but we have a word to say on a curious light thrown on another question. We have heard a good deal from MR. HENNIKER HEATON about a Penny Postage for the English-speaking world; and we are accustomed also to hear not a little from many quarters about extending the merely parochial idea of a Federation of the British Empire so as to include the United States, and so make a grand Federation of "all the English-speaking races of the world." The people of the United States, we all know, are very far from being universally or even generally English, by blood: but now comes a reminder, that they cannot properly be described as even an English-speaking people. The authorities at Washington promptly informed MR. HEATON that the people of German origin and language in the States were so numerous that they would not hear of an Ocean Penny Post that did not include Germany.

AMONG the business recently dealt with by the Executive Committee (a report of the proceedings will be found below), was an important motion by MR. HOWARD VINCENT, M.P., calling upon the League to make formal representation to the Board of Trade Commercial Treaties Committee, now sitting, "concerning the paramount importance of the earliest possible notice being given to the King of the Belgians and the German Emperor, of the intention of Her Majesty to cancel that clause in the Treaties of Commerce of 1862 and 1865, restraining Colonial Governments and peoples from according any fiscal advantage to British goods over those of Germany and Belgium—a disability extending to every other nation under the most-favoured-nation clause. And further, that in any negotiation for the extension of the present, and for the conclusion of fresh treaties and tariffs, the interests of the Colonies of the Empire may be consulted and considered." This subject has long claimed the attention of the League, and is familiar to our readers. It was dealt with in the Annual Report of the Council, and commented upon in our own remarks upon that report in our June issue. We see

that the *Times* (which we are rejoiced to see has lately shown a marked disposition to take up on its own account many of the questions, to the importance of which the League has been the means of calling public attention) adopts precisely the view taken in these columns.

THE question of sub-dividing the Colony of Queensland is reaching a critical stage. The "Separationists" have suffered a defeat so slight as to be only not a victory, and SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH has changed his attitude to one of modified opposition. He has gone so far as to admit that it is impossible satisfactorily to govern the whole Colony under the existing constitution, and that a guarantee on the coloured labour question would remove all, or nearly all, his objections to it. But then it must be remembered that the "Coloured Labour Question" is just exactly the question on which the whole matter hinges. Meanwhile, SIR SAMUEL has proposed an alternative scheme for creating a kind of federation within the Colony. He would divide Queensland into three Provinces, each having its own Parliament, with one central Parliament for the whole. It seems pretty clear that if a division takes place, under whatever conditions, it will be into three, and not into two parts only. The Northern members have secured the adhesion of the representatives of the central districts, no doubt upon the understanding that when a majority is secured, Central, as well as Northern Queensland shall be erected into a separate Government. Only, the Northerners say they had better get a single division first, and then go on to the further step.

THE principal interest of this question for persons outside the Colony directly concerned is the effect it may have on the larger question of Australian Federation. The sub-division of a Colony is a matter upon which the other members of a federated Australia would have something to say. The Queenslanders may anticipate the creation of a Federal Parliament of Australia; but, even in the Convention now very shortly about to meet, the possibility, and still more the uncertainty of such a change may not improbably give rise to difficulties. If Queensland comes to be divided into two or three separate and mutually independent Governments, then her inhabitants will possess not one, but two or three voices in cases of voting by states. On the other hand if SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH'S proposal should be adopted, a completely new element will be introduced into the political problem in the form of a federation within a federation. Difficulties might possibly arise out of this, too; but they would probably not be allowed to prevail against the general desire, felt by none more strongly than by the Queensland Premier himself, for the speedy accomplishment of an Australian Federal Union. Queensland would in this latter case be represented only by her own Central or Federal Government. Whatever affairs are assigned by the Australian Constitution to the Provincial Governments, would be assigned to Queensland as a whole. How she might choose to execute those powers within her own borders would be no concern of the Dominion Government. The case would be the same as it would in an Imperial Federation, some of the component states of which would themselves be smaller federations, while others would be states under single legislatures.

THAT was a stirring scene that occurred at a big meeting in Melbourne in the course of the great strike, when the Union Jack was raised, and (in the language of a vivid word-picture quoted in another column) "thirty thousand voices blended in one mighty cheer." This latent patriotism, that sometimes surprises us by bursting out like this into a sudden blaze, is a feeling worth fostering in the younger generation of Australians, as it is wisely fostered in Canada. We have referred more than once to the action of the Provincial Government of Ontario (and the Provincial Governments as a rule are naturally less apt to be filled with ideas of Imperial patriotism than that of the Dominion) in appointing certain national anniversaries to be celebrated by "hoisting the flag" on the schools. The flag is the red ensign of England with its Union Jack in the top corner of

the tack, balanced by the Canadian emblem in the fly—this constituting the flag of Canada. We referred to the ceremony being observed on the Queen's birthday. The first strictly Canadian anniversary, that of the battle of Queens-town Heights, seventy-eight years ago, was recently celebrated. COLONEL G. T. DENISON took a leading part in the celebration of the day in Toronto.

"THERE is no denying that the Imperial Federation movement in Australia is for the moment dead." So writes *Young Australia* in October. Only for the moment, we may be permitted to hope. The two causes that have for the time eclipsed the movement are, according to our contemporary, Australian Federation and the great strike. The former of these is, of course, well assigned. It has been recognised by the Central Council of the League that it put the idea of another Conference out of the question for the present; and whilst Australian statesmen and politicians, and indeed all thinking persons in the community, are so engrossed by their own movement towards union, it would be unreasonable to expect them to pay more than a far-off attention to the larger scheme. At the same time the debates in the various Parliaments show that Imperial Federation, though in the background, is yet an idea that is intimately bound up with that "Union under the Crown" which Australia is about forming. The other cause is too temporary to have deserved notice, but that our contemporary extracts from the combination between men separated by thousands of miles a lesson in connection with its subject. The improvement in the means of communication which has made such combinations possible is a cause also operating in the direction of Imperial Federation.

AN article by MAJOR GODFREY CLARKE, R.E., the Secretary of the Colonial Defence Committee, in the November issue of the *United Service Gazette*, which we notice more fully in another column, bears out the truth always insisted upon by us and recently confirmed by the report of GENERAL EDWARDS and the Defence Committee's memorandum, that the real safety of Australia lies in the protection from attack afforded by the squadrons of the British Navy in distant seas, which prevent the departure of a hostile force. In connection with another memorandum of the Colonial Defence Committee, a summary of which also we published last month, we note that the *West Indian Press* is discussing the scheme of the Committee in a vigorous and withal somewhat amusing way. The *Demerara Echo* says:—"The Secretary of State's despatch means: 'Ye Colonies must understand that John Bull will continue to be your guardian angel to satisfy his own vanity, so long as there is no fighting. When trouble begins, England will only hold those Colonies which are able to fight for themselves.'" The *Jamaica Gleaner* says:—"So long as Jamaica is worth coveting, other nations besides Great Britain are ready and willing to protect us. Now we are given to understand that our loss will not be a matter of much concern, except in so far as it might affect the naval prestige of Great Britain." We had no notion that they were such terrible fellows in the West Indies. Here is a London correspondent, too, writing about the American Tariff Bill and saying:—"The market of the United States must be kept open to the Colonies at any hazard and upon any terms, and neither the indifference and inertia of the Colonies themselves nor any opposition on the part of the Home Government should be allowed to stand in the way of any necessary changes in West Indian tariffs which the policy of the United States would require."

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S "picnic" speech at Halifax—that came in for so many adverse comments on account of its references to the United States "with its mass of foreign ignorance and vice," and "the struggles of a fierce democracy"—turns out to be free from all objectionable phrases when accurately reported. SIR JOHN suffered, as public speakers are wont to suffer, at the hands of the summarising reporter. The *St. John (N.B.) Evening Gazette* gives a strictly correct version, in which the passage in question

reads as follows:—"What would we have to gain from joining the United States? It is a great country, and will be a greater, but like all young countries it will have its vicissitudes, its reverses, and its revolutions. Do not we see already, from the mass of foreign ignorance and foreign vice that has poured into the United States, how uneasily the working population move in the great labour centres? Do not you see communism, and socialism, and atheism and every other ism there? That the United States will rise superior, and out of these heterogeneous particles, and form one great people, I have no doubt; but depend upon it, they are going to have their revolutions and upheavals, while we sit calmly under the protecting flag of Great Britain, and enjoy the magnificent country that God has given us, and look with philosophic eyes at the struggles of a fierce and discordant democracy."

THERE is nothing undignified or unstatesmanlike about that utterance, or the manner of it. And who will be so bold as to contradict it? Take the evidence of an official of the United States Government itself on the quality of the foreign immigration. A Washington telegram of November 21st contains passages from the report made to the SECRETARY OF STATE by SURGEON GENERAL HAMILTON, giving the results of his official visit to the principal European ports of emigration to America. He says that in the last six years 2,666,276 immigrants have arrived and entered the political organisation of the country, "most of them entirely ignorant of its traditions, customs, and laws." And if we would see the further characteristics of a large proportion of the immigrants, we may get some idea of them from the references in this report to idiots and insane persons, persons convicted of crime, paupers, persons suffering from contagious disease, &c. &c. And further, is not this "mass of foreign ignorance and vice" the very soil from which political "vicissitudes and revolutions" spring up like weeds? And are not this element and that other dreaded element of discord and civil strife—the Black Belt—only too certain to be causes of the "struggles of a fierce and discordant democracy"? Canada does well indeed to hold aloof.

IN the course of an article counselling prudence and caution in the power of managing its own affairs newly acquired by the Government of Western Australia, the *Albany Observer* says the chief blessing of responsible government is popularly supposed to be unlimited credit. "The borrowing power of a country," it goes on to say, "is limited to the security that can be given, and as yet this Colony has but little security to offer. All the elements are here for making the borrowing power of this Colony greater, perhaps, than that of any of the other Colonies, but they must first be developed." On the question of immigration the *Albany Observer* does not hold out that all-embracing "come-one-come-all" kind of invitation taken for granted as the note of the future by those who opposed—and we must admit we think rightly opposed—the insertion of the guarantee clause in the Constitution Bill. "It is very questionable," so runs the article, "whether State-aided immigration will do much good just at present. . . . Immigration schemes, as a rule, are only a means of bringing into a country a class that it is least desirable to have, and one that, in the ordinary course of events, would not make its presence felt for many generations. Badly as this Colony wants population, we have already seen that it can be too dearly bought, and it would be far better to bid higher for a superior class of settlers than for the new Government to entertain any scheme similar to those that have already been tried." That may be and probably is all sound enough; but it is not quite the tone we were so confidently told to expect.

"IF one may presume to give advice to the Imperial Federation League, it would be to take more care in the selection of Canadian members of Parliament for its speakers. Excellent as are the designs of the League, it received this afternoon a severe shock." So far, and further, a writer to the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Western Morning News*, and how many other papers in the provinces we know not, on the day of the Canada meeting of

the City of London Branch at the London Chamber of Commerce. And yet those of us in the League who were there went home and slept peacefully, all unconscious of our fate. The shock was, it seems, that GENERAL LAURIE whom another print that shall be nameless styled "a Canadian Balaam" was "called to bless Imperial Federation, but cursed it altogether"—that is not precisely on all fours with the doings of Balaam, but in the print in question an accurate knowledge of Scripture history is not expected. We have read the report given by this same print, as well as others, of GENERAL LAURIE'S speech without being able to divine with any degree of assurance the particular passage these gentlemen have run their clever heads against. He said he did not believe the McKinley Tariff was conceived in hostility to England or to Canada—which is exactly what we said ourselves. And he said it was impossible to govern Canada from this side of the water—a proposition "which," in the words of the good old chorus, "nobody can deny."

DOES not the theory adopted in MR. GLADSTONE'S speech at Dundee—that since "we trade with mankind," it does not matter that this or that country shuts its doors against us—contain a fallacy, well known to students of logic? We are quite well aware of the truth that the course of commerce is not necessarily direct—that a country may buy of one neighbour and not sell, and sell to another and not buy, and thus indirectly establish an equilibrium. But when MR. GLADSTONE says, "if one nation out of twenty shuts us out, no matter, there are nineteen more to trade with," is it not pertinent to ask: How, if first one more took the same course and left us eighteen only, and then one more and left us seventeen, and so on all through to the last?

LORD SALISBURY recognises the situation and the possible significance of it. He said at the Guildhall:—"Every bit of the world's surface that is not under the English flag is a country which may be, and probably will be, closed to us by a hostile tariff, and therefore it is that we are anxious above all things to conserve, to unify, to strengthen the Empire of the QUEEN, because it is to the trade that is carried on within the Empire of the QUEEN that we look for the vital force of the commerce of this country." After speaking of the tariff war of the future, and saying that in the United Kingdom "we have no retaliation to exercise, because we have already reduced our tariff to the lowest point that the revenue demands will permit us to accept" (rather a *non-sequitur* this: logic seems going out of fashion), he concludes this part of his speech with the following suggestive hint:—"It is an interesting subject—the consideration for us whether that attitude will or will not be sustainable in the end, or whether the madness of our neighbours will force us to deflect in any degree from the sound and sensible position we adopt."

WRITING in the *Toronto Empire* lately, MR. ARCHIBALD MCGOWN said he would much like to see MR. CHAPLEAU, the Dominion Secretary of State, espouse the cause of Federation, though he was aware that he entertained very little sympathy for the movement a year or two since. However that may be, MR. CHAPLEAU is on the right road, which lies through patriotism and devotion to England and the Empire. At Montreal, at a banquet given to the COMTE DE PARIS, MR. CHAPLEAU, speaking in the name of the French Canadians, said:—"We love this new mother, England, because she has given us the best system of government the world has ever seen. As we rejoice over the change from French to English rule, so should Old France rejoice, for we escaped the pernicious doctrines of the Revolution, and are certainly a better people. Here, on this free soil of Canada, as British subjects, we enjoy that full measure of civil and religious liberty so dear to the heart of every free-born citizen. We have retained our nationality, which is French, but we have given our patriotism to England, the land that has made us free; and, with the other races who inhabit this Canada of ours, we have founded not a province, not a dominion, but a great Empire in the New World, a country that is bathed by the waters of the Atlantic on the east and of the Pacific on the west."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on Thursday, the 20th inst., at noon, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., in the chair.

It was moved by Mr. Rusden, and seconded by Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada—

"That the Executive Committee records its deep sympathy with Lord Rosebery in his present bereavement, and adjourns until this day week."

The following expression of sympathy was adopted, and ordered to be forwarded to Lord Rosebery:—

"That this Executive Committee of the Council of the Imperial Federation League expresses its deep sympathy with the President, the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, in the bereavement under which he is now suffering, and desires, with all the respect due to so great a sorrow, to offer him its sincerest condolence."

Thursday, 27th inst., 1890, at noon. Mr. R. R. Dobell in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meetings were read and confirmed.

The report of the Secretary for the recess was received and ordered to be printed in the Journal.

The following resolution, of which notice had been given, was moved by Mr. C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P.:—

"That the Imperial Federation League make formal representation to the Board of Trade Commercial Treaties Committee now sitting, concerning the paramount importance of the earliest possible notice being given to the King of the Belgians and the German Emperor of the intention of Her Majesty to cancel that clause in the Treaties of Commerce of 1862 and 1865, restraining Colonial Governments and peoples from according any fiscal advantage to British goods over those of Germany and Belgium, a disability extending to every other nation under the most favoured nation clause.

"And, further, that in any negotiations for the extension of the present and for the conclusion of fresh treaties and tariffs, the interests of the Colonies of the Empire may be consulted and considered."

The motion having been seconded by General Laurie, M.P. (Canada), was strongly supported by Sir Frederick Young, the Hon. T. A. Brassey, and Mr. R. R. Dobell.

On being put to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

It was proposed by Sir John Colomb that a meeting of the Council should be at once summoned for the purpose of considering this resolution, and that a recommendation should be made to the Council that a deputation be sent from the League to the Board of Trade Commercial Treaties Committee to make the representation ordered in the previous resolution.

This, having been seconded, was carried unanimously, and the Council was ordered to be summoned for the 4th of December, at noon.

A letter from Mr. T. H. Haynes asking for the support of the League to his petition, addressed to the Australasian Federal Council, was read, and it was moved by Mr. Kenric B. Murray that the petition of Mr. Haynes be supported by the League.

After discussion, in which a division of opinion was shown, it was proposed by the Chairman that any action upon Mr. Haynes' letter be deferred until the next meeting of the Committee.

The following additions were made to the Council of the League:—

Lord Reay, G.C.I.E.; Mr. W. A. MacArthur, M.P.; Mr. F. B. Mildmay, M.P.; Major-General Bevan Edwards, C.B.; Mr. T. Douglas Murray.

The names of the following gentlemen, elected by the Imperial Federation League in Victoria to represent it upon the Council of the League, were ordered to be placed upon the list of the Council:—

The Hon. Sir James McBain, K.C.M.G., President of the Legislative Council; the Hon. Sir M. H. Davies, K.C.M.G., Speaker of the Legislative Assembly; Harry Armytage, M.L.A.; Mr. Justice Holroyd, Mr. Justice Webb, Colin Longmire, Mathew Lang, Mayor of Melbourne; R. G. Benson; the Hon. Sir Frederick Thomas Sargood, K.C.M.G., M.L.C.; The Hon. Simon Fraser, M.L.C.; J. Warrington Rogers, Q.C.

A letter was read from Professor Cyril Ransome forwarding a draft constitution for the British Empire, which was referred to the Literature Committee for report at the next meeting of the Executive.

The Committee then adjourned.

THE LEAGUE IN VICTORIA.

At the October meeting of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, held at the Town Hall, Melbourne, Monday, October 13th, Mr. Balderson, Member of the Council, who had at the September meeting been appointed to see Mr. G. Downes Carter, M.L.A., asking him to withdraw his resignation of the Presidency of the League, reported that he had seen Mr. Carter, who stated that in consequence of his time being too fully occupied by public and private business to allow him to give due attention to the affairs of the League, he could not see his way to accede, and his resignation was therefore accepted with great regret, and the Secretary was requested to write Mr. Carter conveying to him the following resolution:—

"That a letter be sent to Mr. G. Downes Carter, ex-President, expressing the great regret of the Council at his finding it necessary to retire, and thanking him for the great interest he has taken in, and time he has devoted to, the League since he founded this Branch in 1884."

A sub-committee was appointed to fix upon a successor whose name they were to submit to the Council at the next meeting.

The election of twelve gentlemen proposed to represent Victoria on the General Council at home, who were proposed and elected at the September meeting, was confirmed.

Some new members having been elected and the routine business transacted, the Council adjourned.

OUR COMMERCIAL BAROMETER.

PREPARED BY SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G.,

Author of "Tariffs and Trade," and Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the Imperial Federation League.

THE improvement in the import trade, noticed last month, has not been maintained. There has been a decrease in bulk and value, as in July and August; but, for the first time since January, the average price shows an increase. The export trade, exclusive of coal, shows a similar unfavourable result as regards quantity; but, owing to a large rise in price, there is a small increase in value. It must be observed, however, that there was a sudden revival of the export trade in October, 1889, and a consequent large increase in the return of quantity and value in that month, which renders the comparison less favourable for the present year. Last year, too, the average price of exports fell considerably; this year they have risen in a still higher proportion. The export of coal and its price continue undiminished.

OCTOBER, 1890, COMPARED WITH OCTOBER, 1889.

A. Imports.

1. Tonnage of vessels entering United Kingdom has decreased from—
2,670,000 ... to ... 2,424,000 = 6.6 per cent.
2. Value of imports has decreased from—
£38,231,000 ... to ... £37,746,000 = 1.3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£14 6s. ... to ... £15 2s. = 5.6 per cent.

B. Exports.

1. Tonnage of vessels clearing from United Kingdom has increased from—
3,093,000 ... to ... 3,143,000 = 1.6 per cent.
2. Value of exports has increased from—
£29,627,000 ... to ... £29,827,000 = 0.7 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has decreased from—
£9 12s. ... to ... £9 10s. = 1.0 per cent.

C. Coal exported.

1. Quantity of coal exported from United Kingdom has increased from—
2,609,000 ... to ... 2,858,000 tons = 10.0 per cent.
2. Average price per ton of coal exported has increased from—
10s. 6d. ... to ... 12s. 9d. = 21.4 per cent.
3. Quantity of bunker coal shipped in foreign trade has increased 1.3 per cent.
4. Proportion of tonnage outwards employed in the export of coal has increased from 59.5 per cent. in September to 60.9 per cent. in October.

D. Exports, exclusive of coal.

1. Tonnage clearing from United Kingdom has decreased from—
1,354,000 ... to ... 1,231,000 = 9.1 per cent.
2. Value of exports has decreased from—
£28,264,000 ... to ... £27,998,000 = 2.3 per cent.
3. Average price per ton has increased from—
£20 18s. ... to ... £22 14s. = 8.6 per cent.

READINGS FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1890.

1. IMPORTS.—There has been a decrease in tonnage of 6.6 per cent., but the decrease in value is only 1.3 per cent., because, for the first time since January, as noted above, there has been a rise in average value of 5.6 per cent. In the ten months of this year there has been a decrease of 2.1 per cent. in tonnage, and of 1.1 per cent. in value; during the same period of last year there was an increase of 5.2 in tonnage, and of 10.9 in value, which may in some measure account for the absence of an increase in this year's imports. The increase last year in the ten months amounted to above 34 millions £; the decrease this year to under 4 millions £. The decrease in last month has not extended over all the groups; there has been an increase in food (chiefly grain and meat), in metals, raw cotton, brandy, and Parcel Post.

2. EXPORTS.—The returns this month compare unfavourably with those of September, which exhibited a large increase in quantity, value, and price. In tonnage there has been a slight increase, but, exclusive of colliers, a considerable decrease; in total value a trifling increase, and in total price a decrease; but exclusive of coal, the quantity of which has increased 10 per cent., there has been a decrease in the total value of general merchandise of 2.3 per cent., and a rise in price of 8.6 per cent. The average increase of value of general merchandise exported in the ten months of this year has been 5.7 per cent., of which 4.1 per cent. is owing to an increase of quantity, and 1.6 per cent. to an advance in price.

3. The total increase of value is only 1.3 per cent., but that of British and Irish produce and manufactures is 2.6 per cent., which has been pulled down by a decrease of foreign and Colonial merchandise of 6 per cent. But the increase in British goods has been far from uniform; there has been an increase in raw materials, sheep's wool as well as coal, in cotton and linen manufactures, in metals, chemicals, and Parcel Post; and a decrease in live animals, food, jute, silk and woollen manufactures, machinery, apparel, and miscellaneous manufactures.

4. The exports of British goods to the United States, as far as they are distinguished in the returns, have increased by about £200,000, which is 33 per cent. of the total increase, £592,234; but the increase is mainly confined to a few articles—tin plates, cotton goods, skins and furs, chemicals, linen manufactures, and pig-iron. On the majority of articles there has been a decrease, and on a few a very trifling increase.

Even at this moment certain politicians in Canada are encouraging a cry for annexation to the United States. It is as patent to Lord Rosebery as it was to the late Mr. W. E. Forster, that unless some workable scheme of Imperial Federation can be devised—as the outcome of a sentiment of union in all parts of the Empire—sooner or later those Colonies which possess what Mr. Gladstone calls "local legislatures" will, despite their nominal acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, drift away from us.—*Manchester Examiner.*

THE NEW ORDER OF GOVERNORS.

SINCE the Melbourne *Leader* a few months ago wrote on this subject, some of the New Order of Governors have themselves been discoursing upon themselves. The *Leader* wrote:

"Another branch of the great question of the relations between the Mother Country and the self-governing Colonies is the status of the Colonial Governors. A change in the position of those gentlemen has been in gradual progress during the last 30 years, and the utmost limit of that change has not yet been reached. The old bureaucratic idea that a Governor is a mere servant of the Colonial Office is not yet extinct, for in the July number of the *National Review* there is an article by an ex-Governor, who holds that a Colonial Governor should be a man trained by long Colonial service and experience. He condemns the system of sending young peers to fill the offices of Australian Governors, and predicts that the result will be that the Colonists will rise up and say, 'We are tired of finding nothing but display where we looked for some controlling power. For the future we will elect a Governor from amongst our own people.' . . . Ex-Governor is completely deceived when he persuades himself that Australians are eager for mere Colonial Office officials as their Governors. These are precisely the persons to whom they take strong objection. To them the 'Office' is the only authority to which they owe allegiance, because their future advancement depends upon the favour in which they are held in Downing Street. . . . It is this possibility which has inclined the Colonies to demand men of independent position as Governors. . . . There appears to have been in England a curious misapprehension of the meaning of this Colonial demand. It is supposed that the Colonists, animated by the feelings of the English snob, 'dearly love a lord,' and are eager on all occasions to have one installed in Government House. There is perhaps no country in the world where respect for titles or hereditary honours is more completely non-existent than in Australia. Any intelligent and well-behaved commoner would be as acceptable as a Duke. The one desideratum is that he shall be independent, which a mere sub-officer of an English department can never be. . . . Lord Carrington has been as popular in New South Wales as Sir Henry Loch was in this Colony, and the secret of his success mainly is that he has not been 'a man trained by long Colonial service and experience,' whom the *National Review* contributor deems to be alone fitted for the office of Colonial Governor."

At a banquet given to Lord Carrington at Melbourne in the Queen's Hall, the magnificent vestibule of the Parliament House of Victoria, Lord Hopetoun and Lord Carrington both addressed themselves to the subject of the "new departure" taken by Her Majesty's present Imperial advisers. Another Melbourne paper, the *Argus*, devotes a leader to the question thus treated, and from the following passages can be gathered both the gist of what the Governors said, and the views of the leading Victorian newspaper itself:—

"Without personal qualities unusually attractive on the part of Lord Carrington, there would, of course, have been no demonstration in Melbourne on the occasion of his retirement. These qualities were duly eulogised by Sir James MacBain, whose remarks were heartily endorsed by the audience. As Sir Matthew Davies stated, Lord Carrington really represents that 'new departure' in connection with the appointment of Australian Governors which we are accustomed to associate with later times and with the Salisbury Government. Lord Carrington came to the Colonies before the Queensland controversy and before the Sydney resolutions, and he eminently represents the qualities and conditions which the Imperial Government is now credited with seeking when it has to select a representative of Her Majesty for service here. . . . If there were any doubt that the success which he achieved here suggested to the Salisbury Government the experiment upon which it has now entered, it would be removed by the statement of Lord Hopetoun yesterday. His Excellency frankly stated that but for the satisfaction of the people of Australia with Lord Carrington, and the satisfaction of Lord Carrington with Australia, neither he nor many of his brother Governors would now be in the Colonies. As it is, the 'new departure' is represented by the Earl of Hopetoun and the Earl of Kintore, who were present at the banquet yesterday, by the Earl of Onslow in New Zealand, and by the Earl of Jersey, who will soon be on his way out. . . . Apparently the Imperial Government has conceived from Lord Carrington's success the idea that the younger members of the order who wish to serve Country and Crown in public life can do good work in the Colonies, manifesting their tact and ability here, and forming afterwards in the House of Lords a connecting link between the old world and the new. It is too early yet to pass an opinion upon the experiment. But the new Governors come to us as men of ability and ambition, as well as of hereditary social position, and there is evidently a widespread and a generous disposition here to reciprocate their own avowed good feeling. We welcome in the Colonies, as Sir James MacBain said, any Governors whose reign tends to draw closer the relations between the different parts of the Empire. Sir Matthew Davies, in like manner, had his audience with him when he said that Australia would be content so long as the Colonial Office appoints as Governors men capable of strengthening the Imperial connection, and that, given patriotism and ability, it will not ask whether Her Majesty's representative is born a peer or whether he has worked his way by industry and ability to the front. . . . Lord Carrington's own remarks were for the most part devoted to the position and the duties of a Governor. So far as the relations of Great Britain and the Colonies are concerned, he is convinced that they can be maintained with cordiality and affection by the exercise of a little tact and a little patience. The Colonists are apt to write and to speak too strongly. They like, he says, 'taking the bull by the horns,' whereas, as every agriculturist knows, the right way with a bull is to lead him by the nose—John Bull, as Lord Carrington evidently thinks, being no exception to the rule. But the quarrels between the Colonies and the

Mother Country are, he believes, only ephemeral, and any interference on the part of a third party, who might hope to fan the flame or to increase the difference, would but bring the two more closely together. Henry George, he holds, is entirely mistaken in his idea that Australian loyalty is not worth a sixpence. So far as the divine right of kings is concerned, or the divine right of a state church, Henry George may be right, but he is wrong if he refers to a personal attachment to the Sovereign, to confidence in the Empire, to respect for law and order, or to a belief in the sceptre as the best defence of freedom. The best Governor, Lord Carrington holds, is he who most fosters the spirit of loyalty. And to succeed in this the representative of the Crown, he says, must not only uphold the honour of the Old Country, but he must sympathise with and he must be in touch with the national aspirations of the Colony. There is no occasion to quarrel with Lord Carrington's ideal, and there is every reason to applaud his practice."

The Governor of South Australia, Lord Kintore, had about the same time also been discoursing on "Governors," taking his text from the same article in the *National Review*, at an Agricultural Show in his own Government. Though dealing with the views of the writer of that article mainly in a bantering tone, he defended the policy of the "new departure," and spoke impressively enough upon all that is summed up in the phrase *noblesse oblige*.

MORE MCKINLEYANA.

THE American Tariff Act has continued to be the theme of much discussion, both at home and in Canada, though the crushing defeat suffered in the States by the party that carried it perhaps points to a shorter life for the new policy than could before have been anticipated. We have collected here some further expressions of opinion on the subject by public speakers and the press, which will, we believe, be read with no less interest than the similar extracts given in our last issue.

Mr. Gladstone's observations at Dundee will be found under the heading of "An Imperial Zollverein," to which aspect of the case he made a very special reference.

Lord Salisbury, speaking at the Guildhall banquet, on Lord Mayor's day, addressed himself to this subject, and in the course of his remarks said:—

If any persons think that we have been too anxious to acquire large stretches of African territory and to place them under the British flag, they should consider how closely intertwined the questions of commercial freedom and territorial supremacy are in our own day. (Hear, hear.) If there were no hostile tariffs, perhaps we should not be ambitious of dominion, but we know that every bit of the world's surface that is not under the English flag is a country which may be, and probably will be, closed to us by a hostile tariff, and therefore it is that we are anxious above all things to conserve, to unify, to strengthen the Empire of the Queen, because it is to the trade that is carried on within the Empire of the Queen that we look for the vital force of the commerce of this country. (Cheers.) We are happy to know that the cause of Free Trade has won a victory, or an apparent victory, on the other side of the Atlantic. If it is not a victory for the cause of Free Trade, it is a protest against extra-selfish Protection. But do not let us draw conclusions too rapidly from that isolated instance. The conflict which we have to fight is still a conflict of tariffs. In every country resolutions are being formed, and plans are being worked out, for limiting still further the intercourse of nations with each other, and interposing new barriers of tariff between the producers of one country and the consumers of another. And as years go on, we shall have to fight that battle. We know that the various nations are looking up their arms, and are seeing with what alterations of tariff they can meet hostile import duties on the other side—on the side of some neighbouring nations—how they can defend themselves, how they can compel a relaxation of the restrictions which they dread. It is the world's conflict of the future. We shall look upon it in a very philosophical spirit, because, whether it affects us for evil or for good, we are powerless to interfere. We have no retaliation to exercise, because we have already reduced our tariff to the lowest point that the revenue demands will permit us to accept. It is an interesting subject—the consideration for us whether that attitude will or will not be sustainable in the end, or whether the madness of our neighbours will force us to defect in any degree from the sound and sensible position we adopt.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, speaking at Kilmarnock, said:—

There were alterations in the tariff which would tell distinctly in our favour. Raw sugar had been put upon the free list. That was likely to give a great impetus to the principal industry of our West Indian Colonies, and with that impetus would come increased prosperity, and therefore increased trade between those Colonies and the home country. (Cheers.) Take, again, the attempt of the United States to exclude agricultural produce from Canada. If Canada could not send her agricultural produce to them, the United States would have to use more of their own agricultural produce at home, instead of sending it to us. The Canadians would send their agricultural produce to us in exchange for our manufactures, which the United States shut out—(cheers)—and that was an alteration in the flow of trade which would be satisfactory to all who valued our great Colonial connections. He believed our trade would increase even in spite of this American tariff, from what we should gain in Colonial and foreign markets.

Sir Lyon Playfair, in his interesting address at Leeds in the middle of November, said:—

Forty-five countries are competing with the United States in sending us food, and we must in future buy from those who take our goods in exchange. . . . Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and

India are looking to increase their supplies for our markets. The poor farmers of the United States see their markets dwindling, and yet find their clothes, their implements, and all the domestic utensils increased in cost to enrich a few manufacturers. . . . I must say a few words in relation to Canada, which is as large as the United States in area, although as yet containing only five million people. If the Tariff Act was not framed in any hostile spirit to England, the framers may be suspected of making a covert attack on Canada. Certainly some of the leading Republican newspapers maintain this view. The purpose would appear to be either to force Canada into a Customs Union (Zollverein), or to induce it to separate from England and become one of the States of the great Republic. There are mutual dependencies of the neighbouring countries. The connection between two neighbouring peoples is to be cut off by the Chinese wall of exclusion. If the object of the Act is (as Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister, thinks) to force the United States lion and the Canadian lamb to lie down together, this can only be accomplished by the lamb being inside the lion. Happily, such legislation always defeats itself. Canada has shown much energy in opening up her vast possessions by railways and by steamboats. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are now connected by an iron band. Canada can grow for us all the food which we now take from the United States. In less than twenty years the latter will have no surplus food to send, so it is the interest of England to aid in the development of Canadian agriculture. New markets are springing up for Canadian produce, and the prices, even of the threatened barley and eggs, have not fallen. As Canada, like other nations, can only sell by exchange for what she buys in commodities, these will have to come from England and other markets by reciprocal trade. The natural effect of the Act will be to draw together Canada and England. Trade is not conducted by sentiment. If we buy from Canada she must buy from us. . . . If Canada will take warning from the breakdown of Protection in the United States and reconstruct her tariff on principles of revenue, and not of Protection, Europe and Asia will contribute to her future greatness and commercial prosperity. She has it in her own power to attract English capital and English labour. Canada could become one of the greatest and most prosperous countries of the world by maintaining her political independence, if she only had a more profound conviction in the vast benefits of commercial freedom.

Upon this the *Times* says:—

We are glad to see that Sir Lyon Playfair agrees with the view which has been urged in these columns—that the perversity of the American Protectionists has given the Canadians a golden opportunity if they only have the courage and the common sense to avail themselves of it.

Commenting upon the same speech the *Yorkshire Daily Post* says:—

Nobody supposes that the sole underlying motive of the Act was unfriendliness to this country. The first idea of its promoters has unquestionably been to benefit American industries; but Sir Lyon Playfair admits that there is in connection with the Act a strong desire to put the screw on Canada to induce her to join the United States—and in this attempt we may remind him many of the Republican party have gloried in taking a part. . . . Canada, as Mr. Wiman recently told us, has immense stores of mineral wealth, and unquestionably her possibilities of producing food seem to be boundless, and the Mother Country will be glad to be a good customer for these things in preference to buying elsewhere. But whether or not the Canadians will see the force of doing as Sir Lyon Playfair says they should, and reducing their tariffs on our products, remains to be seen. They will do what they deem best for themselves, and growing young countries manifest a preference for Protection, mistaken and heretical as it may be.

The *Toronto Empire* refers as follows to the Australian trade:—

But the Australian trade will soon be largely affected by two important influences, both operating in our favour. The first is that the new United States tariff is not likely to promote the trade already existing between the Republic and the Australian Colonies. The new duties upon wool and tin and the threatened duty upon hides (under the reciprocity amendment to the McKinley Act) strike at the very articles which the United States take from Australia in exchange for what they send to it. The other influence is the prospective establishment of direct steamship and cable communication between the Dominion and Australia. This will undoubtedly give an enormous impetus to trade with Canada, because we can supply the very articles in demand among our fellow-subjects in Australia, taking in return their products, such as wool, hides, tropical fruits, etc. The exports of the United States to New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand largely consist of products that Canada is especially qualified to supply. For example, the exports of the United States to the British possessions in Australasia in 1889 amounted to 12,321,980 dols. The principal items of this trade are preserved fish, fruit, timber, both in the rough and in manufactured lumber, furniture, carriages, machinery, especially agricultural implements, tobacco, barley, etc. It is clear that with direct steamers Canada could expect to export in all these lines.

The same paper writes as follows of the West India trade:—

But Mr. Blaine has given a still more marked evidence of unfriendly feeling by his flat refusal to have anything to do with the Jamaica Exhibition. Rather than co-operate with anything British, this United States Minister is ready to sacrifice the interests of his people. The British West Indies have in the past drawn largely upon the United States for supplies which could be as well obtained from this Dominion and which, indeed, in many cases are actually Canadian. The feeling has been growing, both in Canada and the West Indies, that this roundabout commerce, through the intervention of foreign middlemen, is a mistake, and that a direct exchange of commodities between us would be more profitable. . . . The attempts against us will recoil

upon our assailants. This is certainly true in regard to Mr. Blaine's West Indian boycott. The *Chicago Tribune* learned through its New York correspondent the following opinion of a large merchant: "There is very little question that Canada will reap a large proportion of the Jamaica trade after this. It can furnish about the same products as the United States, and it only takes one day longer to ship the goods from some of the Canadian ports, say Halifax, than it does from New York." Such is the opening offered to Canada in the opinion of our commercial competitors. Our statesmanlike leaders and our enterprising merchants are availing themselves of the opportunity. The West Indian trade of Canada is sure to be greatly augmented, and in other quarters also the threatened isolation will be turned to the advantage of our country.

Sir Richard Cartwright, one of the leaders, as our readers are aware, of the present Opposition in the Dominion Government, speaking in the month of October, was reported to have said:—

Our policy is by all honourable and lawful means to obtain the fullest freedom of trade with the United States. Our policy is at the earliest possible moment to obtain full power to conduct commercial negotiations with all countries on this hemisphere at least, and that to that end we should be allowed to maintain our own recognised agent, responsible to the Canadian Government and the Canadian people, in connection with the Government at Washington. I do not deny that some men, whose opinions I respect, whose feelings I would be loth to hurt, entertain objections *in limine*, as I may say, to this proposition. They argue, and argue with force, that it will be necessary for us, if we enter into such an arrangement, to admit the goods of the United States on more favourable terms than those of the Mother Country. Nor do I deny that that is an objection, and not a light one *per se*. But I would say to this audience or to any audience elsewhere, that I do not think, whoever has the right to bring forward this objection, that it lies in the mouths of those who deliberately adopted the protective policy of 1878. One of the main reasons of the Reform party for opposing the introduction of the system of 1878 was that it was a distinct turning of our back upon the system which prevailed in England and the greater portion of the rest of the Empire, in favour of the American system, and I don't think it lies in these men's mouths, after having deliberately chosen the American system in preference to the British, now to bring forward the objection that we desire to discriminate against British trade.

Upon which the *Empire* says:—

Thus he declares his intention—if ever allowed the power—to "admit the goods of the United States on more favourable terms than those of the Mother Country." And thus to assail the United Kingdom for the benefit of foreigners, he owns was his object in demanding independent treaty-making power, in itself a claim to separate sovereignty. He would plainly detach Canada from the British Empire, and would attach it to the United States. We would be in a mere condition of vassalage till the adoption of annexation, inevitable under such circumstances.

The *Toronto Week* says:—

It seems little better than an electioneering device—and this is the second point to which we refer—to assume, as Sir John and his supporters constantly do, that reciprocity in its unrestricted form is synonymous with annexation. The simple fact is, as every intelligent Canadian knows well, that there is no sufficient reason for believing that there is any idea of annexation in the minds of those who would favour, more than of those who would oppose unrestricted reciprocity. There is no question of annexation at all in Canada, and if there were, the argument of those who say that free trade with the United States would be the most effectual means of killing any such movement, by taking away the only inducement to political union, is, so far as appears, just as valid as that of those who take the opposite view. The question of unrestricted reciprocity, if it should become a living one—and it is certain that reciprocity in no other form will become possible for long years to come—should be argued on its merits. It is a fairly debatable one. Why should it be thought necessary to prejudice the discussion by identifying unrestricted trade with political union, as if the one involved the other?

And, in a later issue, the same paper writes:—

The Dominion is manifestly nearing a parting of the ways. . . . The Government and its supporters have committed themselves to a certain trade policy for the Dominion and are pursuing and pushing that policy with great energy and persistence. The leaders and supporters of the Opposition have not only committed themselves to a radically different policy, but are now staking all their hopes of office upon the acceptance of that policy by the people of Canada at the next election. The question for every intelligent Canadian to consider and to reach a decision upon is clear and well defined. . . . Among the preliminary questions which will need to be answered with some degree of precision and conclusiveness, before the people of Canada will be likely to entrust their future to the hands of Sir Richard and his friends, are evidently the following:—(1.) Is Free Trade with the United States a political possibility, even on the conditions of making it unrestricted and maintaining a high tariff against other nations, Great Britain included? (2.) Is such Free Trade desirable, on the only basis on which it is possible, if possible at all, namely, that marked out by the above conditions? (3.) Assuming an affirmative answer to both these questions, is such an arrangement compatible with, we need not even say, loyalty to the Mother Country, but with fair and honourable dealing, in view of our past and present relations with her?

Mr. Wiman addressing himself to the people of the New England States, is reported to have said that—

Markets would be created for New England manufactures which would readily absorb the surplus of production, and which would have

the advantage of free admission to so large a portion of the British Empire, while goods from Great Britain and foreign countries would be burdened with a tariff equal to that of this country.

The *Winnipeg Free Press* says:—

The Canadian Imperial Federationists believe that their opportunity has come. The McKinley Tariff has caused a great many disturbances, has given rise to a great many speculations, and has put a new face on a great many conditions; but no one less acute than one of themselves would believe that in it would be found a powerful influence working for the advancement of Imperial Federation views. But such, it would appear, is the case. . . . This is the opportunity for which the Federationists have been long looking. In view of the adoption of that measure they call on all Canadians, irrespective of party, to unite in urging Imperial Federation as a means "to open up new channels of trade with the scattered colonies of the Empire, and with the Mother Country." They believe the present is an opportune time "to promote such tariff changes as would give to each part of the Empire advantages in the markets of all." In other words, they believe the present a singularly propitious time for advocating an Imperial Zollverein. Would Britain regard the scheme with favour? . . . The League, however, can make no such offer. The present Government is far more apt to pass a "McKinley Bill" for Canada than to submit the manufacturers to whom it is so much indebted to the competition of free British imports. But if it could, nothing would come of it. British sentiment is overwhelmingly in favour of free trade. This is a policy on which both political parties take their stand. A few Fair Traders there are, but they are without influence. Lord Salisbury, who is entitled to speak for the Tory party, in reply to one of them not long ago, said that any attempt to restore protective duties would be politically and economically impossible, and would bring about a state of affairs little removed from civil war. Neither the present nor any other time, so far as can be seen now, will be opportune for the successful advocacy of an Imperial Zollverein.

The *Toronto Globe*, referring to the same circular of the League in Canada glanced at in the preceding extract, writes:—

They might as well ask for the restoration of the Heptarchy as for any scheme of trade that would interfere in the slightest degree with that perfect freedom of commerce which Britain deliberately adopted in 1846, to her infinite benefit as a mercantile and industrial community. Before requesting her to clap a tax on foreign products and to let ours in free, that is to say, before asking her to increase the price of her people's food and of the raw material and half-finished products which enter into the economy of their factories and workshops, solely for our benefit, it might be well for the Canadian branch of the Imperial Federation League to ascertain whether Sir John Macdonald, or the Manufacturers' Association that dominates his Government, would be willing to grant her anything in return for so colossal a sacrifice of her material interests. For instance, would they permit her manufacturers and artisans to send their wares into Canada free of duty? If the League were in a position to say that this would be done, and done cheerfully, it could go to England and ask the Parliament at Westminster to legislate in our behalf as aforesaid with some sort of a straight face. But until it obtains such an assurance from Sir John, we respectfully submit that it would be the height of impudence for it, or for any of us, to demand from Britain that she should stint the bread of her masses and cripple her foreign trade by augmenting the cost of production and diminishing the number of her customers, in order to benefit this Colony or any other.

A STIRRING SCENE.

THE following incident of the great Australian strike is related by the *Melbourne Age* in reporting a mass meeting of trades in Flinders Park, attended by a number of persons estimated at the lowest at 30,000 to 40,000.

"Hush! The chairman is putting the resolution to the vote. And now one may look for the first time on a sight unique in Australian history. All in favour are to hold up their right hands; and at the word 10,000 arms are in the air. 'Pass it on,' cries some one on the platform, and it does pass on like a field of growing corn springing up after a strong wind. And so, after half a dozen more speeches in the same strain, the meeting rises to its climax. Mr. Hancock has spoken; Mr. Bromley and Mr. Campbell, whom the crowd hailed with cries of 'Scotty,' They have been cheered to the echo, and one would think that the crowd had neither inclination nor breath for more. But as yet the highest note of enthusiasm is to come, and it comes suddenly and unexpectedly. Mr. Murphy, secretary of the strike committee, is speaking, with the impetuous eloquence of an Irishman, of the scene when the London dock labourers marched beneath the Australian flag. 'We will take the British Union Jack,' he cried, 'and salute it as they did ours. Wave that flag.' Next moment the ensign of England waved in the air, and beside it a star-set flag of Australia. A French crowd would have fallen into tears and embraces. The Victorian crowd, little given to theatrical display, looked on at first in silence, and struggled with an awkward inclination to laugh. Then like a wave the patriotic spirit carried them away. 'Hats off,' the speaker roared, and every hat was in the air, and 30,000 voices blended into one mighty cheer. Again and again the 'hurrahs' broke out, and the people far away out of earshot, catching sight of the waving flags, joined in the cheering. It was the 'inspired moment' of the meeting. After that everything seemed tame.

And in the face of that mighty burst of patriotism, Mr. Rosa prophesied the Commune. There are some men born with

eyes blinded to all outside their own narrow imagination. Mr. Rosa is one of these unfortunate individuals. There he stood a stone's throw away, beneath a flaunting red banner, hurling his flaunting red speeches at the unheeding ears of the populace. As an advertisement he displayed a hideous daub representing the dawn of Socialism in appropriate shades of red and yellow as the background to a number of allegorical figures. The names "capital, tyranny, despotism" were appended to explain the artist's meaning, and the whole thing, perhaps not without appropriateness, was precisely like those familiar announcements which invite the unwary public to "walk up and see the wild beasts." But the people cared as little for Mr. Rosa and his highly coloured portraits as for his highly coloured speeches. They had gone to take part in a great demonstration, not to assist in a petty lunacy, and so they went home and never even waited for that necessary adjunct of professional Communism—the collection."

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE resolutions of the Federal Conference were introduced in the House of Representatives by Captain Russell (Colonial Secretary) on September 6th. In the course of his speech he said:—"Every honourable member must know that within a short time we shall have in New Zealand waters part of the Imperial squadron of Great Britain; and, sir, I venture to say that when we see that Imperial squadron in these waters, every man will feel pride stir his heart as he reflects that he is a subscriber to the expenses, and consequently a part owner, of that squadron. He will realise when he sees the bunting flying at the peak, not only that it is the Cross of St. George, but that it is the emblem of really the greatest naval Power the world has ever seen. He will feel a thrill go through his heart as he realises that he is a member of perhaps the greatest Empire in all the annals of history. Sir, could we for an instant gain anything by weakening in any degree the link that binds us to that great Empire? I venture to say we could not. Should we gain anything by allying ourselves with Australia? Can they send us a fleet—one that is sure to protect British interests wherever they may be—a fleet that can traverse the ocean with great rapidity, and come to the rescue of British life, British honour, and British commerce in any part of the world? I venture to say that we should do a wrong if we did anything at all that would tend to weaken the chances of Imperial Federation. I believe Imperial Federation is much more valuable to New Zealand than any other form of Federation, and I go further and say that if we help to bring about Imperial Federation, it will be the first step towards the great Federation of the English-speaking peoples, which will do more for the advancement of good government and civilisation, and the peaceful settlement of all disputes, than anything else that we could possibly devise."

Mr. Ballance (leader of the Opposition) said:—"The honourable gentleman hopes to have Federation of the English-speaking peoples. I think that the idea is more sentimental than practical. My own idea is we shall have in the future Federation of the English-speaking peoples; we shall have the Federation referred to by Tennyson—Federation of the whole world—one great Federation; but we are talking now as practical politicians, and the question is really, What is immediately within our grasp? What can be accomplished within ten, twenty, or thirty years? But I believe we have already accomplished, to a very large extent, Federation of the greatest possible value, the only Federation that concerns us here in New Zealand: I refer to the Federation of the British Empire. It may be stated that Imperial Federation is as much in the future as Australasian Federation, or the Federation of the English-speaking race. I do not think so. If you mean paper Federation, a form of paper constitution like those of the United States and the Dominion of Canada, then I will grant you it is some distance in the future. The position I take up is this: We have already accomplished Federation; we are already members of a great Federation, where we have freedom in the management of our affairs, the preservation of our autonomy, and not the government which tends merely to make us a municipal unit. That is a feature worthy of earnest consideration in approaching this question.

"If we were independent to-morrow, depend upon it some plan would be resorted to for annexing us. Our only bulwark for the next hundred years that we have to rely upon is the strength of the fleets and armaments of Great Britain. That will be our defence, and no other; and should we attempt to rely upon any other, we should soon find how grievously we had been mistaken. Can the Australian Colonies for one moment offer us any defence from their fleet? Not at all. We have already provided, by a system of Federation, for the defence of our own shores by contributing to the Imperial fleet, and so have all the Australian Colonies. We have provided for ourselves all the defence we require for many years. We have subscribed to an Imperial fleet, and could call upon the Imperial Government for any assistance required in case of war; and that assistance would be freely and voluntarily offered and given to us—aye, to the last ship and to the last man. Therefore, on the ground of defence we have nothing to gain from this Federation. Our true Federation, our true means of defence, must be the defence which springs from the unity and from the solidarity and power of the British Empire. I believe in Imperial Federation. I believe the time is coming when the Colony will be drawn closer to the Mother Country, not by any great scheme which may be devised by statesmen, but from the natural tendency of things—from our dependence on the Mother Country and her dependence upon us—the interdependence of the different members of the Empire. Those are the bonds and the cords that are drawing the members of the Empire closer together. . . . This is our Federation; this is the Imperial Federation developing

continually, and which is making this Colony and the Mother Country more interdependent. I do not see that anything is to be gained by Australasian Federation. . . . There is no Federation in either the ancient or the modern world that shows the same harmonious relations as exist in the present form of Imperial Federation. Would not these relations be disturbed by an Australasian Federation? I think they would; they would be weakened. The tendency in the Australian Colonies at the present time—although it is a tendency that may be reversed—is to have their own flag. There is a large—I am told a growing—section of people in Australia in favour of complete independence. But I ask, are the people of this Colony, with all the liberties and privileges that they enjoy in this connection—are they prepared to run the risk of having this connection severed? I do not think that any considerable proportion of the people of the Colony are prepared for such a step as that. There is no reason for it. If there were, I might be an advocate for it. But we combine to the greatest extent the power of the Empire with the liberty of the Colony and practical independence. . . . I am firmly of opinion that it is our duty to keep clear of all minor Federations, and attach ourselves to the great Federation of the Empire, in which we can take a dignified and leading part."

MR. WARD said:—"Now, I will endeavour to show that some of the arguments which are used here to-day were used during the discussions which took place at the Quebec Conference, and were used most eloquently against forming the Canadian Dominion. Separation from Britain was urged as being sure to follow; want of loyalty was stated to be an absolute certainty; and, again, the difficulty of various conflicting tariffs was urged, and was said to be almost insuperable. . . . Now, Sir, I wish to ask the House, has the Canadian Dominion become disloyal to England? Can any honourable member say that it has? Certainly not. Have they seceded from England? Certainly not. Yet this was urged against union then, on the same grounds as it is now. . . . I venture to express the opinion again that in time to come this Colony, by force of circumstances, will be compelled, if it can do so, to join her lot with the neighbouring Colonies, and should the altered circumstances caused by that growth necessitate a separation of those Colonies from Great Britain, which personally I sincerely hope may not be the case, the separation will be tempered by hallowed memories. Should it ever come to pass it will be an affectionate severance. [MR. COWAN.—No.] The hon. member says 'No.' When he was addressing his constituents he was an advocate of Federation. I am surprised to hear him express himself as he does now. [MR. COWAN.—So long as it did not involve separation from the Empire.] I undoubtedly say that, so far as my own desire is concerned, I sincerely hope that the Federation of the Colonies may never lead to secession from the parent country; but if the growth of the Colonies should entail that, such a separation will be an affectionate severance."

MR. BRYCE said:—"The honourable gentleman (the Colonial Secretary) also spoke in a very patriotic way of Imperial Federation: and no doubt that is a feeling that exists—at any rate, I hope it exists, and I believe it does exist—to a considerable extent in the Colony. I do not myself, however, attach the same value to that increased Federation with the Mother Country that some people seem to think to be so desirable. I think it must not be forgotten that we have a considerable amount of Federation with the Mother Country at present, and this is working at the present time beneficially to us and beneficially to the Home-country, but it is not easy to see how it can be increased with advantage to us, or how it can be increased at all. Of course, when we look at the piece of bunting which the honourable member has described as floating above our heads, we shall think with pride that we helped to raise it, and that we shall have to help to maintain it. The honourable member for Wanganui added emphasis to this part of the argument by declaring his belief that if the real pinch came, Great Britain would maintain her prestige here and defend these distant Colonies with her last ship and her last man. I am sorry to say that I am not quite so sanguine upon that point as the honourable member appears to be, and that, in point of fact, I do not believe it. I believe that if England were ever threatened at heart, and had to exert her utmost energies to defend the Channel and the great cities along her coast, she would not hesitate for a single moment, if the occasion required it, to withdraw from these Colonies her last ship and her last man; and I should be patriotic enough to say that in so doing she was quite right. It really is as I said before, that, although Imperial Federation is working well, no reasonable plan has been shown by which the bonds of Imperial Federation could be drawn closer with advantage either to New Zealand or to the Mother Country."

SIR GEORGE GREY said:—"Then, I ask again, how is this Imperial Federation to be carried out? That is another question. The favourite idea has been that we are to send representatives to some central Legislature; that all the component parts of the English-speaking race attached to the British Empire, and the United States afterwards, are to form one great Federation for good. My argument is that such a Federation exists; and I will show that presently. But I say that any attempt at Federation in which there was a general Congress would be a great misfortune. I believe that such a general Congress, always sitting, could never be kept quiet. It would often have nothing to do, and necessarily, I believe, it would make work for itself. At all events it would have this effect, which I do not desire: In a very short time, if it were a Congress of English-speaking communities, England would be in a minority in the Congress, and she would cease to exercise that potent influence in the world which she now exercises, and she would be dragged down from that high pinnacle of supremacy which she now occupies. . . . I ask, why rob ourselves of the privilege of being bound to a great nation by bonds of affection of that kind, by attempting to introduce something that is new and which I think is uncalled-for? I believe in what I call the loosest Federation—in a Federation under which conferences can take place between all branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. Conferences can be held and can settle what shall be done. That having been done, and its decisions adopted, the Conference separates, and it may be years

before it has to meet again to decide upon any subject. To all intents and purposes it would be a Congress sitting not always or for any time, but a Congress that is called together when any important event arises which makes necessary a new law suiting the circumstances of the time, and then disappears until it is necessary to call it together again upon some future occasion. I believe that a Federation of that kind, which is what we have really at the present moment, is the best we can possibly adopt. . . . We have no right to interfere with the Old World. But, in regard to the interests of this New World, I say we have a complete and perfect right to insist upon all that we believe to be right being done, and to resist any attempt to oppose our will. That is my idea of the Federation that we should have. I think it is good for all purposes. It leaves to England her pristine greatness, which she has enjoyed for centuries. It leaves untouched our relations with Great Britain and foreign countries; and it enables us to act with Australia whenever any great question arises, and enables us again to separate each into its own autonomy the moment that question is adjusted. I cannot conceive why we should bind ourselves by any closer ties, or what advantages could be gained."

MR. SAUNDERS said:—"By far the most important remark made by the Colonial Secretary was that in which he referred to the danger of Federation with Australia leading to separation from the Home-country. Sir, if there were the least danger of that, I would say, By all means keep clear of it. I think that any one who has watched the history of the world, and especially any one who has watched the history of Australia, must know that the danger of that has gone by. When Australia was largely peopled with convicts, when the convict element had a very powerful influence in everything connected with Australia, then, I admit, there would have been danger in this country federating with her on that account: but that element has gradually gone under—it is scarcely perceptible now; we have become more and more alike; every day has warmly attached us to the Home Government; and there is not the slightest danger, either in that country or in this, that we shall ever propose to do anything to separate us from the English-speaking races of the world."

SIR J. HALL said:—"The honourable gentleman discussed the large question of Imperial Federation, and contended that this proposed Australasian Federation would be a difficulty in the way of that larger Federation, so-called—that Imperial Federation which, as I understood him, he advocated and wished to see established. I should like to say a word or two with respect to this Imperial Federation. I wish some honourable gentleman would tell me—I wish the honourable gentleman himself had said what they mean by Imperial Federation. I have watched the discussions on this important subject for years, and I am bound to say that I have never been able to get from any one a distinct idea as to what this phrase does mean, what their scheme is, and what modification of our constitution is meant by the term "Imperial Federation." Federation I can understand as between independent States, or between two countries which are not occupying the relative positions that the Mother Country does to her Colonies. . . . But a Federation between the Mother Country and her Colonies is a term that to my mind has no distinct meaning. And I think the course of events with regard to an association very powerfully patronised at home, which took up this question, quite confirms my statement. After years of labour, after bringing to bear on the subject some of the best intellects in the Mother Country, the only practical conclusion which they have been able to come to is the proposition of Lord Rosebery, that we should have more frequent conferences in London of representatives of Great Britain and the Colonies, similar to the one which was held there on the subject of Imperial Defence. That is the only definite proposal which, after years of discussion, the Association has been able to make. If we want this sort of Federation, have we not got it now? I think that Conference was most useful, and, when occasion arises for another such, then it should be called; but to call conferences merely for the sake of having conferences appears to me to be nonsense."

"What I think is the origin of the movement which has received the name of Imperial Federation is this: that, whereas in my youth a very active party in England advocated that the Colonies should be cut adrift from the Mother Country, there has now come over the public mind in the Old Country a very great change. [Hon. Members: Hear, hear.] Thoughtful men have seen further into the question, and have realised that the connection which exists between Great Britain and her Colonies in different parts of the world is a connection consonant with our best sentiments and mutually beneficial to both parties, and that it would be a very great calamity if the connection should cease. Indeed, there has been a yearning to make closer and stronger and more permanent the bonds which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country. This is really the feeling which has led to the idea or Imperial Federation being taken up so warmly, when, after all, it did not embody any distinct proposals or any recognised plan."

"Now, the honourable member for Wanganui rather pitted Imperial Federation against the proposed Australasian Federation; and he speaks as if the two were antagonistic. I think there is nothing antagonistic in the two schemes. Quite the contrary. If there is to be a closer connection—if there is to be a revision of the bonds which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country, will it not be easier to accomplish this when the Mother Country has got to settle the question not with seven or eight separate Colonies, but with one large Australasian Dominion? Surely, if differences have to be adjusted, if terms have to be settled, it is far easier for it to be done when Australasia is federated into one large Dominion, with which the Mother Country can negotiate, than if she had to make terms with seven or eight different Colonies, generally not agreed amongst themselves. This is illustrated by the course of events in respect of the agreement on the subject of naval defence arrived at by the London Conference. If there had been one large Australasian Dominion to make an agreement with, it would have been arrived at easily and have been carried out without difficulty. With much difficulty an agreement was arrived at, but it has not been carried out, because one of the Colonies which was a party to that agreement has refused to endorse the action of its representatives: I

mean the Colony of Queensland. I hope and believe that that refusal will not be persisted in; but, at any rate, what I have said illustrates the difficulties arising from the present position, and shows why I think differences would be more easily adjusted if there were one Australasian Federation to deal with the Mother Country than if there were separate and disunited Colonies.

"In view of the vast armaments of European Powers, it is perfectly hopeless that we should be able to defend ourselves unless we have the protection of a great naval Power. In the absence of such protection, the greed on the part of some European Powers of territory with a temperate climate, to which a large surplus population can be sent, is so great that, deprived of the aid of the Mother Country, in the event of hostilities our liberties would not be worth twelve months' purchase. It is not for the protection of Australia by an Australasian navy that this Federation will be of value, but because it may help us to agree more quickly on such subjects with the Mother Country. Although we have an arrangement for ten years, we must not suppose a revision of it will not be necessary. We shall obtain more easily such revision as may be required if New Zealand and an Australian Dominion alone have to negotiate with the Imperial Government than if the negotiation had to be carried on with half a dozen separate Colonies."

MR. BEETHAM said:—"I shall not attempt to deal with the abstract question of Imperial Federation, but address myself specially to the subject-matter before us in these resolutions introduced by the Colonial Secretary. . . . But I think that at this juncture it would be best in our interests not to join in the proposed Federation, but rather to look forward to Imperial Federation in the future. . . . The honourable member for Selwyn seemed to entertain doubt as to the good that has been done by the Imperial Federation League. I am glad to be able to call the honourable member's attention to this fact: that the Conference that sat in London a few years ago was entirely owing to the efforts of that League. The idea was first brought under the notice of Lord Knutsford, then Sir Henry Holland, by the Imperial Federation League, and I am sure the honourable gentleman will admit that that Conference has exercised a most important influence, and that its future effects will be very greatly to the benefit of this and other Australasian Colonies, and the Empire generally. I, sir, had the pleasure of being present as a member of the Imperial Federation League Council, and heard many debates take place on various subjects connected with Imperial Federation, and one and all of the members of that League were imbued with the idea that Imperial Federation must be carried out in the future; but, sir, such expressed opinions were always tempered with such judgment that I am convinced that no hasty or misguided action will result from their deliberations."

MR. HOBBS said:—"Some members seem to think that Imperial Federation is far more important; but to my mind it appears to be almost an insult to one who, though not born in Great Britain—I have never been to the Old Country, and am now something like sixty years of age—still may claim to have that feeling for the Old Country which goes further than any political union that may be proposed and adopted; and I think I am speaking the voice of young New Zealand when I say that they are loyal to the backbone. I venture to say that any man who will preach in this House the doctrine of Republicanism, or dismemberment of the Empire, will get no sympathy from young New Zealand. I have as much pride in the Old Country, in that 'tight little island' we hear about—the island home of an Englishman—as though I had been born there; and I venture to say that the feeling I have no political union can ever shake or interfere with. We want to remain under the grand old flag which has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze."

MR. J. S. MACKENZIE said:—"I have said that the time may come when we also may wish to join an Australasian Confederation: that time may be near or it may be distant, but it is not now. This Colony has a duty before it—the duty of developing its own national life and educating its children so that they may become good citizens of the State, and thus uphold the traditions of the great Empire to which it is their privilege to belong."

MR. ALLEN said:—"A market will always be open to us so long as we keep ourselves tied by bonds of friendship to the Old Country. There is one reason why I cannot see that it would be right for New Zealand to federate at this time—and I do not believe we shall ever join in a Federation with Australia—and it is this: I believe the time will come when the whole of the English-speaking people will be tied together, not by bonds of political union, but by bonds of friendship, which would be even stronger than the bonds of a federal union."

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The Resolutions finally passed the Legislative Council on October 8th—the Council thus, as one of its members complained, "bringing up the rear" of all the Legislative Houses in Australia. On the resumption of the debate—

MR. BARTON said in the course of his speech:—"A great deal of the discussion had gone upon the words 'union under the Crown.' Now, to those who aspired to see a general independent Australian State, as well as to those who wished merely to see a consolidation of the various provinces on this continent for the purpose of carrying out that work which might be most effectually performed by a general authority, it might be said that the insertion of those words was necessary and desirable. If that idea of independence was to be carried out no one who wished to see that question fairly debated could fail to see that those who aimed at an independent Australia could not have as readily an opportunity of ventilating their views and enforcing them upon the central authority of the whole Empire as by adopting the course proposed. If it ever became necessary for the people of Australia to join together for the purpose of asserting their right to form themselves into an independent community, whether that became necessary or not, it did appear to him that the

proper way to federate was under the Crown. If half-a-dozen States secured their independence one after another, they would be more exposed to reabsorption by the Empire than if they remained in their present condition. It would be utterly impossible to at once weld into one independent State all the Colonies, if the independence of several preceded the work of federation. The work of consolidating them would in those circumstances be ten times more difficult than the work now about to be undertaken. His belief was that our best work was to be done in connection with the great Empire of which we were a part, keeping in view the fact that we had as near as possible approached to perfect legislative independence. (Hear, hear.) He admitted that there was one thing which the aspirant for nationality might well urge, and that was that the people of Australia—the people of New South Wales—had no doubt the power to frame laws, but they had not absolute power to make them; they could pass statutes, but those statutes were subject to being vetoed. The advocates of nationality might say that the supreme authority of the Empire was cast ultimately upon the responsibility to the entire people of Great Britain, and not upon the responsibility to the people of Australia. Hence it followed that such advocates of nationality might say that the advice tendered, or instructions given, by a member of the Government in any land responsible only to the people of that land, might have the result of frustrating certain of the efforts of the Colonists at independent legislation. He (Mr. Barton) admitted that that was true. He admitted that theoretically there was a position of entire dependency on the part of the several Colonies to the Mother Country. That theory, however, could not, and did not, affect the position of these Colonies. He adverted to the action of the Imperial Government in respect to the Divorce Bill, and said that they knew that not the least advantage arising from federation would be that the exercise of any authority on the part of the Crown at the seat of Empire—of course, acting upon the advice of those responsible to people in Great Britain—would be found in the future—unless it involved the good faith of the Empire, and the keeping of those treaties, the breaking of which was very much to be deprecated—likely to lead to serious alterations in the relations of the Colony and the Empire. He believed that under a federated constitution there would be such a strength imparted to the voice of United Australia, and that voice would be so intelligible at the seat of Imperial Government, that there would not be the slightest danger of any such friction as he had spoken of arising in the future. Now in the proportion in which the Colonies would be strong under a united Government, in that proportion they would be moderate. If they had a united Australia it would be found in respect of any matters which under present circumstances might be the subjects of friction between the Colonies and the Mother Country, that there would be less likelihood of that friction arising—first, because the voice which spoke for Australia would be a more intelligible voice, because it would not be characterised by the discord noticeable on previous occasions; and in the next place the voice being understood to be the voice of Australia, there would practically be no danger of anything within the lines of constitutional action being refused or vetoed as a matter of legislation on the ground that there might be any political opinion at variance with the political opinion in the Colonies. That voice being, first, more powerful, and, secondly, more readily understood, would be a voice which would carry its weight far more readily than the less intelligible and less consistent voice of the Colonies as they were now constituted. If one were asked to give a cogent reason for union, surely no stronger reason could be given than that. Therefore, he held that federation should be a federation under the Crown.

The Hon. G. E. Foster, the Finance Minister of the Dominion, has left on a tour of the West Indies, Bermuda, and British Guiana, with a view of familiarising himself with the commercial conditions of those countries and their relations to Canadian trade.

An American Adherent.—Writing from New York, an American correspondent of the Secretary of the League says:—"I completed an essay on Federation which took a Townsend prize at Yale, delivering the same as an oration in Battell Chapel, where it was received with much attention and applause. If I were an Englishman I should immediately join your membership."

Barbados.—Mr. R. P. Elliott read before the Agricultural Society a paper on Imperial Federation, which he had commenced for the London Chamber of Commerce prize, but discontinued then because he failed to discover a practical solution of the problem. Had the views now submitted been then entertained by him, he would not have hesitated to communicate them as the modest contribution of an old Colonist to the ventilation of this very important question.—*Barbados Agricultural Gazette.*

A Salutory Notice.—"To Federate would be a special notice to our neighbours that Canada was no longer a subordinate Province, but a State of the Empire, co-ordinate with England, Ireland, or Scotland; one of the directing partners, contributing and voting; not a 'Dependency,' a 'mere Colony,' one of the *Possessions Anglaises*, as it is classed by the postal department of France. It would be a warning to certain blatant haters of Britain that in future, if needs be, their octopus would fight with all its tentacles as well as with its jaws."—MR. BLAKE CROFTON in *Toronto Week.*

MR. C. Washington Eves, C.M.G., who represented Jamaica in the 1887 Conference, and is well known as taking the lead in all affairs relating to Jamaica, is busily engaged in making all arrangements on this side of the water for the success of the forthcoming Jamaica Exhibition. Mr. Washington Eves has just secured the services of Mr. Lee Bapty, whose experience in such matters is great, and despatched him to Jamaica as general manager of the Exhibition there. Mr. Washington Eves will proceed in person to Jamaica in January to superintend the ceremony of opening the Exhibition by H.R.H. Prince George of Wales.

AN IMPERIAL ZOLLVEREIN.

SPEAKING at Dundee on October 29th, Mr. Gladstone referred to the McKinley Tariff, and to what he said was the favourite proposition for answering it by an Imperial Zollverein. He said:—"Why do I say that we ought not to think of retaliation? There is something very plausible in the idea of retaliating for what some people call a wrong. I will not enter into the question whether it is a wrong or not, because every country is competent to enact whatever it pleases, whether it be wise or whether it be unwise, in the matter of commercial legislation. But it is called sometimes a war of tariffs, and, I think, that is not at all an unjust description. Shall we enter into that war? I think not. The favourite proposition is what is called an Imperial Zollverein—that is to say, that the whole of the British Empire shall have a common tariff. I doubt very much if the whole of the British Empire would consent to it. But that is another matter. We should have one common tariff in favour of the subjects of the Queen and as against all foreign countries whatsoever. Now there are 1,000 objections, I think. This objection strikes you at first, that it would be very hard indeed upon those countries which pursue with us a system of free and open trade to inflict punishment upon them because a particular country, though a very great country, and though a country most closely united to us in feeling and interest, has adopted a restricted system of commerce. (Cheers.) But I do not stand upon that. I wish to point out how the case really comes before us. The effect of an Imperial Zollverein would be undoubtedly to some extent to enlarge our commerce with our Colonies and dependencies. But then it would also infallibly be to contract our commerce with the rest of the world. Now, which of those two is the most important? They are both of them vast, they are both of them of enormous consequence, and I admit, and I am very glad to think, that the Colonial commerce with India and the Colonies increases rather the faster of the two. But look at the amount, because in the long run the amount of trade is a pretty good criterion of its value. The amount of our Colonial, our Imperial commerce is 187 millions in the year, taking all imports and exports of all descriptions of goods together. But the amount of our foreign commerce is 554 millions in the year. (Cheers.) You will see, and I think will recognise at once, that it would indeed be a doubtful, or rather not at all a doubtful, policy—a great deal worse than a doubtful policy, a most inglorious policy—to clog the action of British energy and enterprise in a market of 554 millions in the year, even for the purpose of enlarging that action in a market of one-third portion of that amount."

This utterance of the ex-Premier has called forth a good many significant expressions of opinion in the press, some of which are here appended.

The *Times* says:—"It seems a little strange that Mr. Gladstone did not find anything to say on the effects, direct and indirect, of the McKinley tariff on our own magnificent Transatlantic possessions. Canada, as we have shown on former occasions, is most deeply touched by the new policy of her powerful neighbour. It must affect her own financial and commercial position enormously. It may mark a vital change in her economic policy. A word from one of the acknowledged masters of English finance to our Canadian fellow-citizens on the special advantages of Canadian Free Trade would assuredly have been a word spoken in season. It may be true, as Mr. Gladstone says, that an Imperial Zollverein would not at present prove a paying policy, even if it were otherwise feasible, although on this matter we think Mr. Gladstone does not fully perceive the weight of the arguments against him; but, at any rate, it is certain that the partial or entire adoption of a Free Trade policy by Canada would be a vast boon to her and to Great Britain, and a priceless political advantage to the whole Empire."

Daily News:—"America can afford to play tricks—or, in more decorous phrase, to try experiments—which would ruin an old and over-populated country in twenty years. She practises very inconsistently Free Trade over half a Continent, and her land is not yet exhausted. Nevertheless, American Free Traders gather strength every year, and Mr. McKinley is the best friend they ever had. We have no intention of imitating a bad example by instituting a Zollverein, and restricting two-thirds of our trade for the pleasure of coercing our Protectionist Colonies. We deal, as Mr. Gladstone says, not with this country or that country, but with mankind."

Morning Post:—"Every one is agreed that Free Trade in itself is the best and most simple basis upon which the elaborate system of modern commerce can rest. But the folly of an absolutely self-denying ordinance could not be better illustrated than it has been by the passing of the McKinley Bill. The power of encountering rampant Protection by a resort, however unwilling, to the same kind of weapon is quite as needful for securing equitable treatment as the power of drawing the sword is to the maintenance of national independence. It is only political madmen who would go to war recklessly; it is only economical madmen who would dam the natural course of Free Trade by the artificial restrictions of Protection. But in neither case can a great commercial community afford to be left naked to its enemies. In trading matters 'retaliation' is one of the weights which turn the scales of profit and loss. It has nothing to do with that curiously sentimental friendship which is based on the wants of one party and completed by the self-abnegation of the other."

Manchester Examiner:—"Mr. Gladstone's criticism of the proposal to form an Imperial commercial Union, which would foster our trade with British Colonies to the prejudice of our much larger foreign commerce, is also based on secure lines, but exception may be taken to Mr. Gladstone's exclusion from the calculation of the expansion which our trade with British Colonies might reasonably be expected to undergo in such circumstances. It would certainly be a grand mistake to imperil our possession of 'a bird in hand' for the sake of 'two in the bush.'"

Standard:—"Mr. Gladstone is against an Imperial Zollverein. Free Trade with the Colonies and Protection against the rest of the world would be to sacrifice the more lucrative to the less lucrative branch of commerce. Which of the two, he asks, is the more important—our commerce with the Colonies or our commerce with the rest of the world? Of course, as a pecuniary question, there can be but one answer to it. But there are other kinds of wealth besides money which cannot be left wholly out of the account."

Daily Chronicle:—"Now, considering how firmly our Colonies are wedded to Protection, how hard to reconcile are their conflicting interests, even, as in the case of Australia, where their territories are contiguous, should we be wise in throwing away or greatly diminishing the larger volume in order to grasp the smaller? That smaller volume, though some may urge it is growing, is precarious. Canadian and Australian business men are just as selfish as are those of the United States, and if they found that the commercial connection with England hampered their interests, they would 'cut the painter' without any hesitation. Then we should perhaps discover, too late, that we had surrendered a magnificent reality for the merest shadow."

Fall Mall Gazette:—"Mr. Gladstone, as might be expected, did not smile on the proposal of an Imperial Zollverein. But the particular line of opposition which he took does not seem to us quite conclusive. If we establish a Zollverein for our Colonies, said Mr. Gladstone in effect, we diminish our trade with other countries. That is possibly true. But suppose that other countries take the first step, and reduce our trade with them by increasing their duties against us. What then? Are we still to seek no means of increasing our trade with our own Colonies? Besides, is it necessarily true that even a high Protective tariff would do us much harm, if it were accompanied by absolute Free Trade between different portions of the Empire? In the case of America, she does not suffer, Mr. Gladstone says, 'because her territory is so large that she is a world in herself, and the amount of Free Trade within America herself creates in itself a vast and healthy commerce with which nothing can interfere.' But is not this precisely the case for a British Zollverein also?—although, of course, there are numerous and weighty considerations which weaken, or even destroy, the force of the parallel."

Sheffield Independent:—"As to an Imperial British Zollverein, composed of England and its Colonies against the rest of the world, there is no evidence that our Colonies, which to-day tax our goods, would consent to give us Free Trade, and, even if they did, they take at this moment only one-third of our export trade. The danger of the experiment to our manufacturers would be immeasurably greater than that they are now facing under the McKinley Act, whilst as to retaliation Mr. Gladstone sums it up in one short phrase—'suicidal folly.'"

"BY THE PRESTIGE OF THE QUEEN."

THE *Scotsman* in its leading columns writes as follows of the tour of the High Commissioner for South Africa, and the future of Bechuanaland and Mashonaland:—

"On the departure of the Governor from the Cape Colony, General Cameron, the officer commanding the forces at the Cape, assumed for the time the office of Administrator of the Colony, according to the Colonial constitution. This is another sign of change. While the High Commissioner is making personal acquaintance with the vast country under him lying to the north of the Cape Colony, it has not been necessary for him to delegate to another any part of his High Commissionership, as he remains, for nearly all the time of his visit to Bechuanaland, in touch with all South Africa, and with Great Britain, by means of the telegraph. Indeed, there is no doubt that his absence from Cape Town will bring the High Commissioner, so to speak, nearer to the other parts of South Africa in a sense more important than is implied in a mere topographic vicinity; for it is now plain enough that his residence in the Cape Colony, and his close association with one Colony as its Governor, militate against the general usefulness and acceptability of the High Commissionership in other parts of South Africa. In passing through the country Sir Henry has wisely taken the course of postponing official utterances as much as possible until he has personally visited the whole region. Thus his real business—if he is empowered to do any—will begin with the Chief Khama, and will include the chiefs, 'disaffected' and others, between Khama's country and the Cape Colony. The High Commissioner would seem to have already heard several statements of views in Bechuanaland which would not be so likely to have reached him in Cape Town. The European inhabitants of Bechuanaland, including the pioneers, who are most of them Dutch-speaking men, informed the High Commissioner, in a formal address of welcome, that they very strongly objected to Bechuanaland being annexed to the Cape Colony. The High Commissioner told them, in reply, that, so far as he was aware, the question

of annexation to the Cape Colony was not under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; but that if it should be raised, he was confident that the wishes of the farming population of the country would receive careful consideration. Mr. Rhodes, in a public speech in Bechuanaland, expressed the opinion that the absorption of Bechuanaland by the Cape Colony was a question of time, but that it would never take place against the wishes of the people. From this forecast of their fate the Bechuanalanders very strongly dissented, and expressed the opinion that already the Cape Colony possessed a disproportionately large area of territory, and therefore needed no increase. In this local view it is probable the people of this country will fully concur, not from any unfriendliness to the Cape Colony, but from an intelligent regard for the future good government of South Africa as a whole. . . .

It is difficult to credit one item of the reports from South Africa, to the effect that the pioneer force had been disbanded in Mashonaland, and that its members were now scattered up and down that country "prospecting" for gold. It would seem incredible that such a course should have been followed in present circumstances. To let loose and beyond control in Mashonaland a body of independent, self-acting gold-seekers, is to do specifically that which the Chartered Company was organised to prevent. There is the more reason to doubt the authenticity of the report in question from a consideration of the terms on which it is said this "prospecting" was to be done. The Chartered Company claim, we are told, 50 per cent. of all the discoveries made by the prospectors. Now, if the gold-seekers are still the salaried servants of the Company, living at its expense and under its protection in a disturbed country, there would be something to say for the terms of this arrangement. But if the members of the pioneer force of the expedition have been really disbanded in circumstances so precarious and are now living at their own charges in Mashonaland, then the terms of the Company would seem to be exorbitant and unfair to the individual gold-digger. These are matters which will, no doubt, occupy Mr. Rhodes's attention when he reaches Mount Hampden. As the manager of the Company, Mr. Rhodes has very clear ideas as to the probable future history of Mashonaland. In a speech delivered in Bechuanaland on his way north he said:—"I know, in looking to the future, that the charter must change—first, perhaps, to a system of Imperial government, but finally to self-government." Whatever financial arrangements are hoped for in the interval, in the interest of the Company as distinct from the Imperial Government, it is highly desirable that liberal arrangement should be made for that digging population which the alluvial fields of Mashonaland would seem to invite. Mr. Rhodes is fully aware that what success his Company has hitherto secured has been obtained by the prestige of the Queen and the British name among the natives of South Africa. No member of the Chartered Company has any individual power in Matabeleland: the Company is in Mashonaland to-day through the influence of the Queen and the British Government, and through the wisely-directed influence of Lord Knutsford as to the route of the expedition. It is well that these facts should be remembered when Her Majesty's Government may have to consider, in order to sanction or to modify the arrangements proposed between the chartered Company and that portion of the British public which is now in distant Mashonaland. To build a new British province in Zambesia, and to constitute a second 'De Beers Consolidated' there, are entirely different operations. It is with the former that the British Government and the British public are interested. If, by intelligent arrangements, Mr. Rhodes can secure that for a time at least the British public interest and the interest of the British South Africa Company shall go hand in hand, so much the better for the Company. From the above extract, it will be seen that Mr. Rhodes is himself fully aware that the time will arrive when the administrative affairs of Zambesia will with advantage be removed from the Company, of which he is the manager, and placed first in Imperial hands, and eventually in the hands of the new community itself, as a self-governing Colony—a Province, let us hope, of a Confederated South Africa."

The Master of University College, Oxford, Dr. Bright, whose life was recently placed in such sudden jeopardy, is a member of the Council of the League, and took an active interest in the foundation of the Branch at Oxford.

"Some Men and all Cattle."—With an epigrammatic neatness which will preserve the expression for all time Principal Grant has aptly designated those who sneer at national sentiment. "To some men and all cattle," he says, "these things are worthless." The sarcasm is not savage, but does it not exactly hit off the calibre of the anti-patriotic school? "Some men and all cattle" have no pride in their country, and therefore no faith in her. . . . It would not be amiss if a man tells you he despises loyalty, that this talk of the old flag is the veriest buncombe, that he has no respect for a patriotism that is not founded on individual selfishness—it is just as well, when such a man leaves your house, for you to go back and count your spoons.—*Toronto Empire.*

PUBLIC MEETING AT HAMMERSMITH.

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Hammersmith Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the Vestry Hall, Hammersmith, on Wednesday evening, November 12th, to hear an address by Mr. Parkin.

General Goldsworthy, M.P., presided, and was supported by the Rev. Preb. Snowden, Dr. Graham, the Rev. R. Macbeth, Mr. Arter, L.C.C., and other gentlemen, and there was an excellent attendance. The Chairman very briefly introduced Mr. Parkin, and said that, at the close, questions were invited.

Mr. Parkin said he had asked the chairman to invite questions because the subject was so vast and so many-sided in its bearings that it was so absolutely impossible in a single address to give more than the barest outline, and there were usually persons in the audience eager to hear Federation treated from some particular point of view. When he first spoke on the subject, as an Oxford undergraduate, seventeen years ago, it was looked upon as a subject entirely new, and fit only for dreamers or visionaries, but since then many of the most prominent political men of all parties had studied the question, and more or less had placed themselves at the head of the movement. No larger questions could come before reflective minds, and it was a question upon which the British people would have to make up its mind. Citizens in this country had a right to exercise their vote for the election of members to the School Board, to Vestries and so on, but the crowning franchise was the power of voting for members of that great Parliament which controls the whole of national affairs, and was in fact a final court of appeal. Now he (the speaker), as a Canadian and a British citizen, had the same local rights and privileges; but the moment a question arose as to the policy of the Empire, the Canadian had no voice at all. A great war might be determined upon, in which Canada might have to bear many straits, yet she was not able to say a word about it. Canada now numbers a population as large as that of London, and if the people of this great city were in a similar position, would they bear it for a week, or a day? No, they would not, therefore why should Canada bear it? They were subject to the same general policy, and they ought to have a voice in it; indeed they could not stand the present condition of things much longer. It was true they did not contribute towards the cost of the army or navy; the thirty-five millions of people in Great Britain managed the affairs of the whole Empire, and paid the expenses of the naval, military, consular and diplomatic services, but he asked, is that fair? Can you imagine it going on permanently? It is impossible. The question arose a hundred years ago, between this country and her American Colonies, and they did not succeed very well in settling it, for it broke off from the Mother Country those great Colonies. Yet Lord North could have taxed them if he had given representation, two things which ought to go hand in hand together. (Applause.) Having lost the Colonies then, the British did not lose their nation-building energies, but went to work and covered with their Colonies one-fifth of the globe; yet the British people said you must not tax the Colonies, or put the least pressure upon them. They had allowed Canada, Australasia, and South Africa to grow into mighty States, but had come to no clear understanding as to their actual duties, or the responsibilities of defence. Thus the question arose, and it could not long remain unanswered, "Shall this great Empire remain one, or shall she separate? Shall the Empire remain one and indivisible, presenting a united front to the world, or shall each Colony become separated, to do the best or the worst it can for itself?" It became a question whether this Empire, built up by the courage, energy, and wisdom of our forefathers, still retained enough of those qualities to maintain itself intact.

After speaking of the vast industrial changes of the last fifty years, Mr. Parkin pointed out the great decrease in agriculture, and increase of trade, resulting in this country relying upon the most distant parts of the earth for its food supplies, so much so that if those supplies were cut off for six weeks it would cause very severe pressure, and in three months it would leave us practically without food. We therefore depended absolutely upon the safety of our great trade-routes for the supply of food, and of raw material, while our Colonies were equally dependent for access to markets. The safety of these routes was therefore essentially a working-man's question. It came simply to this, that in the British Isles we have a great manufacturing centre, and in our Colonies we have great producing centres all over the world, so vast that if we were to-morrow cut off from all foreign countries, our Colonies could supply all we want—if only we remain united. If we were not united, it was impossible to be done. This Empire was bound to keep intact the areas of production as well as those of manufacture. It had been built up principally in the interests of trade, and they must show their capacity to maintain it. It is the greatest, richest, and most scattered Empire in existence, and yet in some ways the most consolidated, its most distant parts being in the closest touch with each other. After tracing the great trade routes of the world, and showing how they were dominated by British stations, Mr. Parkin showed the necessity for keeping intact the great naval and coaling stations, and the danger of relinquishing any of them, because if they were maintained as they ought to be, it would enable this country absolutely to paralyse any Power which attempted to grapple with us on the sea. To secure this there must be a political organisation, giving to the Colonies the right to a voice in the control of the Empire, and at the same time throwing upon them a fair share of responsibilities. In conclusion, he said there was now a grand opportunity for a statesman who possessed the necessary political sagacity, wisdom, and command of public opinion to effect a greater work even than Pitt, in uniting, consolidating, and placing upon a permanent footing this great Empire. (Loud applause.)

In response to an invitation, several gentlemen asked questions. One was, by what means it was proposed to bring about Imperial Federation? Mr. Parkin replied: in effect, first, by educating public opinion, and then by bringing together the trained statesmanship of

this country and the Colonies to devise the means. In the past, whenever exigencies had arisen and public opinion was strong enough to insist that something must be done, the way to do it had always been found.

Another gentleman thought the demand for Federation should come from the Colonies, and until it did so the discussion seemed merely academic. Yet another speaker raised the vexed question of Free Trade as affecting the Colonies, and the lecturer said he hoped to see a solution of this question on the basis of mutual advantage.

The Rev. Dr. Graham moved that the attention of the inhabitants of Hammersmith be drawn to the establishment here of a branch of the Imperial Federation League, and strongly recommending them to support it by subscription or membership.

The Rev. R. Macbeth seconded the motion, and looked forward not only to Imperial Federation, but to the Federation of which not only Tennyson spoke, but which all men of prophetic spirit had longed for and foreseen.

Mr. Bent, a member of the Council, also spoke to the resolution, and said the present aim of the League was to spread information, and to collect public opinion. When that had been fully obtained, it would be time enough to formulate a scheme for carrying it into effect.

The Chairman, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Parkin, regretted there were not more working men present, which he fancied was due in some measure to the small size of that hall inducing them to think it was doubtful if they could get in. This was essentially a working man's question, affecting the great mass of the people. He hoped the League would do its best to bring the question before working men, as he (the speaker) should certainly do.

Mr. Arter seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation. A vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the proceedings.

The *West London Observer*, a long-established and influential county paper for Middlesex and Surrey, published in the district, which gave a good report of the meeting, devoted its leading article to the subject in its next issue, and said:—

"It is satisfactory to know that a branch of the Imperial Federation League has been established in Hammersmith, and has given earnest of its activity by the meeting held at the Vestry Hall. Wherever this subject has been introduced and explained, it has hitherto met with ready acquiescence from people of all classes and of the most diverse political opinions, the only questions raised being whether it is really practicable, and the mode of carrying it into effect. The answer to the first should not be in doubt. Those who followed the line of argument used by Mr. Parkin at the meeting mentioned above, or who do so in our report, which is necessarily little more than a summary of the arguments brought forward, must, we think, be fully convinced that Imperial Federation is an absolute necessity, not merely for the spread and advance of the Empire, but for its very continuance in peace and safety. The difficulty is that although this is clearly seen and readily admitted, the carrying it into effect seems so hedged round with difficulties, that as soon as one is surmounted, numerous others spring up, and appear to make the obstacles interminable. . . . Merely to mention these matters shows the tendency of the age towards a closer union of the British Empire, and in furthering this by all the means in its power, the Imperial Federation League is doing most valuable work. The seed is being sown in all directions, the soil is ready to receive it, and the harvest will surely follow, very possibly sooner than present signs would lead us to expect. Almost everyone can help the movement forward in some degree, and we hope the Hammersmith Branch of the League will diligently continue the work which it has set itself to do."

Mr. James Bryce, M.P., in an interview with an Ottawa journalist, recently said:—"We are now taking far more interest in our Colonies than ever we did, and I do not think that at any time in our recent history would a threatened dismemberment of our Colonial Empire have caused more profound regret than now." Truly, with such valiant supporters from the ranks of those who, at all events, were not always and altogether so valiant, the Empire should have fallen upon happy times.—*Canadian Gazette*.

The French-Canadians.—There is little room to doubt that the masses of the French-Canadians have a sound practical loyalty to the British Crown and the Canadian Confederation. In a certain powerful French-Canadian romance, depicting the time of the conquest of New France by England, and brimming with what we may call French-Canadianism, one of the leading characters is a Seigneur who has fought with passionate loyalty under the flag of the Bourbons. After the cession, however, he accepts the new order of things; and on his death-bed he says to his son and heir: "Serve thy new Sovereign as faithfully as I have served the King of France, and receive my blessing!" It seems to us that this may be taken as an indication of a healthy sentiment at times concealed beneath the rampant "nationalism," so-called, of Quebec politics.—*Halifax Critic*.

Prince George at Quebec.—Imperial Federation as a means to an end is surely not to be lightly passed over. In this connection the words of Prince George of Wales, in replying to the address of welcome from the citizens of Quebec during the recent visit of the fleet to that port, are significant. His Royal Highness said: "Nothing can diminish the close connection which must ever exist between the Dominion of Canada and the Royal Navy which guards its shores." Annexation to the United States is out of the question—it is not desired, neither would Great Britain calmly part with one of the most precious of her possessions. Our sailor Prince, by his geniality and good-feeling towards Canadians, has endeared himself to many, and those words of his at Quebec will help to spread the impression that Imperial relations are likely to be more firmly cemented than ever. The signs of the times point that way, and the end is a desirable one.—*Halifax Critic*.

SIR GORDON SPRIGG ON SOUTH AFRICA.

ON November 6th the freedom and livery of the Turners' Company were presented to the Hon. Sir John Gordon Sprigg, K.C.M.G., late Premier of the Cape of Good Hope, the ceremony being held in the Old Chamber of the Guildhall. Among those present were Mr. Charles Fielding, the Master, who presided; Alderman Cotton, the upper warden; Mr. Gilbert Robins, the renter warden; the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Lady Fowler, Admiral Sir Harry Keppel, Sir Charles Mills, Sir George Chubb, the Rev. Canon Benham, Mr. Edward Terry, Dr. Turtle Pigott, Mr. Spencer Todd, Mr. Greenhough, Mr. Brackstone Baker, Mr. C. W. Turner, Mr. C. Douglas Fox, Mr. R. C. Rapier, Mr. R. L. Loveland, Mr. Christopherson, and Mr. Smithers.

At the request of the Master, the clerk (Mr. W. M. Shirreff) read the following resolution of the court:—"That the honorary freedom and livery of the Company of Turners be offered to the Honourable Sir John Gordon Sprigg, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of the administrative ability and statesmanlike qualities shown by him as twice Premier of the Cape of Good Hope."

Sir Gordon Sprigg, in thanking the Turners' Company for the honour done him, spoke at some length upon affairs in Cape Colony and in the new territories to the north of it, with especial reference to the extension of the railway system; and concluded his speech in the following terms:—"To touch upon a subject that excites great interest, that of the Federation of the various States and Colonies of South Africa, you may ask what prospects are there of that being carried out at an early period. In all such matters you have to go step by step. We have made a step in that direction by establishing a customs union between Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, and by carrying a railway from Cape Colony through the Orange Free State. Into that union arrangements were made, prior to my leaving office, that the Colony of British Bechuanaland should enter on the 1st of January next. There is little doubt that in the course of time the Colony of Natal will also join the union, and I believe the time is not far distant when the whole of the States and Colonies in South Africa will fall into one union. I have stated that it is necessary to go step by step in these matters; but this brings me to one other subject—a subject of surpassing interest to this country and all parts of the Empire—How are the component parts of the Empire to be held together? (Hear, hear.) Having given a great deal of attention to this matter myself, it appears to me that the basis of the Imperial Federation of the future must be a customs union. Supposing you do not bind together your Colonies and dependencies by some such bond as a customs union, what guarantee have you that you will hold your Empire together? Supposing the Colonies and dependencies were to part asunder. We have peace now, but a great Empire like England does not remain at peace for any very long time. I suppose there will be a time of war again, and what are your Colonies? They are your vedettes, your scouts, and your outposts. (Hear, hear.) Supposing you part from your Colonies because you think it is rather desirable to maintain your trade with foreign countries, and supposing a war broke out, how are you going to protect the trade of the country if you lose those commanding posts which you now hold in distant parts of the world, where you fix your coaling stations, your military forces, and your navy? Who is to guard your trade carried in ships over every sea if that protection is gone? It has been doubted whether the Colonies are themselves in favour of such a proposal as that at which I have hinted. I will only say this in reply—that in travelling through the country here upon occasional visits I keep my eyes and ears open, and I sometimes think that if I wanted to find illustrations of men who hold fast to the best traditions of old England, I would not look for them here in the centre, but I would go to the distant dependencies, where the sons and daughters of England keep watch and ward over the outposts of the Empire." (Cheers.)

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce had the question of the expiration of European commercial treaties before it, but wisely decided to await the report of the Select Committee which has been appointed by the Government to consider the subject. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, it will be remembered, was unable to accede to the suggestion of Mr. Howard Vincent that the Colonies should have a voice upon this Committee. We hope, however, that sight will not be lost of the great importance to the Colonies of the freedom both of themselves and the Mother Country from the absurd provision in two of these foreign treaties which prevents any preferential trade arrangement between different parts of the Empire. This provision must not find a place in any of the new treaties, for though the time may not be ripe for such a double tariff—one tariff within the Empire and another without—as Sir Charles Tupper had in mind when he made his memorable speech on Imperial Federation, there is no saying what developments the next few years may see. When Canada and Australasia have drawn closer the commercial ties between them, the people of the Mother Country will, perhaps, begin to feel more than a Platonic interest in the question.—*Canadian Gazette*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,

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sident Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Thursday, November 14th, 1889, it was unanimously resolved:—

- That the establishment of periodical Conferences of Representatives of the Self-Governing Communities of the Empire should be the first aim of the Imperial Federation League.

Publications of the Imperial Federation League.

Titles of Publications relating to the British Colonies, their Government, &c., in connection with Imperial Policy. Compiled by JAMES R. BOOSE. Under 2 oz. 6d.

Speeches by the Earl of Rosebery. President of the Imperial Federation League, at Leeds, October, 1888; and at Edinburgh, October 31st, 1888. Revised and reprinted from "Imperial Federation." Price 2d. each.

Full Report of the Speeches at the Mansion House Meeting, November 15, 1889. Under 2 oz. 2d.

The Formation and Conduct of Branches. Price 1d. Under 1 oz.

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Report of the Conference on Imperial Federation, held July 29th, 1884. Price 6d. Weight 8 oz.; on thin paper, for transmission abroad, 3 oz.

Links of Union between Canada and Australia. By J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Under 2 oz. 2d.

The Case for Canada. By PRINCIPAL GEO. M. GRANT, D.D., of Kingston University, Ontario. Under 2 oz. 2d.

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The following publications may also be had at the Office of the League:—

Our Colonial Expansion: Extracts from "The Expansion of England." By PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY. Price 1s. Under 5 oz.

Imperial Federation. By the MARQUIS OF LORNE. Price 1s. Under 10 oz.

Our Colonies and India: How we Got Them, and Why we Keep Them. By CYRIL RANSOME, M.A. Oxon. Under 6 oz. 1s.

A Synopsis of the Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire. Prepared by SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B. Price 2s. 6d. Under 12 oz.

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